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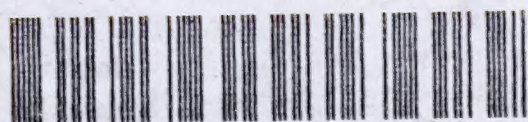


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THE
LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.


CONDUCTED BY

M. VALENTINE, D.D., LL.D. PHILIP M. BIKLE, PH.D.
JAMES W. RICHARD, D.D. THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D.D.

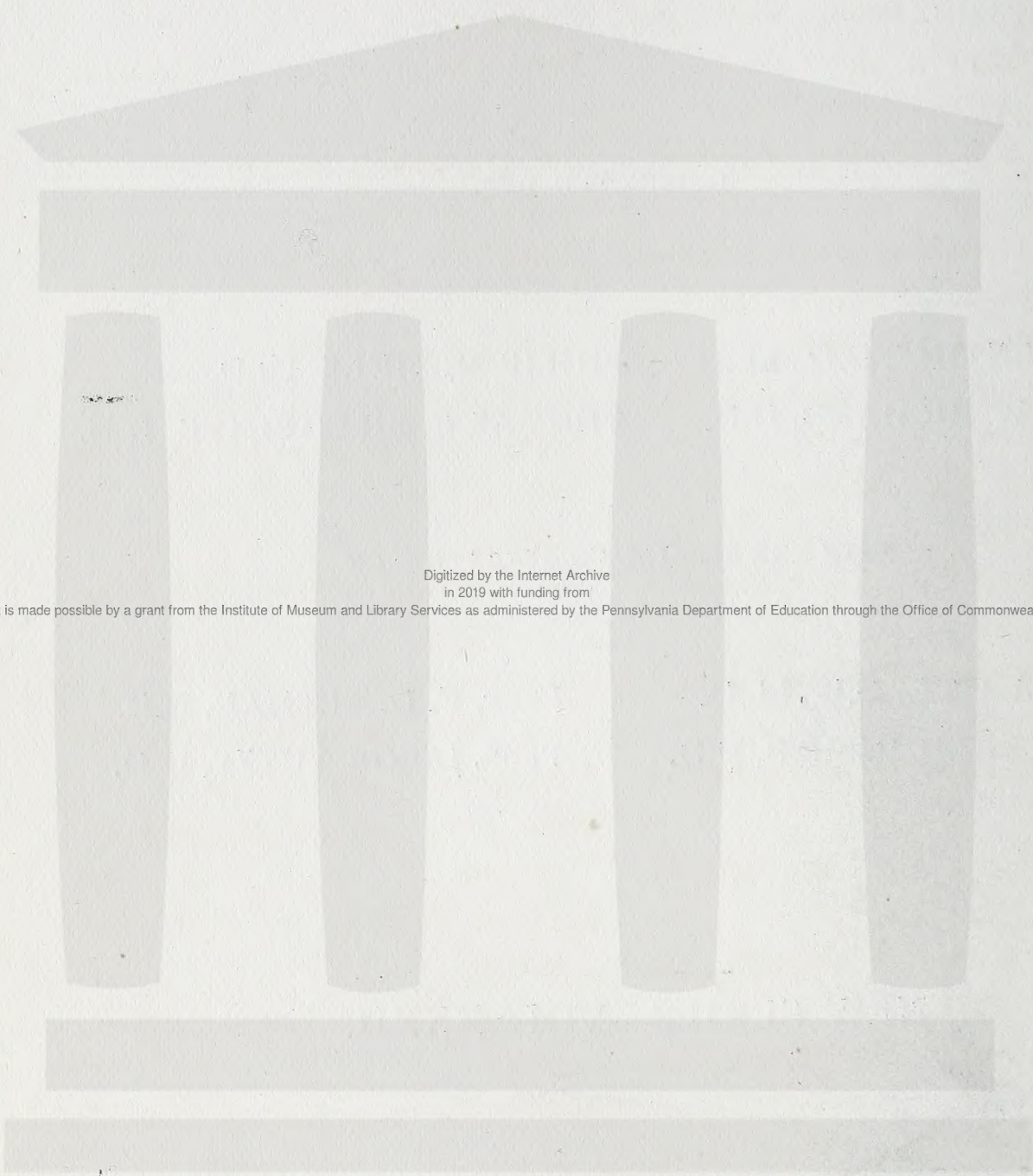
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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JANUARY, 1902.

ARTICLE I.

THE FORMATIVE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

Professor B. B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D., of the Princeton Theological Seminary, opens an article in the January (1901) number of *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* with the following affirmations: "What we call the Reformation was fundamentally, when looked at from a spiritual point of view, a great revival of religion; when looked at from the theological point of view, a great revival of Augustinianism. It was the one just because it was the other. Revolting from the domination of ecclesiastical machinery, men found their one haven of rest in the sovereignty of God. *The doctrine of Predestination was therefore the central doctrine of the Reformation*" (italics ours). In a foot note Dr. Warfield has explained this last sentence as follows: "The sole doctrine that from the beginning was common to all the Reformers, and that really constituted the formative principle of Protestantism, was that of Predestination."

In his zeal to uphold his great contention against the *Revision Movement* in the Presbyterian Church, Dr. Warfield has, we think, made a generalization that cannot be sustained by the facts, that is, if *Predestination* is to be taken in its ordinary theological sense. We are perfectly willing that Dr. Warfield should affirm that Predestination was "the central doctrine" of the Zwinglian and Calvinistic Reformation, and that it is "the

formative principle" of the Protestantism of Zwingli and Calvin. In regard to Calvin there will not be two opinions, and we presume that Dr. Warfield will not object to the statements of Drs. Zeller and Sigwart, that according to Zwingli "the election of the individual is the *proper* object of faith," or, "it is *only* election that justifies and blesses."

But Zwingli and Calvin were not "all the Reformers," and their Reformation was not the whole, nay, not, in our opinion, even the larger part of the Reformation. Dr. Warfield has certainly heard of Luther and Melanchthon, and of the German Reformation; but he does not seem to have made himself profoundly acquainted with the early Lutheran teaching, for had he done so, he would have refrained, we think, from making his sweeping generalization about "the central doctrine," and about "the formative principle."

LUTHER'S EARLY EXPERIENCE.

Luther's profound conviction of sin and the bitter anguish of his conscience under his sense of personal guilt, led him to inquire the way of salvation with great earnestness. His thoughts about Predestination only deepened his distress. His study of the Scholastics and of the Scriptures brought him no relief. Finally an aged cloister-brother spoke to him about *faith*, and pointed him to that article of the Creed, which says: *Credo remissionem peccatorum*. He interpreted this article for Luther as meaning that we must have *personal* faith, and must believe that *our* sins are forgiven. This interpretation he confirmed by a quotation from St. Bernard's sermon, *De Annuntiatione*: *Sed adde, ut credas et hoc, quod per ipsum peccata Tibi donantur. Hoc est testimonium, quod perhibet Spiritus Sanctus in corde tuo, dicens: Dimissa sunt tibi peccata tua. Sic enim arbitratur Apostolus, gratis justificari hominem per fidem*. Melanchthon, who relates this incident in Luther's experience, says that Luther was in the habit of saying that he was not only comforted by these words, but that he learned to know what Paul meant by the declaration: *Fide justificamur*. "Gradually more light came to him as he read and compared the

words and instances contained in the Prophets and Apostles, and stimulated his faith by daily prayer. Then he began to read the works of Augustine, and found in the *Commentary on the Psalms*, and in the book *De Spiritu et Litera*, many perspicuous passages that confirmed the doctrine of faith and the consolation that had been awakened in his heart."*

Here we have in the narrative of Melanchthon the *initium* of Luther's experience of salvation. The process was not rapid. He continued to be troubled with thoughts about "the will of God." Finally he made his distress known to Staupitz, the Prior of his Order, and he himself reports the instruction given by his Superior: "Staupitz comforted me with these words: Why do you torment yourself with such speculations? Look upon the wounds of Christ and his blood shed for you. In these you have the explanation of predestination. Therefore you must hear the Son of God who was sent in the flesh, and was manifest to destroy this work of the devil, and to assure you in regard to predestination. Hence he says to thee: 'Thou art my sheep, because thou hearest my voice. No one shall pluck you out of my hands' (John 10 : 29)."[†]

In this account as well as in that given by Melanchthon we perceive that Christ and faith in him were made the *prius* in Luther's experience of salvation. Predestination was subordinated, and was postponed in the *ordo salutis*, and is to be ex-

**Vita Lutheri*, Cap. V.

[†] *Erl. Ed., Opera Latina*, 6 : 29-7. For a fuller account see Meurer's *Life of Luther, in loco*. As fully illustrative of Luther's entire relations to the subject in hand, we quote from his *Table Talk*, DCLVII., Hazlitt's Translation: "Concerning predestination, it is best to begin below at Christ, as then we both hear and find the Father; for all those that have begun at the top have broken their necks. I have been thoroughly plagued and tormented with such cogitations of predestination; I would needs know how God intended to deal with me, etc. But at last, God be praised! I clean left them; I took hold again on God's revealed Word. Higher I was not able to bring it, for a human creature can never search out the celestial will of God; this God hides, for the sake of the devil, to the end the crafty spirit may be deceived and put to confusion. The revealed will of God the devil has learned from us, but God reserves his secret will to himself. It is sufficient for us to learn and know Christ in his humanity, in which the Father has revealed himself."

plained by reference to the sufferings and death of Christ. That is, in Luther's experience of salvation, Predestination was peripheral, not central. At Rome in 1510, while climbing Pilate's staircase, the passage, *The just shall live by his faith*, burst into his soul with new power. He now had the *full* experience of salvation. But as a simple matter of fact such experience came to him on account of Christ through faith, and not through his thoughts about Predestination and "the will of God." To the question that tortured his conscience, *What must I do to be saved*, he received the answer, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved*. It was from this question, and from the answer it received in Luther's experience of salvation, that the Lutheran Church was born, that the Lutheran theology has been developed as from a central principle. On this subject there is no difference of opinion among competent Lutheran writers, who ought to be esteemed the best and wisest judges on this subject. We have room for only two quotations: "The peace that Luther could not obtain by the requirements of the cloister, he experienced in the Pauline doctrine that the sinner is justified by the faith that lays hold on the merits of Christ. In this doctrine, which formed the fixed cardinal point of his deeply agitated soul, lay forever the central point of his theology, the center of gravity of his Reformation work. What the intellectual revolution since the middle of the 13th century had prepared, what Mysticism striving after a living fellowship with God had foreshadowed, what the Reformers before the Reformation had seen from the dim distance, that was the fountain of life for this elect man of God: The conviction that the eternal essence of the Gospel lies in the holy union of the individual with God through justifying faith in Christ. That preparatory feature of the Middle Ages, which in proportion as it broke the power of the Middle Ages over the individual, threw him on his own resources, found its consummation in this one man, who saw in justification by faith the indestructible conviction which the Spirit of God drives into the very center of the soul. The man who in his own person strove for salvation as no one had done in the Middle

Ages, received also the deepest personal answer from God. For the greater the dissonances in a soul struggling for salvation, the greater is the harmony into which God resolves them. The hard discipline through which Luther passed was to him the true guide to justifying faith."*

Thomasius has said: "He (Luther) regarded the Holy Scriptures as the pure source of revealed truth, and as the norm for judging the doctrines of men and of the Church. This may be called the *formal principle* of the Reformation. But as we have seen already, this authority of the Scriptures had been recognized before Luther. But a thorough-going reformation had not resulted from it. The innermost life-root of the Reformation, the central birthground of Protestantism,† is not this fundamental principle, but that of JUSTIFYING FAITH as expressed in the thesis: JUSTIFICATION OUT OF GRACE THROUGH FAITH.

"Not primarily as a dogmatic proposition or as a traditional truth of Scripture—such is no life-creating principle—much rather as a fact of experience, as a deep, inner life-experience, did this principle come to Luther. In his heart was justifying faith born of the Word of God, and it showed itself to him as the power of God which alone can satisfy the deepest need of the human soul, and can re-establish the right relation to God. This is the need of redemption from sin and guilt, and of deliverance from the wrath of God against the sinner and from death. And this relation is that of reconciliation with God, of the assured certainty of grace, of the divine sonship. How profound that need was in Luther we know from his personal history. * * * Even the Holy Scriptures, which he read frequently, gave him no light, no comfort. His eyes rested on those passages which testify of the wrath of God against sin. When he read in Paul of 'the righteousness of God,' he understood by it the judicial punitive righteousness. The distress became worse and worse—he tortured himself with thoughts

* Kahnis, *Dogmatik*, II., 381-2.

† The author means the *Lutheran Reformation* and the *Lutheran Protestantism*, since he is specifically discussing "The Reformation of Luther" and "The Principles of the Lutheran Protestantism."

about God's secret 'predestination,' which appointed some to life, others to destruction. The chasm grew wider and wider. With inner terror, almost in despair, he looked away from doubt, in torment as to whether he should hope that salvation was for him, as to whether he was predestinated. Finally, he cast away everything that came between his conscience and his God, and all barriers that shut him out from free access to Christ, and by a great *act of faith* he betook himself to *the free grace of God* and sunk himself into it, and laid hold of it, and held it fast as the sole, eternal ground of salvation. In child-like, trusting confidence in the grace of God in Christ he found the forgiveness of sins, certainty of justification, the peace of the divine sonship, the power of a new life, the victory over every adversary.

"This is the starting point of the Reformation: *The arising of its Principle, Justifying Faith*, in the heart of Luther. Out of the question of his conscience: 'What must I do to be saved,' and out of the divine word of comfort: 'He that believeth, shall be justified and saved,' it was born."*

LUTHER AS PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

With the experience of salvation glowing in his heart, in 1512 Luther began his career as professor of theology by lecturing first on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and then on the Psalms.

Melanchthon in this connection says that "Luther recalled the minds of men to the Son of God, and, as John the Baptist pointed out the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world, so he (Luther) showed that sins are pardoned freely on account of the Son of God, and that such blessing must be accepted by faith. He also set forth other parts of church doctrine."† If now we turn to Luther's lectures on the Psalms during his formative period (1512-1520), we discover that they are full of Christ, of his passion, his cross, his benefits for us. He finds Christ everywhere in the Psalms, and preaches Christ rather than lectures on the Psalms.

*Thomasius—Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, II., 332-4.

†Melanchthon's *Vita Lutheri*, Cap. VI.

Of Predestination we read only a very little in these lectures,* and that little is suggested *en passant* by his doctrine of the Will and of Grace, and is not made a principal subject of discussion. On the contrary, Predestination is so completely shaded, and kept in the background, that he even forbids the sinner to raise the question as to whether or not he is predestinated, and declares that solicitude about Predestination "is a most perilous temptation caused by the devil and by the wisdom of the flesh," and is displeasing to God, and is to be utterly banished. He declares further that God has not revealed his counsels, but points us to his commands. "Wherefore the object of faith and hope is God *gratuitus Promissor*, or the Word of him who promises, that and nothing else."† Hence the gracious God, Christ and faith in Christ, and in the divine promises, constitute the sum and substance of these lectures.

Other writings of Luther belonging to this period are, as to their chief content and main purpose, identical in character. The Augustinian doctrine of sin, and of grace, and of faith, and of the will, is brought into great prominence. Where the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination appears, it does not appear as the *central* thought. It is made subsidiary to Christ and to faith in him, or is used as an instrument for overthrowing the doctrine of Free-will, that is, the Roman Catholic claim that man can contribute something toward his salvation.

And yet much as Luther was indebted to Augustine as *Praeceptor Theologiae* for some of his deepest and purest views of the Gospel, there were these two points of profound difference, even at this early period, between the Master and the Disciple: The former laid the chief stress on *grace*, and conceived of justification too much as a *making* righteous. The latter laid the chief stress on the justification of the individual, and regarded justification more as a *declaring* righteous.

The logic of these points of difference is that Augustinianism proceeded from above downward. Lutheranism proceeds from below upward. As a consequence of this tendency in

* Weimer Ed., IV., p. 227.

† Erl. Ed. Latin, XIV., 253-9.

Luther to begin with man, with his misery and his need of salvation, and proceed upward until he had found the sovereign remedy in Christ, and since this had been the course of his own life, he could not logically be, or become, centrally, principiantly, formatively, *predestinarian* in his theological thinking. Again, since he had experienced the misery of sin, and had found salvation from sin, and peace with God, alone *on account of Christ*, apprehended by faith, and not by means of his thoughts on Predestination, it must follow psychologically, that his theological thinking must gather about Christ for him and Christ in him, and not about Predestination.

What the logic and the psychology of the premises lead us to conclude *a priori*, that we find demonstrated as fact by almost every page that Luther wrote, and by all that we know of his life. Even his doctrine of sin and his doctrine of the bondage of the Will, only help to emphasize the *central* significance of justification out of grace alone—not *through* Christ, but *on account of* Christ. Not one line of his works, interpreted in its proper scope and by its context, contradicts this conclusion. Even the thesis: *The best and infallible preparation and only disposition for grace is the eternal election and predestination of God*,* proves nothing to the contrary, since though written by Luther it was not discussed by him. It was meant to be, as the context shows, an antithesis to Pelagianism, and not an affirmation about that divine predestination which unconditionally determines the destiny of each individual. The very terms in which the thesis is stated exclude such a supposition.

The divine election and predestination *prepare* for the reception of grace. There is nothing *in verbis ipsissimis*, nor in the context, that makes them principiantly the *cause* of salvation, or that *postpones* Christ. Predestination and election strike down Free-will, and exalt the grace of God. But from Luther's standpoint—a standpoint determined by the experience of salvation—the grace of God is not conceived apart from Christ as *causa principalis*. It is not arbitrary in its discriminations.

* Loescher *Reformations-Acta*, I., 541.

This is shown abundantly by his correspondence with his friends, by his sermons, and by his *Commentary on Galatians*. Quite characteristic is his letter of April 8th, 1516, to George Spenlein: "I would like to know what is going on in your soul, whether, disgusted with its own righteousness, it is learning to breathe and confide in the righteousness of Christ. In our times the presumptuous temptation is cherished by many, and especially by those who try to be righteous and good by their own strength, to ignore the righteousness of God that is given us most abundantly and graciously in Christ; and by doing good for a long time they try to have confidence to stand before God adorned in their own virtues and merits—which cannot possibly be done. You and I both erred in this matter. But now I fight against that error, though I have not yet overcome it.

"Therefore, my dear brother, learn Christ and him crucified. Learn to sing to him, and, despairing of thyself, to say to him: Thou, Lord Jesus, art my righteousness, but I am thy sin. Thou hast taken upon thee what was mine, and hast given me what was thine. Thou hast become what thou wast not, and hast made me what I was not. Take care lest thou aspire to so great holiness, as not to wish to appear to thyself a sinner, yea, not to be one. For Christ dwells only with sinners. He came down from heaven where he dwelt with the righteous that he might dwell with sinners. Meditate on that love, and you will experience the most blessed comfort from it. If by our labors and sufferings we ought to seek to quiet the conscience, then why did he die? Therefore only in him, by despairing of thyself and of thy works, and by faith, wilt thou find peace. In addition thou wilt learn that he has adopted thee, and made thy sins his, and his righteousness thine."*

This letter contains an element of mysticism, for at this time Luther was considerably under the influence of the *Theologia Germanica*. But it would take more than mortal ken to discover in it a trace of Predestination. Its central thought is

* Ender's *Luther's Briefwechsel*, I., p. 29. See other letters of the same year.

Christ, his death and righteousness, his substitutionary relation, and confidence in him.

LUTHER'S SERMONS.

In 1515 Luther preached a sermon in which we find the following passage: "Since God would have all men to be saved, and since no man wishes to be damned, it is the will of the flesh alone that causes God now to say, I would, but thou wouldest not. But this is proved by 1 Tim. 2, and by each one's own experience. For he says: God who will have all men to be saved and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. And Ezek. 18: Have I any pleasure at all that the wicked should die? And Psalm 27 (30): Quoniam ira in indignatione et vita in voluntate ejus (*Vulgate*), and the God of wisdom has not made death, neither does he delight in the destruction of the wicked."*

Surely this is not the language of one whose central thought is Predestination. At least it differs very widely from the Augustinian doctrine that only a "certain number are elected," and that all the rest "are predestinated to eternal destruction."†

On St. Thomas's day, 1516, Luther preached a sermon from the text: *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork.* Here, if anywhere, we might expect some reference to Election and Predestination. But neither the words, nor a trace of the thoughts for which they stand, can be found anywhere in the discourse. From the beginning to the end it is a sermon on the Gospel: "The proper work of God is the resurrection of Christ and justification in spirit, and the vivification of the new man, as in Romans 6: Christ died on account of our sins and rose on account of our justification. These things. This is what I said recently about John and the Gospel, of which he is a figure. For the work of God is twofold, viz., his own and another's. So likewise is the office of the Gospel twofold. The proper office of the Gospel is to declare the proper work of God, that is, the grace by

* *Opera Latina Varii Arg.* I., 58.

† *Tract. in Joann.* XLVIII., 4.

which the Father of mercies truly gives peace, righteousness, and truth to all, and moderates all his wrath. Hence the Gospel is called *bonum, jucundum, suave, amicum*, and he who does not hear it cannot be happy. For this occurs, when the pardon of sins is declared to anxious consciences, as in Romans 10: How beautiful, that is, how amiable, delightful, desirable—as it sounds in the Hebrew—are the feet of those that bring good tidings and declare peace, that is, not the law, nor the threats of the law, not things to be fulfilled and done, but the pardon of sins, peace of conscience, the law fulfilled, etc., preaching good things, namely, the most sweet mercy of God and the gift of Christ to us.”*

It is easy to see what is the central thought in this extract. It is the grace of God that freely grants remission of sins *on account of* Christ. And if we examine the many sermons preached by Luther in the years 1515–1517, as found in Loescher’s *Reformations-Acta*, we find that they are all animated by the spirit that breathes through the sermons from which we have quoted. Traces of the Augustinian Predestination in some of these sermons there may be, but Predestination forms neither the central thought nor the remote foundation of these discourses. Free-will and the ability of man to fit himself for grace, as over against the reigning Pelagianism, are condemned, and the grace of God, as over against the sin and misery of man, is magnified; but it is the grace of God in causal relation to Christ, and as proclaimed by the Gospel. The so-called physical attributes of God are recognized, but preëminent above everything else is God’s love.

THE THESES OF 1516.

From the sermons of these formative years we turn to a work of an entirely different character. In 1516 Luther prepared and discussed numerous theses on Free-will.† In these he has closely followed Augustine, *gratiae defensor*. As these theses formed the bases for academic disputations, we should

* Loescher’s *Reformations-Acta*, I., 769, *et seq.*

† Loescher, I., 328–348.

naturally expect to find them strongly flavored by Augustine's doctrine of Predestination. But neither the word *Predestination*, nor the doctrine of Predestination, appears in all these twenty quarto pages. The doctrine *de congruo* and *de condigno* are refuted. The proposition that *The Will of man without grace is not free, but bound*, is established by quotations from Paul and Augustine. Christ and the merciful God are associated: "Ye are dead and your life is hid with God. When Christ your life shall appear, then ye shall appear with him. Therefore every saint is consciously a sinner and unconsciously righteous, a sinner as regards his nature, righteous according to hope, a sinner in reality, but just by the imputation of the merciful God." And somewhat remarkable is this passage: "The strength of sin is the law, but the strength of the law is mercy, but the strength of mercy is hope, but the strength of hope is salvation, but the strength of salvation is God through Christ."

Again, as in the sermons, we have grace, Christ, the passion of Christ, faith, hope, constituting the chief substance of this somewhat elaborate and formal discussion of Free-will. Had Predestination been Luther's central doctrine, it would certainly appear in these theses, whose specific purpose is to discuss the question, *Whether man, created in the image of God, can by his natural powers keep the law of God, do or think that which is good, merit grace and comprehend a meritorious work.*

THE COMMENTARY ON GALATIANS.

From letters and sermons and theses we pass to Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*, of the year 1519. This work was published especially as a reply to the calumnies of Luther's enemies. Hence it is of special value in studying the evolution of Luther's theology for the purpose of ascertaining what was his "central doctrine" and what "really constituted the formative principle of Protestantism." Its value for this purpose lies chiefly in the facts, first, that it is a commentary on a portion of Scripture; secondly, that it makes abundant use of Jerome, Augustine and other Fathers; thirdly, that it is so

largely free from controversy. As regards doctrinal content it is not free from predestinarian views, for, as already conceded, Luther was *Augustino-predestinarian* in a part of his theological thinking. Hence that predestinarian views should crop out in some form in this *Commentary*, ought not to surprise us, especially as on almost every page Augustine, or some other Father, is quoted. As a matter of fact, the words, *praedestinatio, electio, praedestinante deo*, appear about half a dozen times in these 175 large quarto pages of Vol. II., Weimar Edition of Luther's Works. But they appear only as *obiter dicta*. A doctrine of Predestination is not developed and discussed. In comments on passages where we might expect to find it, we discover nothing of the kind. This, we think, is strong evidence in support of our contention that the doctrine of Predestination did not occupy the central place in Luther's theological thinking, as we know it did not in his religious experience. On the contrary, or if not on the contrary, yet as a most significant fact, we find a conception of God that brings, not his *rectoral*, but his *moral*, attributes into prominence: *Nomen autem dei misericordia, veritas, iusticia, virtus, sapientia, suique nominis accusatio*. And again: *Sicut ergo nomen domini est purum, sanctum, iustum, verax, bonum, etc., ita si tangat tanga-turque corde (quod fit per fidem) omnino facit cor simile sibi*. Equally significant is his explanations of the words *Jesus* and *Christus*: *Audi primum, quod Jesus significet salutem et Christus unctionem misericordiae*; that is, he identifies Jesus Christ immediately with *salvation*, and with the *anointing of mercy*, which is widely different from making him a distant instrument for effecting salvation where Predestination is the central doctrine. And as for the doctrine of *justification by faith alone*, we can say truly that from the beginning to the end of the *Commentary* it appears as the apple of gold in the picture of silver; and so fully does it absorb the thinking of the author that with perfect propriety he might have written in the Preface to this edition what he wrote in the Preface to the edition published in 1535: "I myself can scarcely believe that I was so abundant in words when publicly expounding this Epistle of

Paul to the Galatians, as this book shows me to have been. And yet I perceive that all these cogitations, brought together with so much diligence by the brethren into this book, are mine, so that I must needs confess that all, or even more, was said by me in public lectures. For in my heart this article alone reigns, viz., the faith of Christ, from whom, through whom, and to whom my theological meditations flow and re-flow continually. And yet I perceive that I have not attained to such great height, breadth, depth of wisdom; only certain weak, poor beginnings and, as it were, fragments appear.

"Wherefore I am ashamed to have my poor, frigid commentaries on so great an apostle and elect vessel, published. But I am forced to lay aside modesty and to become impudently bold, when I consider the infinite and horrible profanation and abomination which have always raged in the Church of God, and still rages, against this only solid rock, as we call the article of justification, that is, that not by ourselves (much less by our works, which are less than we ourselves), but by the aid of another, by Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, we are redeemed from sin, death, the devil, and are made partakers of eternal life." And again: "This doctrine can never be taught, urged, and repeated enough. If this be lost, then is also the doctrine of truth, life, and salvation lost and gone. If this flourish, then all good things flourish: religion, true worship, the glory of God, the correct knowledge of all states and things."*

And as a proof that we are not wrong in interpreting the first edition of Luther's *Commentary* in the light of these later deliverances, we now quote what Melanchthon wrote in his Preface to the second edition of this *Commentary* (1523): *Est enim hic diligentissime excussus locus de Iustificatione, cuius rationem nisi e scripturis petis, non video in quem usum sacras literas legas.*† It is evident from this that Melanchthon regarded *Justification* as the central thought of the book, and that he regarded a proper understanding of this doctrine as

* Erlangen Ed., I., pp. 3, 4, 12.

† Weimer Ed., II., p. 442.

necessary to a profitable reading of the Scriptures, And that Luther allowed the second edition (very little changed) to go out under such a Preface, is good evidence that he accepted Melancthon's interpretation as correct.

LECTURES ON THE PSALMS.

Already have we spoken of Luther's lectures on the Psalms, of how full they are of Christ, of faith in him, and of justification. As further evidence that justification by faith was his central doctrine, and hence the formative principle of his theological thinking, the very life of his spiritual life, we now quote from his *Explanation of the Seven Penitential Psalms*: "Some one might say to me, Why are you forever speaking of the righteousness and grace of God, and harping on one string, and singing only one little song. I answer: Each person must look out for himself. I confess for my part that whenever in the Scriptures I find less than Christ I am not made the poorer. Hence I think that God the Holy Ghost knows and means to know only Christ, as the latter says of him. He will glorify me, for he will not speak of himself, but will take of mine and will show it unto you. Christ is God's grace, mercy, righteousness, truth, wisdom, power, consolation and salvation, given to us of God without any merits of our own—not, as some say, *causaliter* does he impart righteousness, and remain away himself, for that would be a dead righteousness, yea, it would never be given, if Christ were not there himself, as the rays of the sun and the heat of fire cannot exist where the sun and the fire do not exist."*

This is the language both of experience and of doctrinal conception. For this double reason we must regard it as decisive against Dr. Warfield's generalization, as likewise against his declaration (p. 50) that on Predestination as a hinge the whole religious consciousness as well as doctrinal teaching of all the Reformers turned! Luther must be excepted, for as a man thinketh in his heart so is he. And pre-eminently is this true of Luther, who carried his religious experience into all that he

* Erl. Ed., 37 : 441.

wrote. As he had found peace by faith alone in Christ, and not *per viam predestinationis*, and as he lived in conscious communion with Christ, it must follow, so surely as normal mental action is amenable to the law of cause and effect, that his theological cogitations would gather around Christ, as the center, the heart, the all in all, of the Gospel. Had he found the springs of his religious experience in Predestination, then by the operation of the same psychical law, Predestination would have formed the center of his theological thinking, and would have become the basis of his assurance of salvation. But as it can be demonstrated that, in the representative writings from which we have quoted, Predestination does not receive a hundredth part of the attention that is bestowed upon Christ, upon faith in him, upon justification, we are forced to the conclusion by laws that we cannot ignore, that Predestination was not Luther's central doctrine during the first eight years of his theological teaching.

THE YEAR 1520.

And now we enter the year 1520, in which Luther wrote his *Three Great Reformation Treatises*, known in Germany as *Die Drie Grosse Reformations-Schriften*. There is no difference of opinion among the learned as to the value and significance of these writings. They form the triple program of the Lutheran Reformation. They unfold those great religious, moral and theological principles that for years had been maturing in Luther's soul. They speak the language of conviction at a time when Luther clearly apprehended that reconciliation between him and Rome was impossible.

Of these three Treatises Professor Henry Wace, of London, has written as follows: "In the Treatise on Christian Liberty we have the most vivid embodiment of that life of faith to which the Reformer recalled the Church, and which was the mainspring of the Reformation. In the Appeal to the German Nobility he first asserted those rights of the laity, and of the temporal power, without the admission of which no reformation would have been practicable, and he then denounced with burn-

ing moral indignation the numerous and intolerable abuses which were upheld by Roman authority. In the third Treatise, on the Babylonish captivity of the Church, he applied the same cardinal principles to the elaborate Sacramental system of the Church of Rome, sweeping away by means of them the superstitions with which the original institutions of Christ had been overlaid, and thus releasing men's consciences from a vast network of ceremonial bondage. The rest of the Reformation, it is not too much to say, was but the application of the principles vindicated in these three works. They were applied in different countries with varying wisdom and moderation; but nothing essential was added to them. Luther's genius—if a higher word be not justifiable—brought forth at one birth, 'with hands and feet,' to use his own image, and in full energy, the vital ideas by which Europe was to be regenerated."*

In the *Address to the German Nobility*, and in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, we have the application of the two fundamental principles, that in matters of doctrine, the Word of God must decide; that in matters of Salvation, faith must decide. Of the Treatise on *Christian Liberty* Luther himself says: "It is a small matter, if you look to its exterior, but, unless I mistake, it is a summary of the Christian life put together in small compass, if you apprehend its meaning." To give any adequate description of this Treatise would be to quote it *ab ovo ad malum*.

Of this tractate Dorner has written: "The sermon *On the Freedom of a Christian Man* is pleasant, without polemics, full of the inwardness and of the overflowing power of love to God and man. The Reformation principle is here displayed in its depth, its rich inwardness and religious originality. There is contained in this Treatise, which is animated by the spirit of lofty peace, the noble wine of purest mysticism. It shows how in this genuine mysticism the synthesis of the dogmatical and ethical factors with the religious is found, and how the fulness and inwardness of the original religious perception of Luther

* *Luther's Primary Work*, p. X.

contains also a wealth of new impulses for the intellectual, and indeed the speculative life of the Christian soul. The evangelical principle in relationship to faith, and love, has probably never been developed with such clearness, fulness and depth."*

Thomasius says of it: "In the little book on the *Freedom of a Christian Man* the consciousness of justification pours forth as the jubilation of a soul that has been delivered from the old bondage, and brought into the blessed liberty of the sons of God."† This is literally true. Paean after paean does this tractate send forth in praise of justification by faith alone, and of the glorious experiences that it brings to the Christian; but not once does it sound a note to the praise of Predestination.

We add two brief quotations: "And that we may reject everything, neither speculations nor meditations, nor anything else that the soul can do by its own powers, can avail anything. One thing, and one thing alone is necessary for life, righteousness and Christian liberty; and that is the Holy Word of God, the Gospel of Christ, as John says: I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth on me shall never die. And again: If the Son shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed. And Matthew: Ye shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds out of the mouth of God. Therefore let us hold it as certain and as unalterably determined, that the soul can do without everything except the Word of God. Without this it is utterly destitute of everything. But having this, it is rich, and wants nothing, since it is the Word of life, truth, light, peace, salvation, joy, liberty, wisdom, strength, grace, glory, and of every inestimable blessing. It is for this reason that the prophet in an entire Psalm (119) longs for and invokes the Word of God with so many groanings and words."

This is not the language of Predestination. With Luther "the Gospel of Christ" was preëminently the Word of God, so that he even determined the Canonicity of a Biblical book by its relation to Christ. In the Gospels and in the chief Epistles he saw only Christ and the promises about Christ. In the

* *History of Protestant Theology*, I., 106.

† Thomasius-Seeberg, *Dogmengesch.*, II., p. 335.

preached Word and in the administered Sacrament he received Christ, and Christ was to him salvation.

And again: "When by the commandments a man has learned his own impotence, and has become anxious about satisfying the law—since the law must be satisfied so that not one jot or tittle of it perish, otherwise he shall be damned without hope—then he is truly humbled and is reduced to nothing in his own eyes, and does not find anything in himself by which he can be justified and saved. Here comes in that other part of the Scripture, viz., the Promises of God, which declare the glory of God, and say, If thou wouldst keep the law of God and not covet, as the law requires, lo! Believe in Christ in whom is promised you grace, righteousness, peace, liberty, and all things. If thou believest, thou shalt have these things. If thou believest not, thou shalt not have them. For what is impossible to you by all the works of the law, and they are many, and yet unavailing, this you shall fulfill in a summary way by faith. Because God the Father has placed all things in faith, so that if anyone has this he has everything. If he do not have this, he has nothing. For he hath concluded all in unbelief that he might have mercy on all (Rom. 11). Thus the promises of God give that which the commandments require, and they fulfill what the law commands, so that all is of God, both the commandments and the fulfilling of them. He alone commands; he alone also fulfills. Therefore the promises of God pertain to the New Testament, yea, are the New Testament."*

Dr. Karl Müller, Reformed Professor of Theology at Erlangen, writing under the chief heading: *Der lutherische Protestantismus*, and under the specific heading: *Rechtfertigung*, after quoting Article IV. of the *Augustana*, and referring "to the evangelical fundamental experience which was first grasped by Luther," quotes the second of our extracts given above, and then says: "Such is the keynote (Grundton), which resounds incessantly in the first Reformation writings, and which was loyally taken up and prolonged by Melanchthon."†

* Weimar Ed., VII., 50-51, 52-53.

† *Symbolik*, p. 279.

This is confirmation from an unexpected source, and needs no comment.

SUMMA SUMMARUM.

We may now summarize the results of our investigations. It is, we think, the unanimous conclusion of competent scholars that all the principles of the Lutheran Reformation are seminally involved (though not always adequately expressed) in Luther's writings of the years 1512-1520, and that these principles find fundamental expression in *The Three Great Reformation Treatises* of the year 1520. In the writings of these eight or nine years Luther sometimes expresses himself in a strongly predestinarian way; but so only incidentally, and never, so far as we have been able to discover, in such a way as to hang salvation *absolutely* and *unconditionally* on Predestination, or in such a way as to indicate that Predestination is his "central doctrine," or that it is "the formative principle" in his theological thinking, or in his religious experience, or in his conception of the way of salvation. His God is not *primarily* the God of sovereignty, the God of might, "the concealed God," but pre-eminently the God of compassion, the God of love, who has revealed himself in Christ, and who is to be seen in Christ. The sinner is not encouraged to comfort himself with thoughts about the hidden will and Predestination of God, but with the promises of God in the Gospel, and with the vicarious sufferings of Christ. Reading Luther's works of this period by the hundreds and thousands of pages one receives this *total-impression*, notwithstanding many verbal inconsistencies and apparent, if not real, contradictions.

Now it is true that Luther never gave this "central doctrine" of justification by faith alone, as the subjective fundamental principle of salvation, a dialectical setting in an *order of salvation*. He was a reformer, and not a systematizer. He had no interest in a system of dogmatics. His soul yearned for the salvation of the individual. An article of faith had interest for him only in so far as it brought a sense of the pardon of sin and peace to the troubled conscience. He found all in all in

this article. Hence around this article as a sacred center he gathered all his thinking, out of a purely practical interest in the salvation of individual souls, because in this article he saw the grace of the Father, the righteousness of Christ, and the energy of the Holy Ghost. As compared with this article, namely, *faith in his dear Lord Jesus Christ*, anything else could have only subsidiary value. The "Word of preaching" is indispensable as a *means*, because it shows the *merciful* God, the God *revealed in Christ*, the *promises* of God. The sacraments are useful as signs and testimonies of the *gracious* and revealed will of God, and of the promises contained in the Gospel, but they are not indispensable, because a man can be saved by faith alone in Christ without the sacraments. A doctrine of Predestination might be held as a fit *preparation* for grace, but it is not represented by Luther as having power to quiet the conscience, or as capable of assuring the sinner of his salvation. Hence if one takes a view of the entire field, or even carefully examines large characteristic portions of Luther's writings of this formative period, he will greatly hesitate to say, in the sense manifestly intended by Dr. Warfield, that Predestination was Luther's "central doctrine," and that it "really constituted the formative principle" of the *Lutheran* Protestantism. That Predestination was often present in Luther's mind as a *Theologoumenon* is here freely conceded; but we are confident that it cannot be shown to have dwelt in his mind as the central and determinative content of his thinking; and that it did not have for him a hundredth part of that *practical* interest which he always felt for *justification by faith alone* is demonstrable. He never said that Predestination is the article of a standing or falling Church. But *faith* is his ever-recurring theme. We are warranted, therefore, in assuming that that which absorbs nearly all of a man's thinking, and which alone reigns in a man's heart, is his "central doctrine," his "formative principle." He may not systematize the results of his thinking; he may not speak of a "doctrine;" he may not conceive that he is guided by a principle; but others, who view the facts in the light of cause and effect, and apply the induc-

tive method, will not be long in reaching a correct generalization, that is, in discovering the underlying principle that guided the thinker. It is exactly in this way that we discover the principle, that is, the fundamental thought, the comprehensive law, that lies at the base of the Socrotic, the Kantian, the Hegelian, philosophy.

Besides, if Predestination was Luther's central doctrine, how, when, where did it happen that it was supplanted by Justification, for it is universally conceded that Justification is now the "central doctrine," "the formative principle" of Lutheranism, both as a system of doctrines, and as an ecclesiastical organization? Until this question is demonstratively answered, it must be held that the principle that for nearly four hundred years has informed and animated Lutheranism, informed and animated it from the beginning. If Lutheranism, or the Lutheran Reformation, since the days of Augsburg, be not, in its "central doctrine," in its "formative principle," what it was in the minds and hearts of the Lutheran Reformers prior to that time, then Lutheranism has lost its identity, for that which is *formative* in a movement is essentially the movement itself. But until the proof shall have been made clear and distinct that Lutheranism has changed its formative principle and has therefore lost its identity, we must be allowed to remain in the traditional view—a view incidentally, but nevertheless distinctly, exhibited in the *Form of Concord*—that there has been no change in the "central doctrine," nor in the "formative principle," of Lutheranism from the beginning up to the present hour.

THE DE SERVO ARBITRIO.

Luther's strong emphasis of the bondage of the Will called forth from Erasmus in 1524 a learned defense of Free-will. To this Luther made reply the next year in his *De Servo Arbitrio*. This book (Erlangen Edition, Vol. VII., *Var. Arg.*, pp. 116–372) has always been regarded as one of Luther's most powerful and most useful writings. Any person who wishes to get a comprehensive view of the Lutheran doctrine of the

moral impotence of the human Will, and of the absolute need of divine grace in order to attain to salvation, ought to read this book. But in reading it, its central thought, foreshadowed already by its title, should be kept clearly before the mind, viz.: *That Free-will is a lie, a word without reality, a name without actuality.* To defend this proposition Luther employed all the resources at his command—Philosophy, the Classics, the Scriptures, sarcasm and ridicule. He tells us in the closing words of the book that he has not reasoned, but has asserted, and does assert, and he advises all men to receive his decree.

A book that is written in this way is not likely to be consistent with itself, nor even with its main purpose, in all of its parts. Indeed logical consistency was not one of Luther's strong mental qualities. In controversy he saw only the present antagonist, and rained titanic blows upon him by the use of the most effective weapons at hand. This was one source of his mighty power for his own times, but a source of weakness, often, for our times, since we must reckon with his manifold inconsistencies and contradictions. But when we take a comprehensive view of his treatment of a subject, and follow it through successive phases of development, we cannot fail to perceive the splendid harmony that rises high above the discord of clashing sentences and bold paradoxes. This is preëminently true of the book now under consideration. Its main purpose is *to annihilate* the doctrine of Free-will, that is, to refute utterly Erasmus's central proposition, viz.: *That the human will has a power by which a man is able to apply himself to those things which lead to eternal salvation, or to turn himself away from them* (185). It is not Luther's purpose, either expressed or implied, to expound and establish a doctrine of Predestination, though he avails himself of numerous Scotistic and Nominalistic conceptions of the power, omniscience and absoluteness of God, for the purpose of establishing his fundamental contention; but it requires only a survey of the entire field of discussion to discover that the Predestination which results from the metaphysical postulates, is the necessary correlate of the *Servum Arbitrium*, rather than the

positive support of saving faith; hence not a real coördinate subject of discussion, and that for the reason that Predestination did not stand, as faith did, in the depths of the Author's experience of salvation. Rather might we say that it is a foreign element, or if not entirely a foreign element, at least a subordinate element introduced temporarily, and unduly exalted, so as to be the more effective foil to the Semi-Pelagianism of Erasmus, and to the Roman Catholic repudiation of the doctrine of divine grace.

We believe that the following passages, the strongest of their kind in the book, will fully sustain this view: "It is most necessary and most salutary then, for a Christian to know this also, that God foreknows nothing contingently, but foresees, purposes and accomplishes everything by an eternal, unchangeable and infallible will. But by this thunderbolt Free-will is struck to the earth and utterly annihilated. Those who would assert Free-will must therefore either deny, or disguise, or by some other means repel this thunderbolt from them" (p. 133). It is easy to see why this thunderbolt was introduced.

Again: "Hence it follows irresistibly that all that we do, and all that happens, although it seems to happen mutably and contingently, does in reality happen necessarily and unalterably insofar as it respects the will of God, for the will of God is efficacious, so that it cannot be thwarted, since it is the natural potency of God" (p. 134). "We have need to know that the foreknowledge of God is absolute, and that all events are necessary" (p. 138). "When I say necessarily, I do not mean by compulsion, but, as it is said, by a necessity of immutability; not by compulsion; that is, when a man is destitute of the Spirit of God, he does not work evil against his will through a violence put upon him, as if some one should seize him by the throat, and twist him round, just as a thief or highwayman is carried, against his will, to the gallows; but he works it of his own accord, and with a willing will" (p. 156). "Free-will is a title that belongs altogether to God, and cannot join with any other being, save the Divine Majesty only. For that Divine Majesty, as the Psalmist sings, can and does effect

all that he wills in heaven and on earth. But if this title be ascribed to men, you might as well ascribe divinity itself to them, a sacrilege that can not be exceeded" (p. 158).

These and other assertions of identical import are used at the beginning of the essay in overthrowing Erasmus's Preface. They are derived almost entirely from the speculative philosophy of Scholasticism, remnants of which still clung to Luther's mind. To establish these assertions by clear ratiocination, or by the Scriptures, as he goes on, he makes very little effort. His object here is to overthrow what he conceives to be a false philosophy, by what he conceives to be a true philosophy. And on the supposition that Luther's philosophy is the true philosophy, he does his work in masterly style. For these assertions of his, considered in and by themselves, are *metaphysically deterministic*. They leave absolutely no place for creatural freedom.

In some of his assertions of the omnipotence and alone-activity of God Luther even surpasses Augustine. But it is easy to perceive, as we read *in extensio*, and survey the entire field before us, that it is not his purpose to build up an argument in support of Predestination as a *theological principle*, but to prove Free-will *a lie* in fact, that is: *Liberum arbitrium nihil est*. His aim and end are purely practical. He has no ultimate interest in Metaphysics. And yet he here seizes on certain borrowed metaphysical conceptions about God, including Predestination as a corollary, and wields them with terrific energy as implements of defence and attack; without pausing to consider whether they can be reconciled with his primary principle of faith, and with the significance, the verity, and the power, which he evermore assigns to the means of grace. In this way it occurs that Predestination becomes a *Lemma*, demonstrated and used temporarily as a *gradus* in advancing to the ultimate demonstration. But for the Divine Predestination, in itself considered, the author manifests only a relatively small interest. The omniscience, the omnipotence, and the freedom of God, which are here lifted into prominence, are made to stand over against the ignorance, the weakness, and the moral bondage of man,

who, unless God interpose with his grace in Christ, can in no way please God, and can do nothing that will promote his salvation. Or as Luther himself outlines the discussion: "I will first confute the arguments adduced in behalf of Free-will; secondly, defend our own confuted ones; and at last make my stand for the grace of God, in direct conflict with Free-will" (p. 188).

On the vantage ground gained by bold and daring assertions Luther advances to the overthrow of his antagonist. The chief weapon used now is the Scripture, which is made to defend the main proposition with great vigor. "Free-will is an empty name, and all things that occur, are of pure necessity. * * * When it has been conceded and settled that Free-will, having lost her liberty, is forced in the service of sin, and cannot will anything good, I can not conceive anything else from such expressions, except that Free-will is an empty sound, that has lost its meaning. Lost liberty my grammar calls no liberty at all; and to attribute the name of liberty to that which has no liberty at all, is to attribute to it a bare name" (p. 200). "Since then God moves and executes all things in all, he necessarily acts in Satan and in the impious. But he acts in them according to what they are, and as he finds them; that is, when they are perverse and wicked they are carried along by this impulse of the divine omnipotence, so that they do perverse and wicked things, just as a horseman who drives a horse that is lame in one or two feet, drives him just as he is; that is, the horse goes badly. He drives him just as he is along with the sound horses. He goes badly, and they go well, and he cannot go differently until he be healed. Thus you see that when God works in the bad and through the bad, the bad is done. Though God cannot do the bad, nevertheless he works the bad through the bad. Because he himself is good he cannot do evil, yet he uses the wicked as instruments" (p. 255).

He goes on to say that the fault is in the instrument, just as when the carpenter does bad work with a dull hatchet. Also, that the will of God is absolute, and is without cause and reason for its operations.

Many similar assertions might be quoted. But they all appear as the speculative background to the author's doctrine of the Will. They do not by any means form the very substance of the treatment, and they are more than overcome by the emphasis that the author lays on "the proclaimed God" in distinction from "the hidden God." It is to the former, and not to the latter, that we must look for salvation. This is a distinction of fundamental significance; and Luther blames Erasmus for "making no distinction between the proclaimed God and the hidden God; that is, between the Word of God and God himself. God does many things which he has not shown us in his Word. He also wills many things which he has not shown us in his Word that he wills. For instance, he wills not the death of a sinner—according to his Word, forsooth—but he wills it according to that inscrutable will of his. Now our business is to look at his Word, and to leave that inscrutable will of his to himself; for we must be directed in our path by that Word, and not by that inscrutable will. Nay, who could direct himself by that inscrutable and inaccessible will? It is enough for us to know that there is a certain inscrutable will in God. What that will is, why it so wills, and how far it so wills, are matters which it is altogether unlawful for us to inquire into, to wish for information about, to trouble ourselves with, or to approach even with our touch. In these matters we have only to adore and to fear.

"So then, it is rightly said: 'If God wills not death, we must impute it to our own will that we perish.' Rightly, I say, if you speak of the proclaimed God. For he would have all men to be saved, coming as he does with his Word of salvation to all men; and the fault is in our own will, which does not admit him as he says, Matt. 23, 'How would I have gathered thy children, but ye would not' (p. 222-3).

This passage shows to a demonstration that Luther had little or no *practical* interest in his own speculations about the sovereignty of God, and about a doctrine of Predestination. It is enough to know simply that there is an absolutely sovereign will in God, and that there is such a thing as the Divine Pre-

destination. But we are not to trouble ourselves about these things ; we are to look to the Divine Word. That is, Predestination is not the central thought, the formative principle, even in this most speculative and most theological of all of Luther's writings. It is the Gospel, the God of promises, the revelation of grace, that have deepest hold on Luther's heart. In harmony with the prevailing habit of his life, we hear him say : "It is a gospel word, and a word of sweetest consolation to poor, miserable sinners, when Ezekiel says: 'I would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live, by all means.' As is that of the thirtieth Psalm also: 'For his wrath is but for a moment, and his will towards us life rather than death.' And that of the thirty-sixth Psalm, 'How Sweet is thy mercy, Lord.' Also: 'Because I am merciful.' And that saying of Christ in Matt. 11: 'Come unto me all ye that labor, and I will refresh you.' Also that of Exodus: 'I do mercy unto them that love me, unto many thousands.' Nay, what is almost more than half of the Scripture, but mere promises of grace, by which mercy, life, peace, and salvation are offered to men. And what other import have words of promise than this: 'I will not the death of the sinner?' Is it not the same as to say: 'I am merciful,' 'I am not angry,' 'I do not wish to punish,' 'I do not wish you to die,' 'I wish to pardon you,' 'I wish to spare you'? Now, if these divine promises did not stand in the Word, to raise up those whose consciences have been wounded with the sense of sin, and terrified with the fear of death and judgment, what place would there be for pardon or for hope? What sinner would not despair?" (pp. 218, 219).

Many other quotations of similar import might be made; but the question at issue cannot be settled by isolated quotations. Rather must we keep before us the real subject of discussion, the use that is made of the speculative affirmations, the whole conduct of the discussion, and especially the place of the accent. To this must be added the fact that, while Luther never abandoned his doctrine of Predestination, he did let it drop more and more into the background through his ever-growing recognition of God's revealed will of love and salva-

tion, and through the emphasis that he placed on the significance and effective power of the means of grace. And it is exactly at this point that we find the key to the solution of the antithesis of Luther's "proclaimed God" and his "hidden God." To Luther the Divine Word was real, living, objective Truth. It meant just what it said. In that Word he had found the *merciful* God, Christ, the God-man, the will of love to save sinners. By faith in that Word he had found peace of soul. That was enough, for that was salvation, and salvation is offered by the Word to all men. Reason speaks of the secret counsels of God. But "Reason is Frau Hulda, the devil's harlot, and can only defame what God says and does;" "a vain, quarrelsome termagant;" "in things pertaining to salvation is stone-blind."* Consequently, Reason must be banished from the sphere of religious knowledge.

From such principles, fixed firmly in Luther's mind, it followed by the law of natural sequence that Predestination, for the threefold reason that it had never been central in his own experience, that it did not represent "the proclaimed God," that it could not be used for the comfort of distressed souls, came to have less and less practical significance for Luther. He had not found, and could not find, in it the *essence of the Gospel*. He did not, and could not, employ it pastorally. On the contrary he declares: "I always follow this rule, namely, that as far as in me lies, I avoid those questions which lead us to the throne of the Supreme Majesty. Better and safer is it to sit at the crib of Christ the Man. There is the greatest peril in involving yourself in those labyrinths of Deity."†

In his *Trostschrift*, of the year 1528, while affirming the omniscience and the active agency of God in all things, he declares that it is "his (God's) earnest will, purpose, command and eternal resolve, to save all men, and to make them partakers of eternal joy, as it is distinctly proclaimed in Ezekiel 18 : 23 : God wills not the death of the sinner, but that he should return and live;" and in quoting Rom. 3 : 22, he lays special stress

* See Erl. Ed., 67, p. 284.

† *Opera Latina*, Vol. 2, p. 470.

on "unto all and upon all."* And in his *Confession of Faith* of the year 1528, written when he was "neither drunk nor inconsiderate," he says not one word about Predestination and Election, but has much to say about Christ, and about the means of grace. This *Confession* is proof positive that Luther did not wish to go on record as holding Predestination to be a necessary article of faith."

And while it is true that in the year 1537 he expressed to Capito a desire to destroy all his books, except perchance the *De Servo Arbitrio* and the Catechism,† it is also true, and true with a significance that is overwhelming and decisive, that in 1536 he wrote: "The article of Justification, and it alone, makes real theologians. Therefore it is necessary in the Church, and is often to be repeated and frequently discussed."‡ And again, two years later: "Beyond all controversy the Article of Justification is the head and sum of Christian doctrine. When this is properly comprehended there is no danger either upon the right hand or upon the left. For this it is that bruises the serpent's head and overthrows whatever is opposed to Christ. Therefore this article, most of all, is exposed to the bite of the serpent, and to every kind of attack, in order that it may be overthrown and perverted. Satan perceives that so long as this article remains intact, he labors in vain."§

If perchance in the heat of controversy, and in his gigantic effort to repel Semi-Pelagianism, the common foe of the Reformers, he lifted the pendulum abnormally high, this he did only theoretically, temporarily, phenomenally. When the impetus was removed, the pendulum resumed its normal relations, and Justification by Faith alone took undisputed place at the

* Erl. Ed., 54, 22.

† DeWette, V. 70.

‡ *Dissertationen Dr. Martin Luther's*. Von Paul Drews, 1895, p. 39.

§ *Ibid*, p. 436. This octavo volume of 999 pages contains a large amount of Luther matter never before published. It is invaluable for obtaining in brief compass Luther's views on many points of doctrine. It contains matter that belongs to the years 1535-1545. If any one wishes to observe the prominence given by Luther to *Justification* as compared with *Predestination*, let him consult the index of this volume under the respective words.

center. Hence we must read the *De Servo Arbitrio*, not only in its own light, but also in the light that went before, and in the light that followed after. Doing this we will find Luther consistent by the way of that higher consistency which results from the larger survey. And in this judgment we find ourselves fully sustained by Köstlin, whose summing-up in the premises we read only after we had reached our own conclusions. This master in the interpretation of Luther's theology says:*

"Finally, in all his utterances concerning the entrance of the first sin through Adam, Luther carefully refrains from the suggestion of any question which might lead to the tracing of this sin to the divine will. In view of all the above, we must regard the opinion of his *De servo arbitrio*, expressed by Luther in his letter to Capito, as referring only to the vigorous denunciation of human power and human merit which it contains, and not to its further and positive declarations concerning the hidden will of God.

We detect thus a difference between the earlier and the later doctrinal utterances of Luther, only relative, it is true, and somewhat wavering, yet deeply rooted in the peculiar course through which his doctrinal views in general attained their maturity, and in their inmost character. Luther had previously, controlled entirely by his thoroughgoing antagonism to the Pelagianism of the Romish Church, without any hesitancy adopted, as the basis of such antagonism, metaphysical statements concerning God and the divine agency, which were manifestly derived, not from the revealed Word, but from the fundamental conceptions of omnipotence and absolute will as inherent in the nature of the absolute God. Now, the same conception of the reality of the proffer of salvation in the *means of grace* which he exalted in his controversy with the Fanatics made itself felt in connection with his own doctrine of the divine being and attributes to such an extent that he no longer, as formerly, looked beyond it to scrutinize the inscrutable will of God and its relation to the plan of salvation. Now the distinguishing central point of his Christian faith, namely, *Christ and the sincere love of God manifested in Him*, so completely dominated his entire personal apprehension and presentation of doctrine that the inferences formerly deduced from the divine power, lying as they do beyond the sphere of the general religious consciousness and the natural reason, were driven into the background—not, indeed, reconciled to the satisfaction of our weak powers of apprehension, but at least put to silence—and the eyes were turned, with a determined persistence not before manifested, away from the dark abyss of mystery to the blessed light emanating from the great central truth. He now, whenever our own speculations show a tendency to dwell upon the questions beyond our grasp, applies with greater logical consistency than heretofore

* *Theology of Luther*, II., 308-10.

the principle, that we must abide simply by the *Word of Scripture*. And although he yet speaks most decidedly of the pure and free exercise of the divine power in the imparting of salvation, and that in such a way that the earlier positions now no longer avowed may to us appear to be necessary inferences or premises, although no longer so deduced by him; yet it must now be evident to all that the controlling thought here is not the metaphysical idea of absolute power or divine foreknowledge, but an antagonism to all human merit which is based upon practical religious interest, and a longing desire for a deliverance proceeding entirely from God and thus bearing with it a positive assurance for our faith."

(*To be continued.*)

ARTICLE II.

THE MOELLER-KAWERAU CHURCH HISTORY.

BY REV. JULIUS F. SEEBACH, A.M.

There is nothing more obvious to the student of Church History than the revolution which has taken place in the conception of its purpose and in the method of its development. Time was when it was considered the work of the historian to act as special pleader for the cause with which he was identified. The result was the industrious collection of facts, it is true, and for this we acknowledge our obligation; but the facts were rarely allowed to speak for themselves. They were too often metamorphosed by the dominating thought of a school, or of a sect, or of an individual. They rivalled the ancient oracles by the variety of constructions they would bear. Church History was, in fact, a species of dogmatic theology, an apology for various phases of thought. By the very multitude of its details it afforded a facile medium of expression for every vagary of doctrine.

But times have changed since Leopold von Ranke and Gieseler, in their separate fields, began to develop independently what has been called the "critical method" of writing history. This method consists in the careful examination and criticism of all the known material of the period under review.

The spirit of Ranke's motto, "I will not write what everybody knows," animated them both; and their method of writ-

ing history approved itself so thoroughly to scholars that there arose what has been called "the School of Ranke."

The object of both these writers was to present the documents themselves, and thus express the truth in the completest manner possible—an object so manifestly just and fair as to have won universal approbation. No one but the rankest partisan would now think of writing history without the fullest possible use of original sources and authoritative monographs. To do otherwise, in the interest of a party or for the establishment of a theory, is to degrade oneself mentally and morally.

The application of such a method has modified or reversed many of the former conceptions of past events, and hence changed the conclusions drawn from them; but it has brought us nearer the truth, and commended to our confidence the histories governed by it.

The influence of this method has been increasingly manifest in the later historians of the Church. A comparison of the first and last editions of Schaff's *History of the Christian Church*, or the earlier and later editions of Kurtz's *Church History*, will afford ample proof of this. Even Roman Catholic historians have felt the influence of this method, *e. g.*, Möhler, Döllinger, Hefele, and lately Pastor, whose *History of the Popes* has called forth high praise from Protestant and Catholic scholars alike.

Among the latest and best results of this critical method is the Moeller-Kawerau HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH. It is the joint work of two eminent German scholars, though Professor Kawerau cannot be said to have any part in the first two volumes.

Dr. Wilhelm Moeller became professor of Church History in the Lutheran University of Kiel in 1873, having previously served as *Privat-Docent* in the University of Halle. In 1891 he published Vol. I. of the work under review, and in 1892 Vol. II. was issued. These were quickly translated into English, and published by the Macmillan Company. The author had prepared numerous sketches for the third volume, which was to begin with the Reformation and end with the Peace of Westphalia, when his work was interrupted by death.

The purpose of the author in the first two volumes is best described in his own words: "It was my wish so far as possible to exhibit the course of the historical movement as a whole in a continuous representation. * * * In the second place it was my desire to facilitate, to some extent, access to the sources. * * * Finally, questions which at the present time are still unsettled, and which occupy research, required to be stated; but it appeared to me to be the duty of a text-book to exercise reserve in relation to hypotheses which are as yet uncertain, and to adhere strictly to the already assured ground of what is generally recognized."

It is sufficient to add that Prof. Moeller succeeded completely in his purpose.

VOLUME I.—A. D. 1-600.

It would be impossible to set forth in detail the excellent treatment of this difficult period. In every division there is much to challenge admiration. The extended array of sources and literature at the head of each division, and even of each section, is a powerful stimulus to further study of the subjects presented. The "prefatory remarks" and the discussion of the "sources" at the beginning of Vol. I. are likewise luminous to the reader in the subsequent pages of the volume.

The first subject that is likely to attract the student by the thoroughness and lucidity of its treatment is the exceedingly difficult subject of Gnosticism. The strange and fantastic views presented; the exuberance of variation in this once menacing heresy; the confusing mixture of deep and subtle speculations in philosophic dress with Eastern mysticism and superstition, make it one of the most perplexing and unsatisfactory topics of Church History to the student.

But Dr. Moeller has wrought a brilliant and pleasing discussion out of the stubborn material; and, what is more, he has obviated some of the difficulties of the ordinary reader by his simple, rational treatment of the facts. It is not pretended that he has made all the phenomena of Gnosticism explicable

to us. The modern mind cannot enter into the vagaries of that time and condition. But the thorough presentation of the facts, together with their historic cause and effect, gives Gnosticism a living interest for us, and commends the problem it sought to solve to our earnest attention.

The transition period, when Christianity, grown formidable in organization and numbers, came gradually into favor in the Empire, is admirably depicted. The variations in the treatment of the Church, the reasons for it in the changing conditions of the empire, and the individual attitude of the rulers, are presented in helpful detail.

The dispassionate exposition of this period will be found to modify in many minor points the general conception of the relations within the Church, as well as toward paganism. The growing unity of the organization is perceived to have disadvantages, and to contain trouble for the future. The schisms and heresies of the time were not always treated wisely, and in their forced retirement developed into modified and more formidable antagonism that is to tax the strength and ability of subsequent times. The evil as well as the good of the apologists is presented; their mistakes and limitations are made manifest. The good as well as the evil of their scholarly opponents is recognized.*

The presentation of the Councils of this period is not particularly new, but it is sane. Like other modern historians, Dr. Moeller has learned to consider the Councils at their true value. The old conception of the decrees of the Councils as unvarying in their dogmatic meaning is quietly recognized to be worthless. The orthodoxy that was read into them in later times is seen to have been frequently absent from the Councils during their sessions, and from the decrees set forth by them. The inspiration and infallibility that were supposed to be the rs too often emanated from the palaces of kings and bishops—the

* In Sec. 4, p. 311, the representation of Themistius, Libanius and others is surprising, and contrasts them favorably with some of the Christian leaders and writers, who, formerly in the heat of conflict and now in the glow of victory, were not as fair as the principles they professed.

product of the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye and the pride of life.

Likewise the Church Fathers do not all appear as heroic as once they did to a worshipful Church. The halo of orthodoxy that once encircled some is seen to have been more truly the right of others who have been for centuries classed among the heretics. The orthodoxy of others is discovered to be largely an accident of circumstance and good fortune. Moreover, the lives of many of these honored rulers of the Church are distressingly contradictory to the spirit of the One they profess to serve; and we are perplexed when we realize that they have advanced their so-called orthodoxy by means of intrigue, tumult, violence and murder.

On the other hand, the truly heroic figures of that early age of the Church stand forth in grander proportions. It must not be supposed that our author has dealt with apologists, councils, decrees, creeds and bishops in the spirit of iconoclasm. The revolution that has taken place in our conception of them has come through the plain realization of incontrovertible facts, presented for their own sake and for their own purpose. The lasting value of the creeds is recognized; the significance of the Councils is appreciated; the grand labors of earnest, honest men are commended; but the factitious accretions of time and unreasoning ecclesiasticism are eliminated.

VOL. II.—THE MIDDLE AGES.

Dr. Moeller places the history of Pope Gregory the Great at the head of the period with which this volume begins. The choice is significant and apt, because the period to which the entire volume is devoted is filled from beginning to end with the growth, power, glory, degradation and final humiliation of the Papacy.

It is manifest in the aggressive claims made during the endless heresies and controversies. It is put forward in the fictions of concessions and donations. It is prominent in the difficulties and conflicts which arise between East and West. It plays the dictator where it can in the Councils, and the diplomat in

others. It concentrates its power by the development of a hierarchical system which is gradually perfected in the progress of time. It extends this organization by means of devoted servants in every direction, and gains the ascendancy everywhere because of its superior system. It holds the spiritual sword over the heads of ignorant men who dread the unknown powers of a ghostly world. It becomes at length a tyrant and a monster.

But it is not always such a picture that our author paints for us. The position of the Papacy in its relations with heresies and Councils is, in the main, a sensible and practical one, which generally commends itself to us. Its attitude toward the East is frequently dictated by political considerations which make the course pursued inevitable. There is much to deplore, but our sympathies must in the end remain with the Papacy.

There are more positive elements of good, however. Take as an instance the missionary labors of the Church. In spite of any faults and limitations that may be pointed out, these achievements are worthy of the highest praise. Dr. Moeller by his appreciative treatment makes us realize the high order of courage and devotion displayed in this gigantic task. Much is accomplished by individuals impelled by consuming zeal. But far more is due to the unflinching purpose, intelligent foresight and admirable plans of the popes. There are intermissions of conflicting counsels and of inertia; but in the end the plans are carried through, and the Papacy must have the honor.

The preservative value of the monastic system is also presented to us. It is enough to make us ponder, to have set before us the wealth of proof concerning the salvation and continuance of many of the elements of civilization and culture. To realize that agriculture, trades, professions, arts and science found their ark of refuge in the monastery through the Dark Ages, is enough to modify very materially our former conceptions. And yet we must recognize all these to have been preserved and advanced by monastic foundations and by their travelling brethren, encouraged and supported by the authority of the Church.

The power of the hierarchy is felt likewise in the development of theology and philosophy. This cannot be called an unmixed good, though it was inevitable. The superintendence of the Church over all doctrines would naturally lead to the development of the same according to party lines. Nevertheless there was freedom enough in the West—far more than in the East—to encourage a high order of dogmatic and philosophic thought. And though it was wielded almost entirely in the interests of the hierarchy to support its claims, dogmatic and ecclesiastical, it armed critics not a few, and was gradually perfected into a weapon of amazing power and flexibility. There is much among its results that is ridiculous, but there is more that is fundamental to our thought to-day.

Finally, the Church did much for the establishment of government. Though the tribes that developed into the nations of Europe did so along lines of racial genius, yet the influence of the Church is everywhere manifest in the direction, acceleration and codification of the native principles of law and government. Priests were prime ministers, chancellors, judges. Bishops were often enough regents and princes. Besides, the Church by its preservation and development of Roman law modified the practice of even the most advanced national codes.

If the Church had been more spiritual in the use of its power, it might, through all these forms of activity so successfully carried on, have advanced both itself and the nations far beyond the condition in which the Reformation found them. But arrogance and the love of power come to be substituted for service and humility. Conflicts arise, the Church is victorious. Nations and their rulers are humbled by the terrors of a world to come. Men who dare to question are silenced; until, with the too frequent use of spiritual agents, glaringly at variance with the character of their wielders, increasing numbers brave the fulminations of the Church; nations defy it; common people criticize it, and doubt the power of its priests; culture despises it, and with the sharp steel of knowledge applies heroic surgery.

So the preparation is completed for the Reformation, and we

are led to see in all this turmoil and confusion the ploughing and the seedtime of the future harvest.

The presentation of this by Dr. Moeller, of which the foregoing is but the barest abstract, offers an introduction in many ways new, and in every way thorough, to the great modern period which begins with the Reformation.

VOL. III.—REFORMATION TO 1648.

When Dr. Moeller died, the task of completing the work was committed to his colleague, Prof. Gustav Kawerau, since 1893 transferred to the University of Breslau. The choice was admirable in every respect, since he possesses exceptional fitness for writing a history of the Reformation, having already distinguished himself by various contributions to this department of Church History.* He is described as *verdienter Lutherforscher*.

His ecclesiastical position, and his conception of his duty as historian, are best expressed in the following extract from the preface to Vol. III. of this history:

“A History of the Reformation is essentially influenced by its author’s position. I gladly acknowledge myself a disciple of Luther. But for that very reason I have always kept before my eyes his exhortation to every historian, ‘intrepidly to write what is true’ and I have endeavored not to forget this duty. The cause of truth can be served only if we keep inviolate the *prima lex historiae, ne quid falsi dicere audeat, deinde NE QUID VERI NON AUDEAT, ne qua suspicis gratiae sit in scribendo, ne qua simultatis* (Cicero, *De Oratore*, II, 15).”

We learn also from this preface that the entire Div. I (p. 1 to p. 162), which covers the most interesting period of the Reformation for us—the Reformation in Germany up to 1555—is from the pen of Prof. Kawerau. Hence it is he who sets forth

* In 1881 he published *John Agricola of Eisleben*; in 1882 *Caspar Güttel*; in 1884-85 *The Correspondence of Justus Jonas*, 2 vols. 8vo; in 1889 *Liturgical Studies in Luther’s Taufbüchlein of 1523*; and for years he has assisted in preparing the magnificent (Weimar) *Critical Edition of Luther’s Works*. He is also the author of numerous articles, chiefly on Reformation subjects, in the *Real-encyclopedia* which is now being published under the editorial direction of Prof. A. Hauck.

that which will attract us most in this volume. And we can scarcely follow a safer guide.

He speaks as a Lutheran, and draws his facts from the original sources, as both the text and the notes show. No one can accuse him of *Tendenz*, or of writing the history of the Reformation in the spirit of antipathy, or with inadequate preparation. If some of the facts surprise us, and some of the characters stand out in a new light, we must remember that in the last few decades many new documents have been made accessible, and the older ones have been subjected to a more critical examination. Under the guidance of the principles adopted by the author, the results could not be different.

There is nothing particularly new about the discussion of Luther's early life, and the first years of the Reformation; but everywhere the thorough examination of all the evidence is plainly manifest. The characters are in general familiar, but there are numerous changes in detail that follow inevitably in the wake of impartial treatment. This is noticeable in the presentation of Tetzels and Eck; likewise, in the account of the Debate at Leipzig:

"Here Eck succeeded in exposing Luther as a heretic. In Constance, the view that subordination to the Pope was not necessary to salvation, had already been condemned as a heresy of Huss. Thereupon Luther replied: *Certum est, inter articulos J. Hus vel Bohemorum multos esse plane Christianissimos et evangelicos, quos non possit universalis ecclesia damnare* (W. A., II, 279). Terrified at the conclusions which Eck at once drew from this, Luther endeavored to move back a step, and suggested that perhaps those articles were only foisted in the acts of the Council; but that only the Word of God, not a council, was infallible; and then, in order partly to withdraw this proposition from Eck's attack, and to make a concession, that resolutions of the Council were certainly binding in matters of belief (W. A., II, 303). * * * Both parties claimed the victory; however, Luther himself looked back with uneasiness upon a struggle in which cleverness, not truth, had gained the day" (p. 19).

The first character that attracts attention especially, however, aside from the ubiquitous presences of Luther and Melancthon, is Zwingli. The peculiar genius of the man, and not less his limitations, are discriminately set forth. The beginnings of the Swiss Reformation, and the subsequent conflicts with the Lutheran reformers, are easily understood in the light of the knowledge Prof. Kawerau's description affords us. And yet, withal, our author proves that Zwingli was appreciably dependent on the previous work of Luther. The following quotation is significant in view of the frequent statements of Reformed theologians :

"In Switzerland, a combination of Zwingli's activity with the cause of Luther (whose works were much pirated and read) had already begun ; he was already reckoned as the foremost amongst Luther's adherents in that country. Nevertheless he always vigorously denied that he had been influenced by Luther. 'Before any man in our land knew anything of Luther's name, I had already begun to preach the Gospel of Christ in the year 1516' (I, 253). This was undoubtedly in part self-deception ; he even asserts that he scarcely knew anything of Luther's writings, whereas it can be proved against him, with how large a portion of them he was really acquainted before 1522, so that his reformatory ideas *in the matter of religion* were at least strongly influenced by Luther" (p. 52). There are some elements here that will account in part for the continued antagonism of Luther and Zwingli, and Luther's distrust of him.

The fundamental difference between the two men first displayed itself openly in the literary struggle over the Eucharist (1522-28). Begun by Cornelis Hoen of the Hague, and extended by the messenger between him and Luther, Hinne Rode, it gradually involved the chief men of both sides. It was at the end of this controversy that Luther developed the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ in a thoroughly Scholastic manner. "Luther had previously declined to listen to the idea how 'Christ was brought into the Sacrament,' and had made it a reproach against Scholasticism that, by means of speculations

and distinctions, it endeavored to render comprehensible the judgment of faith, that Christ is here present, and now he himself puts his hand upon the armoury of the 'Sophists' (E. A. 30, 207)."* Now "he combats the objection of the *absurditas* of the presence of the body and blood of Christ asserted by him by a doctrine of omnipresence. * * * Christ's body has a share in the properties of the Deity. Locally, certainly, he is only in *one* place, but repletively in *all places*, and definitively *where he pleases* (*Multivolipraesentia*). * * * Zwingli now again confronts the *communicatio idiomatum* with a doctrine of *ἁλλοίωσις*, according to which all the passages of Scripture, which Luther brought forward in defence of the former doctrine, are interpreted as figures of speech; the tendency is towards the separation of the two natures in Christ" (pp. 85-6).

The result, of course, was a split with attendant bad results in that critical time for Protestantism. Kawerau records as one good result that "it saved the Lutherans from giving their adherence to Zwingli's lofty political plans." But he also notes that the "controversy divided the evangelical ranks into two camps and thereby weakened their capacity for action." * * * "But the most serious result was, that the Eucharistic controversy obscured the evangelical idea of faith. Henceforth Luther speaks of 'points' of Christian belief, and makes the membership of the Christian Church dependent upon the acceptance of the same in a definite theological coinage; as the result of this view, he declared all his life long that Zwingli was a non-Christian, whose errors were accounted him a 'sin.' The latter, in his turn, regards Luther and his followers as hardened heretics: *stultitia Fabrum superat, impuritate Eccium, audacia Cocleum!*" (p. 87).

When they met later at the Marburg Colloquy, the spirit of distrust awakened in earlier days had much to do with the failure of the attempt made there.

"Luther, however, had acquired the belief in a reconciliation as a result of the personal meeting. His opinion was on the

* *Revocavit nos Lutherus ad Scotica et Thomistica*, writes Zwingli, August 30, 1528.

whole friendly, he only saw a *dissensus* still existing *de peccato originis* and in regard to the bodily presence of Christ. Nevertheless, 'the position of the matter is a hopeful one. I do not say that there exists a brotherly unity, but a kindly, friendly agreement,' yet he hoped that the prayer of Christians would also render it 'brotherly' (E A., 36, 321 f). In Zwingli's repeated entreaties for recognition as a brother he saw the admission that he really felt himself overcome, and only declined to submit completely out of regard for his party; this was a grievous error, for Zwingli had rather left Marburg in the proud consciousness of having gained a manifest victory over Luther's 'shamelessness and conceit' " (pp. 100-101).

Luther's position at this Colloquy has often been censured as rude and arbitrary. Viewed alone, it might seem unnecessarily harsh, though "the Strasburgers took away the impression that their really irreconcilable opponent was Melanchthon." But understood in the light of the facts our author has given us, Luther's position is incomparably nobler than that of Zwingli. His distrust is explicable.

The next subject that appeals to us is one which has been much discussed lately. It is with respect to the Augsburg Confession and its authorship. It is noticeable that Prof. Kawerau does not regard it a matter of debate, but as assuredly proved that Melanchthon, not Luther, is the author of the Augsburg Confession. He does not consider the antiquated contentions of a second and third sending. A full and true reading of the sources renders that impossible. But the author shall speak for himself:

"As early as the 14th of March, the Elector had summoned Luther, Jonas, Bugenhagen and Melanchthon to Torgau; he declared that it would be necessary, before the diet commenced, to come to a decision upon all points, in regard to which there existed disagreement in matters of belief and ecclesiastical usages, as to whether and how far they might form the subject of compromise and negotiation between the contending parties. Chancellor Brück had made the practical proposal, that the opinion of the evangelicals 'should be regularly collected together in writing,

together with well-grounded justification of the same from Holy Scripture, since it was hardly likely that the preachers, but only the princes and councillors would be allowed to speak' (CR II 15 ff.). The common efforts of the theologians in that direction may be seen in CR 26, 172-182,* a collective opinion, drawn up as an apologia against the reproach, that it was unfairly said of the Elector that 'he did away with all service of God and set up a godless, dissolute life and disobedience.' Against this it is set forth in ten articles, that he rather established, in all seriousness, a right and true service of God, and also what induced him to drop certain abuses. The second part of the CA is modelled upon these Torgau Articles (CR II 47). The theologians, who had been summoned by a second note from the Elector (March 21st, CR II 33), repaired with these to Torgau. In addition to the order of visitation (see above, p. 78), they took with them the Marburg and Schwabach Articles. Luther, Melanchthon and Jonas accompanied the Elector on his journey, being joined on the way by Spalatin, Joh. Agricola, and Casp. Aquila. At Coburg, it was decided that Luther could not be taken further, since not only was Augsburg closed to the outlaw, but Nuremberg also, out of respect for the Emperor, refused him safe conduct.† During a stay of several days at Coburg, Melanchthon had already commenced the composition of the 'Saxon counsel,' which he himself designated as an *Apologia*, for it was at first intended as a justification of the deviations, which the ecclesiastical system of the evangelicals exhibited in contrast to Catholic tradition and practice. But, in the further course of the work, Melanchthon was obliged to recast it in two directions: he was obliged to abbreviate, *neque enim vacat Caesari audire prolixas disputationes* (CR II 45), and he was obliged to change the *Apologia* into the *Confessio*, in order to parry an attack made by Eck upon the Evangelicals, which he had put into the Em-

* Cp. especially Engelhardt in ZhTh 1865, 550 ff. and Brieger in *Kirchengesch. Studien*. Leipz., 1888.

† Burckhardt in ZkW X 97 f. Kolde in *Kirchengesch. Studien.*, p. 251 ff.

peror's hands on the 14th of March. In 404 propositions, in which Luther, Zwingli and the Anabaptists were wilfully confused, he had denounced Luther to the Emperor as the man to whom the Church owed the 'Iconoclasts, Sacramentarians,' yea, even '*Anabaptistas, novos Epicureos, qui animam mortalem assere-
rent * * novos item Cerinthianos, qui Christum deum negarent.*'* Now, the Emperor's standpoint was, that, amidst the manifold reports as to what was really the doctrine of the Evangelicals, he wanted above all to assure himself whether the doctrine of these people was in harmony with the 'Twelve Articles of the Christian Faith' or not. Only in the first case did he consider an attempt at agreement or reunion possible.† Thus it was clearly necessary to touch upon *omnes fere articulos fidei* in the *Apologia*, as a *remedium* against Eck's insinuations (CR II 45). The Marburg and Schwabach Articles served as models in this case. On the 11th of May the draft of the CA was presented to Luther: he gave his assent with the characteristic remark: 'for I cannot tread so softly and gently' (de Wette IV 17). But, from this time forth, Melanchthon altered and revised his work unceasingly (the German text more than the Latin), and, the longer he worked, the more anxiously he strove to soften all acerbities against Rome (CR II 57, 60, 140)—and, the more he softened, the more he found that he had still written far too severely: '*satis est meo iudicio vehemens*' (CR II 142); he would gladly have toned it down still more, but the more evangelical theologians who were gathered together with him at Augsburg put their veto upon it (CR II 140). Chancellor Brück, who was familiar with the curialistic style, wrote the introduction and conclusion: Jonas prepared the Latin translation from these materials. It was not until shortly before its presentation, that the other Evangelical States, which had in part already prepared confessions of their own, made the 'Saxon counsel' their collective confession. But it was of special importance that the

* Wiedemann, *Eck*, p. 580 ff. Plitt I 526 ff. CR II 45. De Wette IV, 27.

† G. Kawerau, *Agricola*, p. 100. Maurenbrecher, *Kath. Reformation*, I 299.

Landgrave Philip, although undoubtedly under the influence of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Eucharist, and in spite of his earnest efforts to restore the 'brotherhood' between the contending evangelical camps, was sufficiently politic not to isolate himself from Saxony.* Thus, in addition to the Elector John, the Confession was also signed by the Margrave George of Anspach, Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt [the Latin copy also by the Electoral Prince John Frederick and Duke Francis of Brunswick-Lüneburg]† and the cities of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. During the session of the Diet, Weissenburg (in Franconia), Heilbronn, Kempten and Windsheim followed their example. The Latin original (Melanchthon's rough copy) made its way into the imperial archives at Brussels: King Philip II. demanded (in 1569) that it should be sent thence to Spain, that 'so damnable a work might be for ever destroyed.'‡ The German version was sent to the archives of Mainz, whence (in 1546) it was taken to the Council of Trent. Since then it has disappeared, although Mainz for a long time duped the Protestants by the pretence of possessing it, and thereby sadly confused the textual history of the CA.

"Melanchthon himself had almost frustrated the presentation of the CA: for, since the arrival of the Emperor, he had, with incredibly blind confidence, sought to come to an agreement with the imperial party. He had declared to Alf. Valdés, the

* His opinion must not be judged according to Kolde, *Anal.*, p. 125 (*non sentit cum Zwinglio*): Lambert's testimony in Fueslin, *Epist. Ref. Cent.*, I 71, and his own statements (CR II 97, 100), are much more important. He relies upon the agreement laid down in the 15th Marburg article on the doctrine of the Eucharist (see above p. 101): this agreement is so close that it renders brotherhood and mutual tolerance possible. But, in the controversial question, Zwingli teaches him 'in accordance with faith and the Scriptures,' while Luther's doctrine 'cannot be made certain from the plain text, without a gloss.' He signed the CA, but at the same time declared *sibi de sacramento a nostris non satisfieri* (CR II 155).

† Cp. Köllner, *Symbolik* I 201 ff.—EA 48, 128. ZKG XI 216.

‡ Döllinger, *Beiträge zur polit., kirchl. u. Culturgesch.*, I 648. Köllner, I 312.

imperial secretary, that reunion was possible, provided only the cup, the marriage of priests and the abolition of the *missa privata* were agreed to, and the settlement of other disputed points was left to the Council (CR II 122 f. Lämmer, *Monum. Vatic.*, 43 f.). The Emperor and the legate Campeggi were ready to agree, only the abolition of the private mass was rejected by the latter. Melanchthon received a commission, and was ready to formulate these conditions of arrangement in writing: but Nuremberg and the Princes insisted upon the presentation of their Confession.*

"The CA claims to be estimated historically as a proof that the protesting States, in spite of their innovations, belonged to the Catholic Church.† They meet their opponents as a party struggling for its right of existence on the territory of this Church, anxious to show their agreement with the recognized articles of faith of the Church (*nos nihil docere contra ullum fidei articulum*, de Wette II 190), to defend their special form of doctrine not only by the Scripture but also by the testimony of recognized Catholic authorities, and to prove that all their innovations were the abolition of abuses that had crept in, and, consequently, that there is nothing in their doctrine *quod discrepet a Scripturis vel ab ecclesia catholica vel ab ecclesia romana, quatenus ex scriptoribus nota est* * * * *Tota dissensio est de paucis quibusdam abusibus* (CR XXVI, 290).‡ They distinguish as sharply as possible their position from that of the Zwinglians and Anabaptists: they accommodate their doctrine of the Eucharist as closely as possible to that of the Catholics, without expressing dissent in the matter of transubstantiation.

* Virck in ZKG IX 92 f.

† The Evangelicals, in 1546, still advocated this view: *nostri* * * * *affirmant* * * * *confessionis Augustanae doctrinam* * * * *esse consensum catholicae Ecclesiae Dei*: hence they protest against the reproach *quod ab Ecclesia defecerint*. CR VI 35. At Wittenberg also ordination testimonials were drawn up, in which the *doctrina catholicae ecclesiae Christi* was acknowledged: *e. g.*, de Wette, V 78.

‡ Such was the wording of the document as handed to the Emperor, which was subsequently toned down by Melanchthon in the second edition of the *editio princeps*.

The papacy is not even mentioned, 'for certain reasons.' Conformably to this, their articles of doctrine are set forth in accordance with the scheme of Catholic dogmatics; important elements of the Lutheran gospel (*e. g.*, the priesthood of the faithful) are not mentioned. Nevertheless, Melanchthon succeeded in giving classical expression to the reformation doctrine of salvation and in bringing out its importance with telling effect in crucial points (especially in Article 20), and, in fact, in spite of his harking back to ecclesiastical authorities, the normative authority of the Scriptures turns the scale. Formally, the preface of these articles as a whole offers material for negotiations for an arrangement together with the offer of sacrificing *quae utrinque in scripturis secus tractata aut intellecta sunt*, but, of course, materially, from the certainty that, if it came to such negotiations, the rights of their position would be clearly revealed. Luther on the one hand always joyfully recognized the CA (de Wette IV 71, 82 and often); on the other hand, he blamed Melanchthon's optimistic judgment of their opponents (de Wette IV 68) and his intentional silence (*dissimulatio*) upon important points in the contrary propositions (*de purgatorio, de sanctorum cultu* [he also considers Article 21 too feeble] and *maxime de Antichristo Papa*, de Wette IV 110).^{*} But the attempt to discover in the CA a specifically Melancthonian method of teaching, deviating from Luther's, was distinctly perverse: Melanchthon himself subsequently made the striking remark that 'he had been drawn to the Confession as a poor pupil' (of Luther) (CR XXII 46).[†]

^{*} Cp. also de Wette, IV 52: '*Plus satis cessum est in ista Apologia.*' Luther's own 'Augsburg Confession' is before us in his severely worded pamphlet 'Vermahnung an die Geistlichen, versammelt auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg' [An exhortation to the clergy assembled at the diet of Augsburg] (EA 24† 356 ff.): he declares that not he, but the opposite party, is responsible for all the harm suffered by Germany during the last ten years. He accordingly delivers a singularly sharp penitential sermon to the Romanists: 'We and you know, that you live without God's word, but we possess God's word.' At the beginning of June the pamphlet was published: the Emperor prohibited its being sold at Augsburg.

[†] His later complaint is valueless: *Lutherus ipse non voluit scribere talem aliquam confessionem, cujus tamen erat scribere*, and, therefore, he

"[The CA became henceforth at first the federal charter of the Schmalkaldic League; but very soon found employment as the rule of instruction for the Lutheran national churches, for instance, in 1530, in the Duchy of Prussia (Tschackert I 172); the Saxon Articles of Visitation of 1533 ordered that the CA and Apologia must be provided in all parishes (Richter, KOO I. 228): a vow of adherence to the CA was introduced at Wittenberg in the same year as necessary for theological degrees (CR XII. 6 ff): the same obligation for pastors in the matter of teaching was insisted upon in the Pomeranian liturgy (Richter I. 248)—since that time the treatment of the CA as a symbol became more and more general. The diet of Schmalkalden in 1534 required of all members of the league who were to be newly admitted, 'that they would cause instruction to be given and sermons to be preached in conformity with the word of God and the pure doctrine of our confession, and should and would firmly abide by this (Strassb. *Pol. Corresp.* II. 322).*]

"As the efforts of the Landgrave to obtain for the Upper German cities a union with the Lutherans failed, and the request of the Strasburgers to be allowed to sign the CA without Article 10, was refused by the Princes (CR II 155), the Strasburg deputies caused a confession of the four cities, Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau (Tetrapolitana)† to be drawn up by Bucer and Capito. The Emperor decidedly refused to have it read aloud to him, but it was presented to him on the 11th of July. Ulm completely isolated itself and refused to join the four cities. More violent in its attacks upon Romish

himself was obliged to (Sachs. *K.-u. Schulbl.*) The letter to his brother, in which he exclaims, 'other theologians wanted to write the book and would to God they had been allowed to!' is foisted in. Hartfelder, *Melancthoniana paed.*, p. 38.

* Cp. K. Müller in *Pr Jb* LXIII 124 ff. Strobel, *Beitr. zur Lit.* II. 192 ff.

† Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum* 740 ff. Salig I 387 ff. Schelhorn *Amoenitates litt.* VI. (1727) p. 305 ff.

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doctrine and practice (violent also in its attack upon the use of images), more decided in the importance it attached to the authority of the Scriptures, but also broader than the CA, it endeavors, in the eighteenth article (on the Eucharist), to bring forward a middle theory, expressed in extremely Lutheran language, which shares Zwingli's protest against the *manducatio oralis*, but at the same time asserts something more than a commemoration meal. (They consistently evaded the question subsequently put to them by the Emperor, whether they were Zwinglians or Lutherans, by referring to the confession handed in by them). Zwingli, however, forwarded to the Emperor at Augsburg a confession dated July 3d (*Fidei ratio ad Carolum Imperatorem*: Opp. IV. I. ff., Niemeyer 16 ff., Schaff, Bibl. symb. I. 366 ff.)."

Of course, as an argument, the preceding cannot be called convincing, because the question is not argued. But the conclusion is all the more overwhelming because no question presents itself. It furnishes conclusive proof that no problem remains to be settled, so far as accomplished scholars of that period are concerned. Prof. Kawerau gives us what the scholarly world accepts as true, and to contend for something else, which is superseded by superior knowledge, is folly.

Surely the author cannot be accused of special pleading. The presentation of Melanchthon as given above is not that of an advocate. There are many who would think the characterizations unduly harsh, in view even of the circumstances given. But that only makes his results with respect to the CA the more convincing.

Another topic which almost equals the foregoing in the interest it arouses is the unhappy incident of Philip of Hesse's bigamy, together with its results. Much has been made of the parts Luther and Melanchthon played in this. Enemies have exulted over them; friends have sought to hide the facts with excuses, and have but made the matter worse. The simple facts seem to have been the last things in the minds of the latter. Almost invariably, historical writing on this incident has developed into a polemic or an apology. It is a relief, after

the past, to turn to the eminently impartial account on pages 144-5.*

The facts as they are recorded may occasion much surprise, and give rise to the wish that the truth had never been set forth. Staunch Lutherans may think that Prof. Kawerau has dishonored the great leaders of our church by such an uncompromising statement of the facts. The dishonor, however, is not in the presentation, but in the facts themselves. Moreover, the author, as a true historian, could do nothing less than tell the whole truth without fear or favor. It is not pleasant to read such things, especially when they have to do with one whose name we are proud to bear; but truth is better than hero-worship.

There is little else of special interest to us as Lutherans in the rest of the volume, except the Fourth Division, dealing with "The Disruption and Confessional Separation of German Protestantism," and Chapters 5 and 6 in the Fifth Division, "The Condition of Germany after the Religious Peace of Augsburg," and "The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia." If

* Following are a few of the most important passages of reference on this subject.

Opinion of Luther and other theologians on the bigamy, as requested by Philip:

"In our opinion, it would come to pass that the rumor could be diminished and finally averted by this means, namely, that his Grace arrange his person in such a way that people may not so easily recognize him, and, according to his Grace's pleasure, ride secretly to her, and permit his Grace's wife to be about him somewhat oftener and longer," etc.—(*Analecta, Bedenken Luthers*, etc., p. 363).

"Therefore the best course will be for the matter to remain *in terminis quaestionis facti* * * * saying 'that the church does not judge secret things,' especially 'as long as they remain hidden, without confession or proof,' or, as another text says, 'hidden things do not have public punishment!'"

By this means, they concluded that "the affair would easily and soon bleed to death."—(*Ibid*, p. 365).

"They added, moreover, if the Landgrave could not restrain himself, and was determined to take another wife, this must take place only in secret, with the witness of some trusty persons, since before the world the second wife must be esteemed a concubine. This, especially as it was often done by princes, would arouse less scandal than his former life. At

space allowed, much that is valuable in the author's treatment could be considered with profit. But it must suffice to say that the presentation is as thorough and fair as that which has already been discussed.

Prof. Kawerau has made that dreary time of controversies, conventions, colloquies, debates and diets assume more of living interest than is usual. If his sympathy inclines at all, it is toward the uncompromising Gnesio-Lutherans who, in spite of their arrogance, intolerance, narrowness, deserve great praise for their brave stand against the weakness of fatal compromise, and the menace of Papal aggression. Their faults are recognized, and their virtues applauded.

In the rest of the field covered by the volume, the commanding figure of Calvin is easily first. His training and work are set forth in ample detail; his peculiar fitness for the task allotted him is pointed out. The mighty labor accomplished by him is conscientiously presented in its true proportions. One follows the advance of Calvinism, as pictured by our author, and its marvellous success, with unstinted admiration, yet in the end

the same time, they yet decidedly dissuaded him, pointed out the great scandal which must arise from it, etc. But was it a wonder that the Landgrave saw in it merely a fulfilment of his desire?"—(*Kolde's Martin Luther*, p. 488).

In the *Briefwechsel Landgraf Philips von Hessen mit Bucer*, edited by Lenz, is given Luther's express personal answer to Philip's inquiry, in which occurs this startling passage:

"What (harm) would it be, if one should make a good stout lie, merely for the best, and for the sake of the Christian church?" (p. 373).

This shocked even the Landgrave, who replied,

"If any one speaks to me about it, I will give an evasive answer, but I will not lie; for lying sounds bad, and no Apostle or Christian has taught it, indeed Christ most strictly forbade it, and said one ought to abide by Yea and Nay."—(*Lenz*, p. 383).

Luther's own conscience troubled him, for he fell into a panic at the idea of having his advice to Philip made public.

"The Landgrave was constantly threatening to go to the Emperor, while Luther, now as before, refused an open acknowledgment of the confessional advice, indeed, declared he would rather say that he had made a fool of the Landgrave."—(*Kolde*, p. 494).

The Landgrave would not hear of such "*narrheit*," and would have preferred a complete confession.—(*Lenz*, p. 381).

is saddened to think how much of it was gained through the follies of those who represented the gentler doctrine of Luther.

A pleasanter bit of reading awaits the one who follows Prof. Kawerau in his description of the Anabaptists. It has been the standing complaint of their spiritual descendants that the sins of aliens have been laid upon their shoulders. Their contention has the merit of truthfulness; and our author has recognized it by his sharp distinction between the handful of anti-nomian, revolutionary fanatics and "the great multitude of 'simple, pious people' who could only be reproached with 'error in belief,'" (p. 437.) Nothing could be fairer than the treatment which is accorded the Baptist activities throughout this record of the Reformation.

Much more might be said in detail concerning the virtues of this masterly history. Its sustained excellence in such varied fields of unequal interest; its scope and proportion in dealing with minutiae; its clearness of plan, and constant progress of thought, are far in advance of any of its predecessors.

One point of special value is the constant use of quotations from all available sources and authoritative literature. There are words, clauses, even sentences, from histories, letters, commentaries, systems of theology, sermons, philosophies, hymns, songs, poems, decrees, canons, bulls, satires—in short, every form of literary activity that has embodied thoughts concerning the problems and events of the Church during all the centuries of its existence. They clothe the dry bones of a dead past with pulsing life, and speak with myriad voices out of the silence of by-gone ages.

ARTICLE III.

THE SCHISM BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN CHURCHES.

BY REV. J. H. RICHARD, A.M., B.D.

The Greek Church and Latin Church are agreed in their belief in the great majority of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. They alike accept the unaltered Nicene or Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed, together with the decisions of the seven œcumenical councils. In opposition to Protestantism, the equality of tradition with Scripture, the worship of the virgin, saints, relics and images, the coördination of faith and works in justification, the merit of good works, the absolute necessity of baptism conditioning salvation, baptismal regeneration, transubstantiation with slight divergences, adoration of the host, masses for the living and dead, private confession and absolution, and different grades in the ministry, are all held in common by both the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Greek Church.*

With such unanimity, it is scarcely conceivable how such a wide chasm has so separated the two churches, as to make reunion, if not hopeless, at least a mere figment of the mind.

The endless stream of controversy during the Middle Ages, which widened and deepened the separation, was in large measure due to the difference of temperament between the Oriental and the Occidental mind. Peoples are reflected in their thought. The Greeks surpassed all other peoples in their acute logic, in literary culture, and in philosophic speculation. Theirs was the mission of theorizing. Hence it is on their territory that we should expect that the great Christological controversies would be carried on. And that is just what is presented by history. The battles with Arianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, were all fought out in the East. These contests nearly

* Schaff's *History Christian Church*, Vol. IV., p. 307.

crushed the life out of Christianity, and had a hardening and petrifying effect on the Church.*

In the West conditions were quite changed. Rome could not boast of her intellectual power, but prided herself on being "Mistress of the World." Her province was to administer law, to command, and to rule men. What she did had a direct bearing on practical life, irrespective of fine theories. It is here one would expect to find a discussion of the anthropological questions. And history again confirms the expectation, locating in the West the battles between Pelagianism and Augustinianism, faith and works, free-will and predestination. Thus while the very nature of Greek thought much impeded progress, and produced a lifeless orthodoxy, the case was wholly different at Rome where intensely practical subjects engaged the minds of Western theologians, and constant agitation on these vital topics precluded stagnation.

The Greek Church, it is true, far surpassed the Roman during the first six centuries in learning, and the latter depended upon the former for her material. In speaking of the Greek Church which was continuing during the fifth century the work which had been begun by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, Kurtz † says: "The Western Church did not so soon engage upon undertakings of that sort, and was contented with translations and reproductions of the materials that had come down from the Greeks instead of entering upon original investigations." Still the Eastern Church cannot make any claim to an advance in new life or progress during the past twelve or thirteen centuries. It cannot be denied that she has produced many able scholars in this interval; but they have chiefly contented themselves in recapitulating, analyzing, and systematizing the old arguments which were promulgated on the various doctrines by the first œcumenical councils, as though all wisdom were reposed in and formulated by the members of the councils. Origen, the Cappadocian clover-leaf—Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssa, and Gregory Nazianzen—Athanasius, and Chrysostom

* Kerr, *History Preaching*, p. 80.

† Vol. I., p. 11.

do not find their peers in such men as Theodoret, Maximus, John of Damascus, Photius, Œcumenicus, and Theophylact.

On the contrary in the Latin Church, along with Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose and Augustine, may be ranked Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Hilary of Poitiers, and the Venerable Bede. Moreover, Rome was constantly adding to her dominion new nations. Fresh blood was supplied by the Franks. This called forth a missionary spirit and kept Rome active, aggressive and energetic, while Greece was suffering from indolence and apathy. "When the Greek Church became stationary, the Latin Church began to develop her greatest energy; she became the fruitful mother of new and vigorous nations of the North and West of Europe, produced scholastic and mystic theology and a new order of civilization, built magnificent cathedrals, discovered a new continent, invented the art of printing, and with the revival of learning prepared the way for a new era in the history of the world. Thus the Latin daughter outgrew the Greek mother, and is numerically twice as strong without counting the Protestant secession."*

Concerning the check which was placed on the free mental development in the East, Neander observes: "In the Greek Church, the cultivation of letters had been preserved to a far greater extent than in the Latin; though all true intellectual progress had long since been suppressed by a political and spiritual dogmatism. There was the want of a living, self-moving, creative spirit to animate the inert mass of collected materials. In interpreting the sacred writings, the chief object was to bring together the expositions of the older fathers and arrange them in the order of the several books of the Bible—out of which collections afterward arose the so-called *Catenae* on the Holy Scriptures."†

One of the natural causes, then, underlying the schism between the East and the West, and aiding in a clear apprehension of the same, is the stationary character of the Oriental civilization as opposed to the activity and progressiveness which char-

* Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 311.

† Vol. III., p. 169, also 553.

acterize the Occident. There was also an unwillingness between the two churches to understand each other. Neither party was ready to surrender any controverted point, and an uncharitable spirit was fostered by the bigotry which often obtained during the long series of controversies.

In addition to the dissent of the two churches on such subjects as withholding the cup from the laity, trine immersion, infant communion, and celibacy of the clergy, all of which might have been harmonized, there were two other questions—the one doctrinal, the other constitutional—which furnished fuel for the flame of debate which was steadily carried on, barring a few years of suppressed silence, from the *Concilium Quinisextum* in the year 692 to the fall of Constantinople, A. D. 1453.*

The only doctrinal question of any consequence was with reference to the *Filioque*. The West said: The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, and only on this ground can the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son be fully maintained. The East thus formulated her doctrine: The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father, for thus alone can the monarchy in God be saved; the addition of the *Filioque* to the Creed was unauthorized.†

The second and chief cause of the schism, in comparison with which all others vanish into insignificance, was the rivalry between the East and the West, New Rome and Old Rome, the patriarch of Constantinople and the successor of St. Peter. Byzantium from the time of the fourth œcumenical council claimed equality with Rome without making any pretense to superiority. Rome, on the other hand, owing to her hoary prestige and pristine glory, interpreted her rich history and unique inheritance as plainly indicating that to her belonged all claim to the primacy, and with nothing short of this would she be satisfied.‡ While Constantinople was willing to grant Rome an equal place, she would not submit to her absolute authority. Thus whereas the contention on the procession of the Holy

* Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 308; Kurtz, Vol. I., p. 406.

† *Hist. Ch. Church in Chron. Tables*, H. B. Smith, D.D.

‡ Kurtz, Vol. I., p. 203.

Spirit may be considered the entering wedge of the division on the doctrinal side, their reconciliation was prevented by the "ecclesiastical and political conflict between the patriarch and the pope, between Constantinople and Rome."

It is our purpose then to trace briefly the history of the procession of the Holy Spirit and the rivalry between the patriarch and the pope, and to note how these two factors precipitated and concluded "*The Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.*"

I.

THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

1. The East advocated the doctrine of the procession from the Father alone, or from the Father through the Son. The West adhered to the doctrine of the procession from the Father and the Son. At the Council of Nicaea in 325, the procession of the Holy Spirit was not mentioned; nor was the doctrine of the Spirit at all elaborated. Following the articles on God, the Father, and on Christ, the Creed closed: "And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost." In the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381, however, the doctrine of the Spirit and of his procession from the Father is fully elaborated: "And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, who is the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified, etc." Kurtz says that this definition was so incomplete that even 500 years afterward the great schism that rent the Church into an Eastern and a Western division, found in this its doctrinal basis.* The same form is found in Epiphanius, in 337, in Cyril of Jerusalem, in 362, was reaffirmed at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and remains unaltered in the Eastern Church until this day.† The doctrine of the single procession was the decision of a general council, and the subsequent as well as the preceding Greek theologians were almost unanimous in their concurrence in this belief.

Justin Martyr gives one of the earliest testimonies on the

* Kurtz, Vol. I., p. 325.

† Schaff, Vol. IV., pp. 489.

Greek side: "Thus, therefore, we understand that the Son is begotten of the Father as of light shining from light. We hold also the same belief concerning the Holy Spirit."* Athanasius refers to the Father as the source of all things. "There is one God and Father from whom are all things; for the Word is from him generatively and the Holy Ghost processively." The testimony of Basil runs thus: "The Father who hath one essence, perfect and needing nothing, is the existent root and fountain of the Son and Holy Ghost." And in another connection: "For as there are many sons, but one is the true Son; so, although all things be said to be of God; because both the Son hath come forth from the Father, and the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father."

Gregory, the theologian, in his sermon on the true faith refers the Son and the Spirit to a common source. "It is necessary to preserve the unity of the Godhead, and to confess the three hypostases, that is, three persons; and each with its property, The unity of the Godhead will in my judgment be preserved, if we refer the Son and the Holy Ghost to one cause, and neither confound nor commingle them." Gregory Nyssa subscribes to the same view. About the only quotation bearing on this subject from John of Antioch is found in his homily on the *Incomprehensible Nature of God*: "I know that God hath begotten the Son; but in what manner I am ignorant. I know that the Spirit is of him; but how of him, I know not."

The doctrine is fully elaborated by John of Damascus, and in the main outline is adhered to as formulated by him. He made the concession, which is generally admitted by the Greeks, that the Holy Spirit is *manifested* by the Son.

After having spoken of the relation of the Father and the Son, he continues: "We affirm in the next place that the Holy Spirit is both from the Father and the Spirit of the Father. But of a truth we declare that he is not from the Son. 'For if any man has not the Spirit of Christ,' as the divine apostle says, 'he is not his.' Nay rather we even confess and avow that he

* See Neale's, *History of the Holy Eastern Church*, Vol. II., 1095-1168.

is manifested and declared to us through the Son.”* “The Father is the spring and author, now of the Son, now of the Holy Spirit. * * * The Holy Spirit is not the Son of the Father; but the Spirit of the Father, because he proceeds from the Father (*ex Patre procedat*), for no one is moved without the Spirit. Yea, rather, he is said to be the Spirit of the Son also, not as proceeding from him, but through him from the Father (*non velut ex ipso, sed per ipsum ex parte procedens*† In his discussion of the Trinity and the hypostatic relation, John of Damascus continues: “The Holy Spirit is the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father through the Son and Word, though not in the manner of filiation. For if the Son is a son of the Father, and the Spirit likewise a son, then he will have other sons also, *idque in infinitum*.” “Again, if the Spirit is a son, he also will have another son *et sic infinitum*.”

The Spirit proceeds and emanates from the Father, indeed, and is truly of the Son, but not from the Son (*ex Patre quidem, Filii vero, sed non ex Filio*‡).

From these references, which are representative, it is patent that the doctrine of the single procession recommended itself to Greek thinking.

2. On the contrary the theologians of the Roman Church were almost as decided in their advocacy of the double procession, as is manifest from the following references.

Peter Lombard quotes from Ambrose: “That which is of any one, is of his substance, or of his power. Of his substance as the Son is of the Father; and the Holy Ghost who proceeds from the Father and the Son.” In his sermon on *Pentecost*, Ambrose says: “Who (the Holy Spirit) not in time but from eternity inseparably proceeds from the Father and the

*Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. XLVII., 142, “Denique Spiritum Sanctum, et ex Patre esse, et Patris Spiritum nominamus. At vero eum ex Filio esse non dicimus, Filii tamen Spiritum vocamus. *Si quis enim Spiritum Christi non habet*, ait divinus Apostolus, *hic non est ejus*. Quin ut eum nobis per Filium manifestum esse et impertiri profiteamus et agnoscimus.”

† Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. XLVII., 148.

‡ Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. XLVII., 497.

Son.”* In his notes on Rev. 21 : 10, 11, he says, *Filius a Patre est, Spiritus vero Sanctus ab utroque procedit.*†

Commenting on the Trinity as hinted at in Gen. 1 : 261, Ambrose remarks: “For just as the Son is begotten of the Father, so from both Father and Son the Holy Spirit proceeds.”‡

Augustine was equally as firmly attached to the doctrine of the *Filioque*, though he taught the procession *mainly* from the Father. His exposition was held as standard—*De Trinitate*: “And yet not without reason in this Trinity none is called the Word of God except the Son; nor the gift of God except the Holy Ghost; nor He of whom the Word is begotten, nor He of whom the Holy Ghost *principally* proceeds, except God the Father. I have therefore added ‘principally’ because the Holy Ghost is also found to proceed from the Son.” One of the strongest passages which can be quoted from Augustine is found in his sermon *On Time*. Here he is evidently combating the Greeks: “The Holy Ghost is neither unbegotten nor begotten, but can only be said, without violating the faith, to proceed from the Father and the Son; since He proceedeth not from the Father to the Son, and from the Son to sanctify his creatures, as some wrongly believe, but He proceedeth together from both.”

This consensus of Western theologians on the double procession had as yet never been embodied in any Symbol of faith. It was the understanding of the Roman Church that the addition “from the Father” in the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Symbol was not used in an exclusive§ sense, but rather in opposition to the Pneumatomachians, giving the Spirit the same relation to the Father which was affirmed of the Son.

* Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. XVII., 438, “a Patre Filioque inseparabiliter procedit.”

† Ib., 579.

‡ Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. XVII., 611, Nam sicut ex Patre generatur Filius, et ex Patre Filioque procedit Spiritus Sanctus.

§ Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 481.

It was not, however, out of any opposition to the Greeks, but against the Asians that at the first council of Toledo* (A. D. 400), in Spain, the *Filioque* was added to the Creed and was thus gradually adopted throughout the Western Church, but was first used by the Franks. At the third council of Toledo, in the year 589, it was ordered that the *Filioque* should be sung in connection with the divine mysteries, and the anathema was pronounced against its opponents. This command was repeated at many succeeding synods. "Thus," according to Bishop Pearson, "began and continued the schism between the Greek and Latin Churches never thenceforth to be reconciled, till the word *Filioque* be omitted from the Creed."

The question of the propriety of such an insertion does not properly fall within the scope of this discussion, yet without questioning the correctness of the doctrine promulgated by it, it is not possible for us to justify the action of a provincial synod in altering the decrees of an œcumenical council.†

The *Filioque*, nevertheless, continued to grow in favor in the West, while the East looked upon this addition with much suspicion and regarded the single procession as the very foundation of all true teaching. It continued the schism between the two oldest, largest, and most closely related churches.‡ Though concessions were sometimes made, they were almost without exception on the Greek side. It is true that Hadrian I. did

* Alzog, *Univ. Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 326; Döllinger, *Hist. Ch.*, Vol. III., p. 91, Credimus et in Spiritum Sanctum, Dominum et vivificatorem, ex Patre et Filio procedentem.

† Neale's *Hist. Holy E. Ch.*, Vol. II., p. 1168: "Let the dogma of the double procession be never so true, its insertion in the inviolable Creed was an act utterly unjustifiable, and throws on the Roman Church the chief guilt of the horrible schism of 1054. It was done in the teeth of the veto passed in the sixth session of the Council of Ephesus, in the fifth of Chalcedon, in the sixth collation of the second of Constantinople, and in the seventeenth of the third of Constantinople. It was done against the express command of a most holy pope, himself a believer in the double procession, who is now with God. No true union—experience has shown it—can take place between the churches till the *Filioque* be omitted from the Creed, even if a truly Œcumenical Synod should afterwards proclaim the truth of the doctrine."

‡ Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 476; Neale, Vol. II., p. 1153.

express his approval of the view of John of Damascus, but for this he was condemned by his successors. The next landmark which we notice after Toledo was at Gentilly. The synod which met there on Christmas Day (A. D. 787) discussed this question, but fortunately the result is not known.* Charlemagne was a staunch supporter of the Western doctrine, and found two able defendants of his position in Alcuin and Theodulf of Orleans. At Forum Julium in 781, as well as at Aachen in the year 809, the decision was made in favor of the West. From the last named place an embassy was sent to Leo III., bearing the decisions of the synod together with a letter from Charles, proving, by excerpts from the fathers, the double procession, and asking for papal sanction. Leo was favorable to the doctrine, but would not consent to its insertion in the symbol. In the last part of the seventy-first question of the Orthodox Confession of Faith,† Peter Mogilas refers to this fact: The Church re-affirms her adherence to the decisions of the second œcumenical council and adds that the Creed is correct without the addition: *Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*, censuring the Roman Church for making the addition. This is testified to by two silver tablets upon which is written the sacred symbol of faith, in Latin on the one and on the other in Greek, without the addition of his part: "And from the Son."—*Καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Υἱοῦ*. By the order of the pope of Rome, Leo III., these were hung in the Church of St. Peter in the year of Christ 809, according to Baronius.

The Athanasian Creed which appeared in France about the time of Charlemagne reads in *Ver. 23*: "The Holy Ghost is of the Father and Son." This Creed did not appear in the Greek Church until much later, and then this quotation is either omitted or modified.

The real clash between the churches came when Nicholas I. was pope and Photius was patriarch of Constantinople. The Greeks first preached the Gospel to the Bulgarians. But under Nicholas I. the Roman legates introduced the *Filioque* into this

* Gieseler's *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 73; Neander, Vol. III., p. 555.

† Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. II., p. 349 sq.

country in addition to certain practices censured by the East. This was made the subject of a lively controversy between the emperor and patriarch on the one side and the pope on the other. Nicholas had Gallican synods convoked, and the *Filioque* was everywhere inserted in the Creed. Huicmar, Odo of Beauvais, and Aeneas of Paris, assailed the "errors" of the Greeks.* "Photius roused the suspicions of the Greeks by representing to them that the Latins were favoring the Manichæan heresy by admitting *two* principles in the Deity. It was this misrepresentation of facts that constituted the greatest obstacle to the success of the subsequent endeavors to unite the two churches at the *Fourth* (Æcumenical) Council of Lateran, and at the Councils of Lyons and Florence."†

3. Here we shall briefly note these efforts at union. At the Fourth Lateran Council (A. D. 1215) in the interest of a new crusade, it was enacted that the *Peace of God* should be observed for five years. In harmony with this the subject of union with the Greeks was discussed. The Greeks agreed to accept this formula :‡ "The Father from nothing, but the Son from the Father only, and the Holy Spirit from both alike, always without beginning and without end."

At the 14th Æcumenical Council at Lyons (A. D. 1274), the Greeks recognized the Primacy of the Roman Church and addressed the pope as "First and Sovereign Pontiff, Æcumenical Pope and Common Father of all Christendom." Of the thirty-one canons there enacted the following heads the list: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from eternity from the Father and the Son, but not as from two principles and not through two spirations. So the Romish Church has constantly taught, and this is the unchangable opinion of all orthodox fathers and teachers, Latin and Greek."§ The union which was here consummated, like all the previous ones, was simply a paper union, and the

* Neale, Vol. II., p. 167.

† Alzog, Vol. II., p. 327.

‡ Alzog, Vol. 2, p. 419. *Pater a nullo, Filius autem a solo Patre ac Spiritus St. ab utroque pariter absque initio semper ac sine fine.*

§ Hefele, *Hist. Counc.*, Vol. VI., p. 145 sq.

council was poorly rewarded for all the care it had taken to remove all obstacles which had hitherto perpetuated the schism.

The final attempt at union before the fall of Constantinople was made at the Council at Ferrara—Florence. Here there were several doctrinal questions to be discussed, but the time was “chiefly devoted to the inquiry as to whether the addition of the ‘*Filioque*’ to the symbol was lawful and capable of defense.”* The discussion was long and tedious.† The scholars on the Greek side were Marcus Eugenius, Anthony, and especially Bessarion, who paved the way to a reconciliation. On the Latin side were Andrew and Julian Cesarini, who endeavored to show that the *Filioque* was neither a change nor an addition, but merely an explanatory clause, and further, as to changing the phraseology, precedent was found in the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381) when several important additions were made to the original Creed of 325. It was agreed, however, that the *ex Patre Filioque* of the Latins and the ἐκ πατρὸς δι’ Υἱοῦ of the Greeks were synonymous, so the following formula was adopted: “Since the Latin Fathers teach that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and Son as from one sole principle, and by one sole production, called spiration; and since their meaning is the same as that of the Greek fathers, who teach that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father through the Son, therefore every obstacle to union is removed.”

This union met with the fate of those which preceded it. The fanatical populace accused their representatives of weakly submitting to the Latins. The ratification of the Florentine decrees was successfully defeated until the 12th of December (A. D. 1452), when they were adopted and the “Feast of the Union” celebrated in St. Sophia.

The fall of Constantinople on the 29th of May, 1453, put an end to the long and acrimonious controversies which had been carried on between the East and the West. The Latins are as firm in their adherence to the *Filioque* as the Greeks are in their

* Alzog, Vol. III., p. 85.

† Hefele, *Hist. Counc.*, Vol. VII., pp. 659-761.

rejection of it. It is inconceivable that the Latin Doctrine will ever be altered; nor is it probable that the Greeks will ever surrender the teaching of their ancient fathers. The eighth article of the Longer Catechism of the Eastern Church, question 242, as well as the Confession drawn up by Peter Mogilas, reflects the conservative and stationary character of Greek thought on the single procession.* So long as this doctrine is insisted upon, the schism must be perpetuated, and union even in a spirit of brotherly feeling is a variable quantity.

II.

A STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY BETWEEN POPE AND PATRIARCH.

We now examine the bearing which the rivalry between the pope and the patriarch had on the schism. This was the perplexing question on which no agreement could be reached. "New Rome is the home of the Emperor, and why shall not I have equal rights with the pope?" contended the patriarch of Constantinople. The pope answered, "Old Rome is the home of St. Peter; and as he was, so am I the Vicar of Christ on earth, and supreme judge in all matters both spiritual and temporal."

Before examining the collision between the pope and the patriarch and emperor, the second Trullum Council requires attention. In its acts are found the germs of the great schism. Among the many (102) decrees which were there enacted, most of which were in entire harmony with the papal see, some were smuggled in to which Rome could not give her signature. These were evidently intended on the part of the Greeks as a polemic against Rome. In the second canon they declared that the 85 apostolic canons as received by the fathers should remain in force instead of only 50 which Rome received as valid. In connection with this, there were many things in these last 35 canons distasteful to the West, but palatable to the East. Thus in the 55th canon, the 66th apostolic canon was mentioned

* Schaff's *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. II., p. 481 sq.

as condemning the Roman custom of fasting on Saturdays in Quadragesima. The decrees of the Apostles at Jerusalem were given perpetual validity. The 67th canon declares the eating of the blood of animals is forbidden in Holy Scripture. The human figure of Christ is to supplant the lamb. According to the 13th canon, deacons and presbyters, contrary to the Roman prohibition, are not only permitted to continue in matrimony but also are forbidden to annul the marriage relation on pain of deposition. None of the canons met with a tithe of the disapproval from Rome that was attached to the 36th. Renewing the decree of the third canon of the Council of Constantinople (A. D. 381) as well as the 28th canon of the Council of Chalcedon (A. D. 451), they decided that the see of Constantinople should enjoy the same rights as that of Old Rome; in ecclesiastical affairs the two shall be equal.*

Justinian II. sent the acts of this Council to Rome with the request that Pope Sergius would write his signature in the place left vacant for him. Sergius refused with the declaration that he would die rather than give currency to these new errors. The emperor did not intend to be outwitted so easily; but the power and authority of the pope are seen when the exarchate of Ravenna and the duchy of Pentapolis arose in arms to prevent Sergius' abduction by the Protospathae, Zacharias, whom the emperor had commissioned to capture the pope. Zacharias, creeping under the pope's bed, begged his mercy and was dismissed from Rome in shame.

Justinian, after he was deposed and again dethroned, sent to Pope John VII. requesting him to call a council which would so modify the decisions of the second Trullum Council as to suit Rome. John did not comply with this request. Justinian and Pope Constantine came to an agreement; and, though we do not know by what means, it is supposed that the latter closely followed the middle path afterward adhered to by John VIII. when the latter said that "he accepted all those canons which did not contradict the true faith, good morals and the

* This canon decided that the Bishop of Constantinople should rank next after the Roman bishop, since Constantinople was New Rome.

decrees of Rome.”* Such an agreement amounts to the complete submission of the emperor, and the triumph of the pope.

On the side of church constitution and worship, the second Trullum Council was the first occasion of the great schism. In themselves none of the decrees there set forth would have completed or even perpetuated the schism ; but, when more important subjects of dispute arose, then the primary causes of difference assumed greater prominence and tended to irritate and to embitter the succeeding controversies.

The schism assumed definite character while Photius was patriarch of Constantinople, and Nicholas I. was pope of Rome. It was the result of a rivalry for power on the part of the two highest spiritual sovereigns of Christendom. The contest was intensified by the quality of the men engaged in it. They were both men of strong personality, neither of whom was willing to surrender a single point in the other's favor. The *Catholic Encyclopaedia* characterizes Nicholas as a man of noble and commanding frame, tall in figure and persuasive in speech, pious, severe in morals, beneficent. In his character the strength and thoughtfulness of the statesman were coupled in perfect symmetry with the mild fire of the high-priestly soul. His rival was not less distinguished. Photius was by all means the most scholarly man of his time. In civil and political affairs, in science, grammar, letters, oratory, philosophy, medicine, and with the sole exception of poetry, in every other branch of knowledge, he stood alone, *ut aevi sui facile princeps haberetur*.†

When such men, not wholly free from traditional bigotry, come into conflict, little yielding is to be expected. Yet their intercourse at first was friendly, especially on the part of Photius, for after all he was desirous of securing the favor of the pope. The occasion of their intercourse was as follows: Ignatius Michaelis Curopalatae, son of the emperor of Constantinople and heir to the throne, wronged by Leo the Armenian,

* Kurtz, Vol. I., pp. 275, 407 ; Neander, Vol. III., p. 557 ; Hefele, *Hist Counc.* Vol. V., pp. 221-242.

† Migne, *Patrol.* Tom. LII. III., *Praefatio*, opera Photii.

gave up the throne to enter a monastery. In the year 846 he was chosen patriarch of New Rome, and adorned his office with every priestly virtue. Caesar Bardas, the uncle of Michael III., wished Ignatius to persuade the emperor's mother, Theodora, and her daughters, to take the veil. This he refused to do. In addition to this affront, Bardas was angered because Ignatius refused to admit him, on account of his immoral life, to the communion. Michael, the emperor, was also offended at the sternness of the just and pious patriarch, and on the 23d of December (A. D. 837) expelled Ignatius from the patriarchal chair and banished him to the island Terebinthus. Accomplices in this crime were Photius, a layman, and Gregory of Syracuse, whom Ignatius had deposed on account of his villainy. In six successive days Photius passed through all the inferior orders and on December 25th, 850, in contempt of the ecclesiastical canons (Pseudo-Isidorian), ascended the patriarchal throne. All the bishops under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, save twenty-one, denounced this procedure, deposed Photius as a usurper and pronounced the anathema against him. At the instigation of Bardas and Michael, Photius convened the twenty-one bishops who still adhered to him, deposed Ignatius for fictitious crimes, and anathematized him. There were now two strongly opposing parties in Constantinople, and both Photius and Michael, wishing the approval of the pope, addressed letters to Nicholas I. Photius did not represent matters in their true color; barely mentioned that Ignatius had retired from his office, and elaborated on his own reluctance in accepting the patriarchate. In answer to his request that the pope send letters to reconcile the bishops, Nicholas commissioned Rhodanold and Zacharias. Photius, in the year 860, convoked a council composed of the boasted number of 318 bishops. Here the legates, who before they reached Constantinople were met with presents, frightened and bribed, confirmed the deposition of Ignatius.* Ignatius at once made an appeal to the pope which was communicated by the abbot, Theognis. The pope, informed of the true state of affairs, con-

*Migne, *Patrol*, Tom. LIII., *Praef.*

vened a council in Rome in the year 863, repealed all charges of which Ignatius had been falsely accused, declared Photius a usurper, denied the two legates further episcopal and ecclesiastical fellowship, and recognized Ignatius as patriarch.*

Michael was exasperated by these decrees, and wrote the pope an abusive letter. He said that the pope was not to judge, but to arbitrate; that the decisions of the council would not injure Photius, nor assist Ignatius; that the emperor had demanded legates; and finally that the Latins were barbarians. Nicholas' answer was in harmony with the dignity of his office. He reproached the emperor that he as a layman should take part in a council, and calls attention to the fact that the emperor had *petitioned* legates.

Photius decided to pay the pope in his own coin, and at a so-called general council in the year 867, excommunicated Nicholas (*Nicolaum I. excommunicaret*), and preferred grave charges against the Latin Church.

Of far greater importance was the Encyclical† which Photius sent to the Eastern archbishops. It is an invective against the whole Western Church. In it he accuses Rome of spreading false doctrines among the Bulgarians, specifying double procession of the Holy Spirit, abridgment of Lent by fasting on Saturdays, use of milk on fast days, contempt for priests who were married, etc. This called forth two refutations on the part of the Roman Catholic Church—one by Aeneas of Paris, another by the Monk, Ratramnus. The latter displayed an ability and Christian temper which are rarely found coupled in a controversial treatise. It was an easy matter for him to disprove all the accusations of Photius. In eight separate chapters he discussed the various phases of Church discipline and doctrine.‡

There is but one tendency which we should expect to manifest itself during these long and sickening disputes. Along with them grew up a spirit of bitterness; the feeble tie which

* Alzog, Vol. II., p. 324; Neander, Vol. III., p. 555.

† Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. LIII., *Praef.*

‡ Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXXI., 303-346.

formerly united the two churches in mutual interests was weakened by each succeeding contention. The letters, which at first were at least respectful, became personal, and an uncharitable spirit was expressed.

The contention still continued with undiminished virulence. Photius was again excommunicated by Adrian II. in 869. Adrian also sent legates to Constantinople, who deposed Photius with this terrific anathema:* *Photio invasori. Photio saeculari et forensi, Photio neophyto et tyranno, Photio schismatico et damnato, Photio moecho et parricidae, Photio fabricatori mendaciorum, Photio adultero et interfectori, Photio inventori pervasorum dogmatum, Photio novo Dioscuro, Photio novo Judae, Anathema!*

Nevertheless, Photius retained his position until the accession of Basil the Macedonian, who for political reasons banished Photius and restored Ignatius. The latter addressed the pope in terms of submission unemployed by any previous patriarch. The pope recognized Ignatius as lawful patriarch, and thus the appearance, but not the results of the first schism, was eradicated.

At the end of ten years, when Ignatius was on his death-bed, he commended his friends to the rival patriarch;† and the emperor considered it policy to restore Photius. To this Pope John VIII. gave his consent in a Roman synod, and absolved Photius from ecclesiastical censure.‡ His ten years' imprisonment did not make Photius a pliable instrument in the hands of John. In restoring him to the patriarchate certain conditions must be complied with: No layman should again be chosen bishop who had not passed through the ecclesiastical ranks; the patriarch of Constantinople must surrender to Rome jurisdiction over Bulgaria; those who had been ordained by Methodius and Ignatius should continue; those who refused to hold fellowship with Photius should be excommunicated.§ Photius presented his own edition|| of the pope's letter to the

* Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. LII., II., *Praef.*

† Neander, Vol. III., p. 573.

‡ Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXXVI., 867.

§ Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXXVI., 853-7; Döllinger, Vol. III., p. 99.

|| Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXXVI., 857-863.

council in 879, and by uniting his scholarship with the most consummate fraud and artifice, so altered the pope's letter as to give it entirely a Greek cast. The council closed with continued shouts: "Many years to the patriarchs, Photius and John." We are not surprised that Döllinger calls this synod a worthy sister of the "Council of Robbers." John was horrified that not only the phraseology but also the meaning of his letter should be so distorted; and "when the knowledge of this outrage came to Rome, Pope John, placing his hands upon the Book of Gospels, solemnly excommunicated Photius and all who advocated his cause, or recognized the late council held under his presidency. This sentence was repeated by the successors of John VIII., Marius I., and Hadrian III. But it was not till Leo VI., the Philosopher, the son of Basil, came to the throne (A. D. 886), that Photius was obliged to relinquish the patriarchate.* Photius was succeeded by Stephen, the emperor's brother; but, while Pope Stephen IV. was deferring his sanction to Stephen's ordination, owing to conflicting reports about Photius' deposition, the young patriarch died.†

The first schism between the East and the West was completed. The bond which existed between the Roman and Constantinopolitan sees continued to grow weaker, and would have been entirely severed, had it not been that for political reasons the emperor was compelled to solicit the friendship of the pope. The little communication which was carried on during the tenth century did not fail to manifest a spirit of hostility.‡ The Roman Church had on several occasions arrogated to herself the possession of such power as was calculated to arouse the Greeks to indignation. All that was now needed was a leader.

This want was supplied in the imperious, bigoted patriarch, Michael Cerularius. The emperor could not afford to lose the good will of the pope, but his efforts in this direction were

* Alzog, *Univ. Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 331.

† Döllinger, *Hist. Ch.*, Vol. III., p. 102.

‡ Gieseler, *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. II., p. 221.

thwarted by Michael.* To him belongs the notorious fame of completing "the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches." Prior to this the anathemas had been hurled against only the leaders in the disputes. Now the Churches excommunicated each other.

In the year 1053, just four hundred years before the fall of Constantinople, the East, unable any longer to suppress the provocations which had been accumulating between the two Churches, found worthy exponents in Michael and Leo of Achrida, who, in a circular letter addressed to John, Bishop of Trani and through him to the bishops of France and to the pope, made a formal statement of their grievances, and, among other things, accused Rome of clinging to Jewish practices. The principal ones mentioned are these: The use of unleavened bread† in the eucharist, for which the name *Azymites* was invented; fasting on Saturdays in Lent;‡ eating blood and things strangled;§ omission of the Allulua during the Lenten fast.||

This letter was translated into Latin by Cardinal Humbert, and a copy sent to Leo IX. The pope considered it his duty to reply, and did so in a long letter, without entering into the field of polemics. Among many other things, he contrasted the unquestioned authority of the Church of St. Peter, to whom had been committed the truth on all important subjects, with Constantinople, which was always contending with heresies and schisms.¶ The pope likewise calls the patriarch's attention to the fact that Rome had exercised toward the Greeks a moderation which was not reciprocated; that whereas Cerularius had closed the Latin Churches which did not conform to the East-

* Schaff, Vol. IV., p. 318.

† Etenim azyma et Sabbata ipsi custodire a Moyse jussi sunt. (Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXLIII., 793-794.)

‡ At Sabbata vero quomodo in Quadragesima Judaice observatis? (Id. 796).

§ Quomodo autem et suffocata hi tales comedunt in quibus sanguis tenetur. (Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXLIII., 796.)

|| Alleluia in Quadragesima non psallitis. (Id. 796.)

¶ Abscissi estis, putrescitis, et velut palmas praecisas de vite foras missi estis, et arescitis, ut in ignem mittamini, et audeatis quod divina pietas longe faciat a vobis. (Id. 768).

ern Ritual, the Greek Churches in Rome were permitted to retain their own religious customs.* The friendly spirit which pervaded this letter produced such a favorable impression on the emperor that he compelled the patriarch to become reconciled with Rome, and requested the pope to send legates to Constantinople in the interest of peace. The pope commissioned Cardinal Humbert, Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi, and Chancellor Frederick, and made them the bearers of a letter to Constantine IX., in which the pope praised the emperor for his efforts to secure peace. *Laudat eum quod pacem inter Latinos et Graecos conciliare curet.* The letter is chiefly a polemic† directed against the arrogance of Michael, especially with reference to his assuming the title of "Œcumenical patriarch." The emperor received the legates with kindness, lodging them in the palace. But it was impossible to come to any terms with Michael, and on the 16th day of July, 1054, the legates placed upon the altar of Hagia Sophia the solemn writ of excommunication‡ against him. They deposited it, repeating these words: *Videat Deus et judicet.*

Michael followed this with a counter anathema. To the people he accused the emperor of disloyalty to the Greek Church. The emperor was, this time, forced to submit to the patriarch. Thus, instead of securing peace, the result of the legates' mission served rather to intensify the already exasperated feeling of the Greek Church toward the Roman.

* Migne, CXLIII., 763, 764, Omnes Latinorum basilicas penes vos clausitis, monachis monasteria et abbatibus tulistis donec vestris viverunt institutis. Ecce in hac parte, Romana Ecclesia quanto discretior, moderatior et clementior vobis est! Siquidem cum intra et extra Romam plurima Graecorum reperiantur monasteria sive ecclesiae, nullum eorum adhuc perterbatur vel prohibetur a paterna traditione, sive sua consuetudine; quin potius suadetur et admonetur eam observare.

† Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. CXLIII., 777-781.

‡ The act of excommunication concludes with this tremendous anathema: Michael—et Leo Achridanus Episcopus dictus, et sacellarius ipsius Michaelis Constantinus, qui Latinorum sacrificium profanis conculcavit pedibus, et omnes sequaces eorum in praefatis erroribus et praesumptionibus, sint Anathema Maranatha, cum Simoniacis, Valesiis, etc., et cum omnibus haereticis, imo cum Diabolo et Angelis ejus nisi forte resipuerint. Amen, amen, amen. (Gieseler, Vol. II., pp. 225, 226).

Cerularius wrote a letter to Peter, patriarch of Antioch, in which he arrays against the Western Church a larger number of scandals, both true and false, than had been contained in any previous letter,* viz.: The addition to the Symbol of the double procession; two brothers married two sisters; in mass one ecclesiastic embraced the others; bishops wore rings and waged war; baptism by single immersion; salt was put into the mouths of the baptized; relics and images of saints were not honored; Gregory Nazianzum, Basil and Chrysostom were omitted from the roll of the saints.† Döllinger says: "Amongst these objections there was one, the martial spirit of many bishops, which was correct; one, the addition of the word *Filioque*, which was of importance; of the others many were totally false, trifling and futile."‡

Cerularius gave the finishing stroke to his work by inducing the other Eastern patriarchs to separate from Rome and join the see of Constantinople; "and thus the Christian East separated from the West forever."§ Peter of Antioch and Theophylactus endeavored to avert the schism, but their efforts were to no effect. Cerularius died in A. D. 1059. "His death did not, however, change the relations of the two Churches. They regarded each other with suspicion and mutual distrust, and the schism though not yet formal was irreparable."||

The Latin Church tried during the crusades to unite with the Greeks, or rather to bring Greece under her sway; but the Eastern Church was unwilling to surrender, as it would have been required to do, every disputed point to the Latins. The hate of the Greeks was again increased during the establishment

* Döllinger, Vol. III., p. 107.

† In sancto Symbolo, tale additamentum recitant, * * * *Et in Spiritum* * * * *qui ex Patre Filioque procedit*, * * * Duo fratres duas sorores ducent. In missa * * * unus ministrantium * * * reliquos salutatur; Annulos in manibus ferentes episcopi, * * * et ad bellum progressi, * * * una immersione baptizant, * * * sale eorum quos baptizant ora implent, etc. Migne, *Patrol.*, Tom. LXI., 1049, 1050.

‡ *Ch. Hist.*, Vol. III., p. 107.

§ Gieseler, Vol. II., p. 227.

|| Alzog, Vol. II., p. 334.

of the Latin empire in Constantinople (1204–1261). The innumerable insults and outrages committed against the East could not easily be forgotten. The attempts at union, made at the fourth Lateran Council, at Lyons, and at Ferrara-Florence, which have already been treated, were fruitless.

Döllinger* thinks there are movements on foot in the Russian Church which point to hopeful grounds of reunion, but also affirms that “the great stumbling-block and real hinderance to any understanding in the eyes of all the Easterns is papacy.” Not until the chief doctrinal, and especially the constitutional difficulties are removed, can there be any rational hope for reunion. Besides, since the two Churches are so widely separated in thought and in feeling that true sympathy is impossible, reunion under such circumstances would not be desirable, for it could at best be only nominal, not real and permanent.

The history of the schism at any particular time reflects the thought of the Churches at that time. Greek thought early became stationary while the Roman was constantly progressing. This made the schism a psychological certainty. The wall of separation between the East and West was a natural one. From little misunderstandings at first, the friction was increased as the centuries rolled by; friendly relations were supplanted by antagonisms, until finally, when all available means to understand each other had proved ineffectual, the complete schism became inevitable.

We conclude with an apt quotation from Schaff:† “The Greeks hate the pope and the *Filioque* as much as they hate the false prophet of Mecca; while the pope loves his own power more than the common cause of Christianity, and would rather see the sultan rule in the city of Constantine than a rival patriarch or the Czar of schismatic Russia. During the nineteenth century the schism has been intensified by the creation of two new dogmas—the immaculate conception of Mary (1854) and the infallibility of the pope (1870). When Pius IX.

* *The Reunion of the Churches*, pp. 54; 66–67.

† Vol. IV., pp. 224, 225.

invited the Eastern patriarchs to attend the Vatican Council, they indignantly refused, and revived their old protest against the anti-Christian usurpation of the papacy and the heretical *Filioque*. They could not submit to the Vatican decrees without stultifying their whole history and committing moral suicide. Papal absolutism and Eastern stagnation are insuperable barriers to the reunion of the divided Churches, which can only be brought about by great events and by the wonder-working power of the Spirit of God."

ARTICLE IV.

JUSTIFICATION.

BY REV. HIRAM KING, A.M.

Justification is forensic and declaratory, and is, therefore, instantaneous in effect. It is, moreover, a complete act, since it involves the removal of sin as guilt. Justification differs, thus, from sanctification, which develops with the Christian life, and is, accordingly, progressive. Its climax of perfect holiness is, moreover, attained to only in the world to come.

THE ATONEMENT THE GROUND OF JUSTIFICATION.

Man could not hope to extricate himself from the unholy and deadly environments, consequent on the fall; nor could he possibly reconcile himself to God by making amends for the crime of implicating himself in the general rebellion of all wicked beings against the divine government. Should he, indeed, strive to the utmost of his abilities after moral integrity, he would still fail to gain the divine favor, since he could not possibly attain to moral perfection. From the standpoint of God, moreover, man's manifold crime is guilt, and men confessedly lack personal means for its removal.

Justification, on the contrary, must proceed, wholly, from the unique death at Calvary, as the Scriptures fully attest: "Much

more than," writes St. Paul, "being now justified by (*ἐν*) his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him" (Rom. 5: 9). The word, "blood," signifies the death of Christ, and implies the atoning efficacy of his passion. For man's justification, the blood of Christ is therefore *instrumental*. He is justified "by" (*ἐν*) his blood.

It is plain, however, that the blood of Christ possesses such justifying virtue solely because it removes sin: "And the blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John 1: 7). And specifically: "Who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification" (Rom. 4: 25). The atoning efficacy of the death of Christ is here evidently made to depend on Easter, as having necessarily followed Good Friday, and the justification of man is declared to have been consequent on the resurrection of Christ. Without a risen Christ there could, accordingly, be no justification for those for whom a dead Redeemer gave his life, although the expiatory offering was, in itself, entirely sufficient: "And if Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain; ye are yet in your sins" (1 Cor. 15: 17), is the negative testimony of St. Paul.

That justification does thus proceed from the atonement, is exemplified, with highly dramatic effect, in the ninth and tenth chapters of Hebrews. The Jewish high priest enters the most holy place of the earthly temple with an offering of blood for himself and for the people (9: 7). It is, however, distinctly taught that such a sacrifice could not really "take away sins" (10: 4), but that it was a "parable" (ver. 9), prefiguring their removal at "a time of reformation (9: 10). The priest at the Jewish mercy-seat was thus only a prophetic similitude, foreshowing the appearance of his sacerdotal Antitype, to minister in the heavenly temple. In fulfillment, accordingly, of this typical prophecy, the Lord, in his high-priestly character, entered "through the greater and more perfect tabernacle" (p. 11) and "through his own blood, once for all, into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption" (9: 12).

FAITH THE SUBJECTIVE CONDITION OF JUSTIFICATION.

Faith is much more than the personal acknowledgment of Christ as the Son of God and the Saviour of man. Satan and the demons thus acknowledged him at his advent, but they, nevertheless, employed all available agencies for his destruction, and the defeat of his mission. Many men, too, yield a ready assent to the claim for his divinity and Messiahship without a show of interest in either. Such acknowledgment of Christ, it is plain, cannot be faith in him, in any true sense, because it involves nothing but the intellect. It certainly does not bring peace and comfort to men; and as for demons, they believe and shudder (James 2 : 19). The mental action here called into play, differs, indeed, in no essential particular from that involved in the acceptance, as true, of any event of history. Such acknowledgment of Christ is therefore very properly called "historic faith," and it leaves men where it finds them—with the added responsibility of knowledge.

The faith which ultimates in justification is known in theology as "saving faith," and involves the entire mental, moral and religious being of the believer. It is faith as thus fundamental to the being, that is implied in the Lord's soteriological statement: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth hath eternal life" (John 6 : 47). St. Paul and Silas assumed the same quality of faith in their instructions to the prison warden: "Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house" (Acts 16 : 3).

Does faith, however, establish a *direct* relation between man and God? and is it on merely *subjective* grounds that man has "access by faith into this grace" (Rom. 5 : 2) and is saved by grace "through faith"? (Ep. 2 : 8). No. Nor did the Lord so affirm when he said: "He that believeth hath eternal life" (John 6 : 4). Instead of saying that "eternal life" depended on man's mere *mental* acceptance of himself, he really affirmed the contrary, since he used a pregnant expression (*constructio pignans*) in which certain *unexpressed* conditions to the gift were implied. Later he said: "He that believeth and is baptized shall

be saved" (Mark 16 : 16). The addition of baptism to "believeth" (faith) is an evident expansion of the earlier statement, in which this initiatory ordinance was not designated but implied. At Pentecost, the first inquirers after the conditions of the gospel received the following instructions: "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost" (Acts 2 : 38). This also is an evident amplification of the Lord's first statement, both repentance and baptism being designated as additional soteriological conditions.

The practice, therefore, of making the relation of the believer to God merely subjective and *immediate*, really eviscerates faith, and is to be deplored equally with the exaggerated ecclesiasticism, which kills the spirit in the letter. No one, certainly, would deny the subjective element in the relation of man to God in saving faith, since Christ cannot possibly be accepted, and self and the world renounced *without* the exercise of the will and the play of the emotions. Inasmuch, however, as the Lord and his apostles made submission to baptism mandatory, it clearly follows that they meant the rite to be an *objective* means (Titus 3 : 5) to the new birth (John 3 : 5), just as the Lord's Supper and the Lord's Day worship are formal means of spiritual nourishment and edification.

The believer's approach to God is most real *because* it is thus mediated, since the means used are divine ordinances. The rite of baptism is performed, once for all, and is of *standing* force, like the atonement itself. The "living bread" (John 6 : 51) is really broken in the Lord's Supper for the spiritual sustenance of the communicant, under the material elements of bread and wine. The formal Church service conducts the discriminating worshipper to the foot of the throne. To deny the true believer's access to God in the ordinances of the gospel, would, indeed, impugn the sincerity of their Author.

Saving faith, then, involves submission to all soteriological conditions on the part of the believer. He accepts Christ in his Messianic character, and observes the ordinances of the

gospel. He, moreover, abnegates self and trusts in the expiatory virtue of the atonement for justification.

It thus appears conclusively from the Scriptures themselves that faith, *as involving the observance of the ordinances of the gospel by the believer*, is the subjective condition of justification. And yet, that great division of the Church, whose seat is in the west of Europe, is practicing a directly opposite theory of justification. Not content with the relation of the believer to God as established in the appointed means of grace, the papacy has actually interposed the intercession of saints and the Virgin Mary, on the one hand, and good works and penance, on the other. As these observances are not included in the means of grace, as designated in the gospels, it would really seem that they are very properly denounced by Protestants as Catholic inventions, pure and simple. As they are, moreover, out of harmony with the gospel itself, it is plain that they are not helpful but obstructive. Nor is Protestantism itself loyal, above criticism, to the grace-bearing conditions of the gospel, any more than Catholicism. As if in exemplification of the adage that "one extreme begets another," there was promptly inaugurated, among Protestants, an evangelistic practice, which virtually eliminates the evangelistic ordinance of baptism itself from the designated means of grace. The innovation (New Measures) is a matter of grave concern to Protestants, since it tends, alarmingly, to dissipate the substantial results of the great religious revival of the sixteenth century. All Protestantism accepts of "justification by faith" as the material principle of the Reformation. But when those who shout this war-cry of the Reformers the fiercest of all into the face of Rome, deliberately seek to establish a direct, or purely *subjective* relation between the believer and God, by virtually ignoring an essential ordinance of the gospel, it becomes somewhat uncertain to what extent the Vatican ought to be censured above the Anxious Bench, on the score of innovations. It is equally a crime to *take from*, and to *add to*, the Scriptures.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST THE KEY TO JUSTIFICATION.

The justification of the sinner is not an abstraction, but a fact in concrete relations. Negatively, justification involves the forgiveness of sin; positively, it involves the imputation of righteousness. The true believer is righteous before God, but his righteousness is *by faith* (Gal. 3 : 9). The source of his righteousness is, therefore, *extra-personal*. The fountain of his righteousness is, moreover, not doubtful, for Christ "was made unto us righteousness" as well as "sanctification and redemption" (1 Cor. 1 : 30).

What, however, is the exegetical value of imputation itself? and in what sense is the righteousness of Christ attributed to man in the order of grace? Is it simply *set down to his account* (*λογίζεται*) of the sinner (Rom. 4 : 6)? and are his sins simply *covered* (*επεκαλυφθησαν*) from the eye of God (ver. 7) on the condition of his repentance and faith? Such an imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the sinner would not only be its purely *external* application to him, but his *personal responsibility* for sin would be ignored in the transaction. This, it is plain, would directly contravene all ethical principles underlying justification. If, indeed, the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the sinner were thus merely mechanical, then might even the sale of indulgences itself be advocated with some show of plausibility, since, in either case, there would be a purchase made. The price of priestly absolution is gold; that of justification would be penitential tears.

Imputation, on quite the contrary, involves the moral transformation of the sinner (Isa. 1 : 18), who, by faith, appropriates the righteousness of Christ in such sense as to become righteous *in person* (Ep. 4 : 24). Indeed, nothing short of personal righteousness could possibly satisfy the ethical conditions of justification in any proper sense.

What relation, then, does Christ sustain to the world that his righteousness is thus imputed to men? *The two-fold relation of Redeemer and Spiritual Head of the race*, it is answered. In the former character, "he offered himself without blemish unto God"

(Heb. 4 : 14), and "suffered for sins once, the righteous for the unrighteous, that he might bring us to God" (1 Peter 3 : 18). Christ thus became, not only priest and sacrificial victim in one, but, as he suffered for the "unrighteous," it is plain that the sins of those, whom he meant to endow with his righteousness were imputed to himself in some sense. It is, indeed, distinctly declared that he was "made to be sin on our behalf" (2 Cor. 5 : 21).

Was, however, the imputation of man's sin to Christ possible without the violation of ethical law? and can the righteousness of Christ be imparted to man in harmony with ethical principle? In the sphere of morals, purely, one man cannot be made responsible for the evil life of another; nor can good qualities be imparted by one individual to another. Could not, however, the Son of God have made himself answerable for mankind, so as to remove their guilt and become the fountain of righteousness for them? Certainly not by offering himself as a vicarious sacrifice for the race, simply in his personal distinction in the Godhead. An atonement made by a person of the Trinity, simply, could have been nothing more, at best, than a phantasm, because it could not possibly have been made in any moral relation to man, and could not, therefore, have affected, in the least, his moral condition. Could not, however, the Son of God have assumed, in a human birth, the moral responsibility of man, so as to take away the sin of the world and renew its righteousness? Not if he should have become but a *descendant* of Adam. As such, with both the divine and human natures in his Person, his character would, indeed, have been lofty beyond comparison, and his influence might have become cosmopolitan. He might even have founded a religion among men, but he could not possibly have made satisfaction for man's sin. The exigencies of the situation required, indeed, that the natural man should be "born again" (John 3 : 5), and the old man "crucified" (Rom. 6 : 6), and it was necessary that the Son of God, in the assumption of the moral responsibility involved in the mission of a Saviour, should be in position to consummate both. Such status must, in fact, be accorded to him. His ad-

vent is much more than a birth. And as to his manhood, he is more than an ordinary man. The incarnation is the union of God with man, in such sense, that Christ, even in respect to his human nature, is not just a numerical addition to the posterity of Adam. It is true, that in relation to his mother, he is a descendant of Adam, but on the higher plane of the incarnation, which is his *generic* assumption of human nature, he is the Second Founder (Head) of the race (1 Cor. 15 : 45). From the Person of Christ, constituted thus by the union of the divine and human factors, proceed, therefore, the generations of mankind in a spiritual birth as real as their natural generation itself.

It was in his assumption of the spiritual Headship of man, that Christ was made responsible for the sin of the world, and became the source of its righteousness. As all the race receive sin-tainted human nature, by entail, from Adam (Rom. 5 : 19), and as Christ was as truly "born of the Virgin Mary" as other men are born of their mothers, the conclusion is entirely warranted, that the Lord's assumption of man's spiritual Headship must necessarily have involved him in the common depravity—not indeed as implicating him in personal sin (1 Peter 2 : 22), but as subjecting him to the penal consequences of the fall (Isa 53 : 5). So also, Christ, as the spiritual Progenitor of the race, is the fountain of righteousness for man.

Inasmuch, then, as Christ and believers are related, not as co-ordinates, but as *progenitor* and *progeny*, there can be no violation of ethical law, either in the assumption of sin by the former, or in the imputation of his righteousness to the latter. On the contrary, it is, in fact, by the *operation* of ethical law that the moral integrity of the "last Adam" (1 Cor. 15 : 45) is transmitted in man's new birth, just as the moral deformity of the first Adam is transmitted in his natural birth. Imputation, in connection with righteousness, is, therefore, equivalent to *transmission*, and the righteousness of Christ is imputed to the sinner in the sense of its being transmitted to him in his spiritual generation from the Person of Christ.

It is now, indeed, plain that Christ is not directly related to *individuals* at all, any more than Adam is directly related to

individual members of his race. As Christ is the spiritual Progenitor of believers, they are necessarily his spiritual *posterity*. Not one of them was, therefore, in existence, as a child of God, at his passion, just as the generations of Adam were *prospective* at his fall. It is, accordingly, plain that Christ, as the "Lamb of God" (John 1 : 29), took away, not the sins of individual men, but the "sin of the world" (human nature), just as Adam, in his fall, introduced sin, not among individuals, but into the "world." Men are, therefore, baptized "in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of their sins" (Acts 2 : 38), not because Christ assumed their sins in a personal relation to them, but because it was in his Person, as *generic for spiritual humanity*, that the "sin of the world" was taken away.

Christ being thus *indirectly* related to men, as individuals, it is quite evident that an outward, or legal imputation of his righteousness to the sinner, as from one man to another, is not even possible.

Does it, however, appear from the Scriptures that the sinner, in his new birth, becomes righteous in his own person? Yes. "For as through one man's disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous" (Rom. 5 : 19), affirms St. Paul. The same verb (*Καθίστημι*) is used in both members of the parallel statement to express the action. The many "were made" (*Κατεστάθησαν*) sinners; the many "shall be made" (*Κατασταθῶσονται*) righteous. The sinner is thus "made," or *constituted* a saint "through the obedience of the one (Christ), and is, therefore, righteous, not by proxy but in person.

Then, again, the believer is righteous in person, because he is "born of God" (John 1 : 13) and partakes of the divine nature (2 Peter 1 : 4). The law of heredity prevails as much in the sphere of regeneration as it does in that of natural generation. The righteousness of God is, therefore, transmitted to his children in their new birth, not as something in the abstract but as an essential quality of their spiritual being.

Cannot, then, the true Christian claim the favor of God on the ground of his personal righteousness? If he were perfectly

sanctified, and not still a sinner, he might, indeed, seek divine acceptance on personal grounds. But as such freedom from moral taint is clearly impossible under present conditions, he can only be "justified freely by his (God's) grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. 3 : 24). St. John's testimony on the point in question is equally conclusive: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us, but if we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness" (1 John 1 : 8, 9).

It is thus made plain that the believer cannot possibly be justified on the ground of his personal righteousness, although this is perpetually renewed at its source in the Person of Christ, but that, on the contrary, his appeal for justification must be made, wholly, on the basis of the atonement, substantially in the formula: "For Christ's sake" (John 16 : 16).

ARTICLE V.

RELIGION: SUBJECTIVELY CONSIDERED.

BY REV. T. B. THOMAS, A.M.

The two great controlling instrumentalities in the making of a people are language and religion. And in this work the latter is more powerful than the former. Man, being spiritual as well as material in his being, it is not to be wondered at that he is continually seeking to transcend himself and to get beyond the narrow bounds of his individuality; to enter into fellowship with other being, never resting satisfied until he rests in God, his Creator, Sustainer and Redeemer. And the sorrowful part of it all to a follower of the Christ is that multitudes of human-kind die daily without having this longing after God satisfied. Religion being as necessary to man's spiritual nature as food and drink are to his material nature, and it being true that man's outward life is directed by his inner life, the observation of the philosopher Hegel is pertinent: "The idea of God con-

stitutes the general foundation of a people. Whatever is the form of a religion the same is the form of a state and its constitution: it springs from religion; so much so that the Athenian and the Roman States were possible only with the peculiar heathendom of those people, and that even now a Roman Catholic State has a different genius and a different constitution from a Protestant State.”*

Time spent, therefore, in the consideration of the various parts of the subject of Religion, *e. g.*, its scientific, historical, and philosophic aspects, its mode of expression, its classification, the individualistic forms which it assumes among the various peoples of the earth, and its subjectivity, is time well spent, in that it furnishes the student with data necessary to the understanding and the solving of many of the problems which present themselves to the Church in bringing the world to Christ; data which cannot be gained in any other line of study.

This paper has to do with the subjective part of religion, and that only so far as it concerns the following points: 1. Man, a religious being; 2. The content of religion; 3. The generic forms in which it manifests itself. The space allowed us permits of but little more than an outline study of the subject.

I. MAN A RELIGIOUS BEING.

I. *Man has a Religious Constitution.* According to the Biblical account of man's creation, his body was formed from the dust of the earth, but the "living soul" came from the in-breathing of the Almighty Creator. As the former fact unites man to the earth, so the latter fact unites him with God and constitutes him a free, intelligent and moral personality, a being in whom there is an attribute of divinity: "the breath of life." It is this divine factor in his constitution which enables him to enter into fellowship with God, and through which he possesses capacities of knowing Him and of enjoying Him forever. His being made in "the image of God and in His likeness" distinguishes him from

* *Philosophy of History.*

the brute creation as such, and gives him a vision for the inner and spiritual world as well as for the outer and material world. Hence, as man's body is connected and rooted in the physical world, so his soul is connected and rooted in the psychical or spiritual world. The body has its material senses, wants and pleasures; and the soul its spiritual aspirations, needs and enjoyments. It is as natural for the soul, in its original and healthy state, to crave and enjoy God and holy things as it is for the body to crave and enjoy food and drink. Man, therefore, as a psychical-physical being, capable of fellowship with God and related to God through "the breath of life" is religiously constituted.

Again, the soul of man, wherever man is found, whether in the highest degree of civilization or in the lowest degree of degradation, is conscious of a constant sense of its dependence upon a higher power than itself; and constantly, in its inmost nature, aspires and craves for a communion with that power. Man seeks to know that power, feels after it and bows before it in worship. To this activity of the soul various terms have been applied. Some writers and philosophers call it the "religious faculty," others, the "religious instinct," "religious sentiment," "spiritual intuition," "religious feeling," "religious consciousness," etc., etc. But call it whatever name we may, this ray of divinity in man, showing itself in religious feeling and acts of worship, is proof positive of his religious constitution. His moral, rational being and religion are inseparable. And, in some form or other, religion is the controlling force in his life. He will have, must have, a God. For it belongs to his nature to worship, if not the true and eternal God, then a tangible or ideal conception of deity, or an evil spirit, or himself. This sense of the divine in man is a force through which he is either elevated or becomes degraded; is either richly blessed or subjects himself to untold evil. He cannot get away from it. He cannot be indifferent to it. It goes with him through life, from the cradle to the grave. Dr. George P. Fisher has well said, therefore: "To pray to God for help, to lean upon him for support, to worship him, are native and spontaneous move-

ments of the human spirit."* Because of this religious inherency men "seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him."† And it is also true that this religious principle with which the divine Creator has endowed man is the condition of apprehending Him when He makes Himself known to the soul, whether it be in nature, in providence, or in the divine revelation of the Word.

The history of Christian missions proves conclusively that the foregoing is true. And the most remarkable fact of all religious facts concerning this proof is that the soul in its normal condition longs for the only true God, and if freed from all prejudice and left to act in accord with its true and noble religious principle, will embrace the religion of Christ and find in it alone that light and rest and peace which no other religion can give.‡

2. *The Universality of Religion.*— If man is a religious being, and if religion is an element in his constitution, it should be common to mankind. And so it is. Well has it been called, "A universal phenomenon of humanity."§ Travelers and explorers of all ages agree in the main with the assertion of the Platonic heathen philosopher, Plutarch: "There has never been a state of Atheists. You may travel the world over and you may find cities without walls, without kings, without mint, without theatre or gymnasium; but you will never find a city without God, without prayer, without oracle, without sacrifice. Sooner may a city stand without foundations, than a state without belief in the gods. This is the bond of all society and the pillar of all legislation."||

Every individual has a god; if not the true God to lead him in the way of truth, to bless and sustain him, then some false god to delude and betray him. There has never been found, and, we are safe in making the assertion, there never will be

* *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, p. 33.

† Acts 17 : 27.

‡ Comp. *Grant's Religions of the World*, p. 88.

§ C. P. Tiele in *Outlines of the History of Religion*.

|| Quoted from Dr. Schaff's *Theol. Prop.*, p. 64.

found, a people without some conception and worship of deity; without desire to establish relations and communion with a Being or beings more perfect than self. Historical and ethnological investigation bears ample proof to this remarkable and now incontrovertible fact: "The religious principle or consciousness in man has tintured every phase of human society and life; and has colored every system of philosophy and thought, from the lowest to the highest forms. The literature of every people, where a literature has been found to exist, is highly colored with religious sentiments."*

Religion, therefore, is not an accident in human life. Nor is its origin to be looked for in any inventive genius of statesmen, nor to the ideas of beauty or sublimity, nor in the feeling of fear or hope, of pain or joy which are experienced by the soul. Neither is its origin to be found in the all-pervading dread and terror of the overwhelming and mysterious phenomena of nature. Nor has it evolved itself from the myths or fetich-worship of savage ancestors; theories which have been put forth by philosophers of the past years. It belongs to his human nature, co-eval with man's creation, rooted in his very being and given to him by God, his Creator and life. Its origin is divine, therefore, a constituent of "the breath of life," which God breathed into man when he became a "living soul," and giving him the power or capacity to enter into fellowship and living relation with his Maker. He is a religious being.

II.—THE CONTENT OF RELIGION.

Religion being an inborn principle of human nature, the question: "To what faculty or power of the soul does it belong?" needs to be answered. Is it identical or commensurate with any or all of the three faculties which may be said to constitute the trinity of man? Or is it primarily and solely a state of knowing, or of feeling, or of willing? The answer to these questions has given rise to various theories concerning the content of religion.

* Comp. Dr. Valentine's *Natural Theology*, p. 31.

1. There are those who hold that religion is simply knowledge of divine things; an element of the intellect. Max Müller defines religion as "The perception of the infinite." Alfred Cave says: "Religion, in its widest sense, is the perception of the supernal together with the effects of that perception on the complex nature of man."* And so others, especially the advocates of the various schools of Gnosticism, both ancient and modern, consider the essence of religion to be "the cognition of truth."

It is true that the basis of religion lies in the very essence of man's nature as a self-conscious, thinking being;† but this is not equivalent to its being simply intellection. If religion consisted alone in mere knowledge, then it certainly would be strongest and purest in the most intellectual of mankind, and when the intellect is in its prime; and most erroneous in the illiterate, in times of sickness, and in old age. But all experience disproves this to be the case.

The intellect is not sufficient to make us religious. A man may understand all mysteries, as Paul says, and be able to speak with the tongues of angels, and yet be "as sounding brass or a clanging cymbal;" in other words, simply a knower of religious truth, and not a doer of it. We do not ignore the fact that religion includes knowledge. But it is not all knowledge. The presentative, representative, reflective and intuitive powers of the intellect may be, and undoubtedly are, aids in man's religious development, but to make the fact of intellection and religion identical is to impede that development, and ends in spurious intellectualism and dead orthodoxism, the result of which is nothing less than cold, barren rationalism.

2. Again, there are those who maintain that religion is exclusively a matter of feeling. The theory is called The Emotional Theory, and is held by the various schools of mysticism. The renowned Schleiermacher gave to it its scientific form. "Religion," he says, "is constituted of feeling;

* *Intro. to Theol.*, 2d. ed., p. 51.

† So Principal Caird, *Intro. to the Philosophy of Religion*, ed. 1894, p. 151.

the absolute feeling of dependence upon God."* So Hagenbach.†

Now, it is true that religion involves certain states of feeling and affection as well as the fact of intellection; feelings of faith, hope, love, joy, grief and of absolute dependence upon God. Religion must certainly be experienced as a matter personally our own. Speaking from the Christian standpoint, man must first feel his need of salvation before he can obtain the blessed state of holy communion with God. Moreover, the Word of God lays emphasis on the fact that it is the heart, the great center and seat of the emotions and affections, which gives rise to all good and evil thoughts, and also actions. (See Prov. 4 : 23; Matt. 15 : 19). 'Tis true, religion cannot exist apart from feeling; but it must be a feeling which is inseparably connected with knowledge and action. "The mere feeling of absolute dependence without regard to the nature and the character of the object upon which we depend, is not the true religious feeling."‡

The depth of one's emotions, the liveliness of one's feelings of joy or grief, of trust or love, are not the sure tests of our religious life. If this were the case, then emotional and excitable people would be more religious than those of opposite dispositions. But this is not the case in the majority of instances. Now, "inasmuch as intensity of feeling is determined as much by individual character and temperament as by the nature of the object"§ which calls forth the feeling, it is very readily seen that the purest Christian faith will have no advantage whatever over any other religious faith, from the grossest fetichism to the highest form of religious cult. Feeling-religion generally ends in "extreme sentimentalism, doctrinal indifference" (Schaff), and the vilest fanaticism. Justification by the emotions is not justification by faith. The vilest sinner can *feel holy* sometimes.

If our religion is to rest on an immovable foundation, it must not rely upon feeling as being *all* of its content. This is but

* Quoted from Cave's *Intro. to Theol.*, p. 47.

† See *Encl. Theol.*, Hurst and Crook's trans., pp. 33-37.

‡ Speecher.

§ Principal Caird.

shifting sand. Something else than the transient impressions of cheerfulness, joy, sympathy, satisfaction in view of right conduct, hope and fear which sweep over the soul are needed by us if our religion is to be an anchor to our souls. No; religion is not superinscribed by, nor identical with, that power of the soul by which it is capable of experiencing dependence upon God. It may be a part of the distinctive essence of religion. But the part is never equal to the whole.

3. There is another theory prevalent in the writings of men, which considers religion to be mere volition or action; the doing of the will of Deity. This, in other words, is morality. They who hold this idea consider religion and morality identical. The theory finds examples in Confucianism, the Stoicism of the Greeks and Romans, the legalism of Judaism and Christianity, in Deism* and Unitarianism.

Now, we do not deny that religion includes in it an element of morality; but it is not simply morality. They go hand in hand; but they are not one and the same thing; else the self-righteous Pharisees and haughty Stoics would be the highest type of religious life, but Christ said that "even the publicans and harlots go into the kingdom before them." Better is it to say that morality is the fruit of religion than to say the two are identical. The Word of God, it is true, commands men to "do the will of God in order to enter into the kingdom," "faith without works is dead." "Be ye holy as I am holy," etc.* But all this is not religion nor religious faith; simply the fruit thereof. The outward life of morality is simply the expression of the inward life of love towards God and of communion with God.

Consequently there is a vital distinction between religion and volitional activity. Mere formal morality is nothing else than legalism, resting on the ideas of independence and self-determination; indifferent alike to faith in and love for God. Whereas, true religion rests upon the ideas of dependence and direction from above,† and is constantly supported by faith and love. "Morality without religion is either an idle abstraction, or a life-

* Comp. Matt. 7 : 2, 24; John 13 : 17; James 1 : 22, 25, 27; Matt. 5 : 38.

† Comp. Hagenbach, *C. and H.* tr., p. 33.

less legality, a selfish virtue, which is indeed far better for society than immortality, and has its uses for this world, but has no value before God" (Schaff).

But where the will-power is quickened by the religious sense, rests its volitions and actions in the enlightenment of the truth as it is in Christ, and manifests them in love to God and man; and where the words and actions are directed towards the glory of God and the welfare of men, there the outward morality is the expression of the subjective religion of the soul. Though a constituent part of religion, obedience to the will of God is not all of religion. The content of religion is far more inclusive. It cannot wholly reside in the executive power of the soul, but neither can it live apart from it, any more than it can exist without knowledge or feeling. As it, objectively speaking, is as wide as the race, so subjectively, it is as extensive as the human soul.

4. What, then, is the content of religion? Knowledge, but not mere knowledge; feeling, but not mere feeling; volition, but not mere volition. It involves all three, though not commensurate with any of them. Religion is a matter of the whole soul, and comprises spiritual knowledge, spiritual feeling, and spiritual action. It has its substance in the force which we call spiritual life. And this spiritual life permeates every faculty and power of the soul; manifesting itself now in the field of knowledge, now in the field of feeling and now in the field of volition. And yet "there is no feeling or volition which does not contain in it implicitly an element of knowledge, nor any kind of knowledge which does not presuppose feeling, or in which the mind is in an attitude simply passive and receptive, without an element of activity."* There is, therefore, a synthesis of reason and faith and activity in religious life.

This life-principle, lying back of our faculties and working in and through them to the development of our religious life, finds the goal of all its searchings in the vital union of man with God through Jesus Christ; and reaches its highest state in

* See Principal Caird, *Intro. to Phil. of Religion*, p. 153. Comp. also Schaff's *Theol. Propaedeutic*, pp. 69-70.

the life of Christ implanted in the soul by the agency of the Holy Spirit; purifying, transforming, and sanctifying the whole inner man; lifting the intellect into the realm of truth, bringing the will-power into harmony with the divine will, giving peace and joy of heart, and righteousness in word and act. The Scriptures speak of this union with Christ as the union of the branch with the vine (John 15 : 1 f); "a new creature in Christ" (2 Cor. 5 : 17); "Christ liveth in me" (Gal. 2 : 20), etc.

The twofold manifestation of this spiritual life, which lies at the basis of religion, is faith and love; by the first of which we appropriate the divine life of our own, and by the second of which we let the light of that life shine before men to the glory of the Father in heaven. But faith is not simply intellectual or theoretic assent, nor a simple matter of the feeling, but a movement of the volition as well. The whole life is active in believing; working the will of God in love, which has been well called "the fruit of faith." For it is only as "faith worketh by love" (Gal. 2 : 6)—love supreme towards God and towards man equal to love of self—that Christ is known to dwell in the soul. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The content of true religion, therefore, is "heavenly *knowledge* applied by the Holy Ghost to the renewal of the *affections* and the producing of an earnest spirit, whose fruits are *deeds* of love"* as living proof of the eternal life of Christ dwelling within the soul.

III.—THE GENERIC FORMS IN WHICH RELIGION MANIFESTS ITSELF.

The careful study of the legends, the traditions, the mythologies and the sacred books of the various races of the world, ancient and modern, reveal to us that religion manifests itself in three generic forms. These are Law, Art, and Doctrine. Generally speaking, legislators and artists were regarded by ancient peoples to be co-equal with priests in religious jurisdiction. Every religious system, then, may be said to have its legal, its aesthetic or artistic, and its doctrinal elements. And, while

* Rev. Dr. Weidner, *Theol. Encycl.*, Vol. I, p. 19.

there are religions in which one or the other of these elements predominates, yet it is to be observed that in one and every religious system with which we are acquainted there is a varying proportionate and combinative inter-relation between these elements. A brief consideration of these elements is here given.

1. *Law* is a principle or a system of principles imposed by competent authority, divine or human, and recognized by men or nations as controlling their intercourse one with another, and defining and enforcing duty. In itself it can only determine the outward character of human conduct ; its conditions and states being modified and limited by existing circumstances, which, changing, however, cause the law in such cases to become a dead statute.

Why then is man so bound to the law? Why has it been, and why is it still, such a mighty force in controlling the actions of men and of nations? The answer is evident: Because in the human constitution God has placed an unwritten *ought* which urges man to choose the right, and an *ought not* which impels him to reject the wrong—in accord with the knowledge he has of the right and of the wrong. This in a word is “obligation;” the correlative of law. Now in seeking to conform their characters and actions in accord with obligation, rational beings act according to the law as they conceive of it.* By habit and custom this power of law is enabled to penetrate into the depths of man’s religious being, and his moral disposition, and so man is led to give unconditional obedience to the rigid commandments which define what man as a religious being ought to do and what he ought not to do. However, obedience is only a single phase of religion. Law, therefore, cannot be the whole of religion. For religion also includes love and faith. And while law may define duty it cannot inspire the love nor create the faith which impels man to obey the voice of duty.

2. *Art* has a place in religion as one of the forms of its manifestations because it discloses the ideas which men have of Deity. Being the embodiment of beautiful thought in sensuous

* Compare Harris’ *Philosophic Basis of Theism*, Chap. IX.

forms, concerning the divine, whether in marble or speech; revelation of an ideal within the soul, and the manifestation of the invisible reality through the senses, it has ever been made use of in religion to symbolize or to describe religious conceptions and to move men to worship. Images, pictures, symbols, the various phenomena of nature, etc., used by men in religious observances may well be considered "the mysterious ladder which enables the soul to mount from the finite to the infinite."*

While 'tis true that art may inspire a vague form of love for the infinite, and so be a step in advance of law, in that it makes the infinite its object, the artistic element in religion, since, on the one hand, it does not provide for the exercise of the religious instincts of the soul, and, on the other, tends to illusiveness and often to immorality, is quite as deficient to bring about man's true communion with God as a mere legal religion.†

3. The other generic form in which religion manifests itself is *Doctrine*. This form supplies what the others lack. Art may arouse the emotions, and law impel the will to perform duty, but doctrine, which is but another name for teaching, excites the whole man into action; moulds the intellect, arouses the emotions and directs the volition. It instructs in the truth—and "law is truth considered as that to which rational beings are under obligation to conform their characters and actions;"‡ inspires faith and love, and becomes in man the "fountain of life, to depart from the snares of death."§ It, therefore, is useful in directing law and art to their highest end, supplying what is wanting in them and in revealing to the soul of man the personality, attributes, and nature of the divine Lord in whom we move and have our being.

A religion, therefore, may have its legal elements and also its artistic elements, but unless it has a body of doctrine and an order of teachers, it comes far short of being the highest type of religion. Again, the religion in which this last element has the

* Cousin.

Hagenbach, Crook and Hurst translation.

† Harris' *Phil. Bas. of Theism*.

‡ Prov. 13 : 14.

dominant place, not as an abstract system, but as a living principle ruling in the lives of its adherents, can be well considered the true and best of all religions. This is the case with Christianity.

4. Historical illustration of the foregoing statements are furnished in Judaism, in which the element of law predominates; heathenism, in which the element of art occupies the controlling place; and Christianity, in which the element of doctrine stands out in characteristic prominence.

Judaism is pre-eminently a religion of law; not that the other elements are wanting—for the artistic element is to be seen in her ritual, and the doctrinal in her prophetic order—but that “the law,” “the torah” stands out as characteristic of her development. The Hebrew “torah” had a three-fold character: it was judicial, ceremonial and moral, each part having its special function in the formation of the theocracy. “The law was given by Moses” (John 1 : 17), and its office was to be a school-master “to bring men to Christ” (Gal. 3 : 24), who himself was made subject to it, who came not to destroy it, but to fulfill it and to redeem us from its curse. Our Lord recognized it as a divine institution, regarded it as the revelation of God’s will, and was loyal to its true requirements. And in him, his teachings and life, its principles and aim can alone be comprehended.

Ancient heathenism is the chief exponent of the art element in religion. Not that law and teaching are wanting, but the leading characteristic of all heathen religions is art.

The Egyptian religion had its elaborate moral code—the burden of nine-tenths of the Egyptian texts being the triumph of right over wrong—but that which looms up on the sky-line of the religion of ancient Egypt above all else is the artistic element.

The same can be said of the religions of the ancient Assyrian and Babylonian nations, of the Romans and the Greeks—in the latter of which the art element attained its highest development.* Instead of doctrine, heathenism cultivates a mighty symbolism, “which,” as Rust says, “has emanated from its own

* Renouf’s *Egypt* and Rawlinson’s *Religions of the Ancient World*.

being, a concrete representation of its religious spirit to the senses. The pagan systems of religion exhaust their strength in the effort to construct a thoughtful and frequently artistic symbolism. They are extravagant in ceremonial manifestations and changeless customs, but indifferent about moral manifestations and unconcerned about the eternal nature of things.*

All this is likewise true of the oriental heathen religions in existence to-day. The art element is there and predominant, even though it may not be seen in visible images and colossal architecture.

But it is in Christianity that "the truth" is brought to light. In the development of a system of doctrine it must be given the first and highest place of honor among the religions of the world. What Judaism sought to obtain in and by means of its law, and heathenism in and by means of its art, the doctrines of Christianity bear to man. Its founder was the great Teacher come from God, "the Humanized-Divine Doctrine, the Logos, the Word from heaven that was made flesh, in whom alone a new life could be obtained." His great commandment to the Church is "Teach all nations."† And it is through the preaching of the Truth, the dissemination of the doctrine of Christ, that faith is begotten in the soul. And as men know, believe and accept the Truth they receive power to become free from sin and to stand before God, justified.

In Christianity law and art are only handmaids of Doctrine in the promulgation of the truth and the worship of God. It is the living Word within the soul which, on the one hand, is a deeper, higher, more powerful law to develop pure and noble character than the legalism of Judaism, and, on the other hand, has given rise to the noblest conceptions which the artistic sense of man is capable of producing. In Christianity legalism gives way to a spirituality which makes the soul free in Christ. Law and art are no longer the means to be used in obtaining salvation; but the believer, having received salvation, the keeping of

* See foot note in Crook and Hurst's *Theol. Encycl.*, p. 22.

† Matt. 29 : 19.

the law and the bringing forth of spiritual fruit (art) will inevitably result.

5. The history of Christianity reveals a vacillating tendency with respect to these generic forms of religion. Even during the Apostolic age, while the Apostles gave doctrine its rightful first place, the legal character of Christianity was unduly emphasized by Ebonitism and Gnosticism. The followers of these heresies sought to tear away the doctrinal foundation of Christianity and to give it a mythological (art) coloring. Later on speculative legalism and work-righteousness, united with an abundance of artistic element, and Judaism and Heathenism, joined hands with Christian truth in the formation and developing of the Roman Catholic Church. The righteousness by faith, the perfect law of spiritual liberty and the religious idealism of Paul were circumscribed in, bound by, and hid under a marvelously strict legalism; the deplorable condition which reached its high water-mark in the Medieval period of the Church's history. Gradually, however, men were beginning to realize that something was radically wrong in the teaching of the Church of Rome. And now and then spasmodic efforts were made towards the bringing up of the truth from the pit into which it had been cast. But it was not until the sixteenth century that the restoration of doctrine to its legitimate place was brought about. When the bold Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg he set the whole world in a nervous state. The Gospel doctrine of salvation through faith alone by the grace of God without the works of the law was preached far and wide, and gradually the Word of God gained its rightful place of authority in religion. And it still occupies that place in the Protestant Church; wherein it is not only the heart and center of worship, but also the means used by the Holy Ghost for enabling believers to walk in the way of the Lord in a true and consistent Christ-like life. This fact makes Protestantism more Christian than Romanism, since her true function is to teach men of Christ and the life hid in him. And herein lies her power in uplifting humanity. May she always remain true to her mission; and

then the laws of God and man will be obeyed, and man's conception of the artistic will become more ideal and helpful in the true worship of the ever-living Triune God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

ARTICLE VI.

A DECADE IN OUR INDIA MISSION.

BY REV. JOHN ABERLY, A.M.

Our mission is still so young that a decade is not a small part of its entire history. Nor would a division of that history into decades be altogether an artificial one. Planted in 1842, the 40's may be regarded as the period of its founding; the 50's, the period of expansion and rapid growth; the 60's, the period of retrogression due to the ravages of our own Civil War; the 70's, the beginning of the large mass movements toward Christianity, which continue up to the present; the 80's, a period of external encroachment from the Baptists, and of unfortunate internal dissensions, which left the missionary staff low. In spite of this, however, the numerical growth of our converts during the period was the largest in its history, the membership increasing from about 5,000 to over 13,000 during the 80's. My personal contact with the mission dates from January, 1890. It extended uninterruptedly until the beginning of 1900. A retrospect of the work of these ten years—the 90's—is what is contemplated in this paper.

It may be well to begin with the missionary staff. On January 1, 1890, this numbered only five—two ordained men, two Zenana ladies, and one missionary's wife. It was a small circle indeed. During the ten years under review these were reinforced by the addition of twenty-four, of whom three had been on the field before. Of these, eleven were ordained men, seven Zenana ladies and six wives of missionaries. Of the twenty-nine, therefore, connected with the mission during this period, all but seven were in the field on Jan. 1, 1900. The decade began with a missionary staff of five; it ended with one of twenty-

two. One of the most gratifying things to record about this period is that our Church as never before sent laborers into the harvest. During these ten years more missionaries were sent by the General Synod to India than were sent during the first forty years of our mission's existence. And with gratitude ought it also to be recorded that not once during the entire period were our ranks invaded by death.

Similar gratifying progress has also been made in the better equipment of the mission. The year 1890 could show only four missionary bungalows, and all of them in Guntur. We had a college, it is true, but the entire plant could have been bought for \$500.00. Our boys' boarding school was kept in buildings that would not have realized so much. The girls' boarding school had no better accommodations. Then we had neither dispensary nor hospital. During the 90's two new stations were begun—one at Narasarowpet with two bungalows and one church, and one at Reutachmtala with one bungalow and a large schoolhouse. At Guntur itself, the Watts' Memorial College Building was erected at a cost of \$33,000; the hospital plant cost fully as much; the girl's boarding school now has a \$4,000 dormitory; the boys' boarding school has one not quite finished as yet, but on it about \$3,000 have already been expended. This building seems to me to deserve more than passing notice. It is in one respect a building that marks an epoch in our mission. It is the first effort on a large scale of our native Christians to help themselves. During 1893 we celebrated the jubilee of the founding of our mission. Then a special effort was made to raise a memorial to Father Heyer, the founder of the mission. As a result we have this building—the Father Heyer Memorial—costing only a little over \$3,000, it is true, but when translated into the language of the donors who can earn no more than six to eight cents a day, it was at least as great an undertaking for our infant Church in India as it would be for one of our synods in this country with a communicant membership of only 7,000, to erect a \$30,000 dormitory for one of our institutions. The decade might be called a building time in our mission. If in 1890 our property was

worth \$15,000, in 1900, it was worth at least \$100,000, and all of it in the line of much-needed equipment for more effective work.

Along with an enlarged staff of missionaries and better equipment come better supervision and better organization of both our work and native workers. There has been a salutary division of labor. At the beginning of this period one missionary was responsible for the college boarding school and Guntur congregation. Now the work is divided between two—one for the college and one for the other work in Guntur. Then one missionary practically had charge of the entire district of about one hundred miles square. Now we have four (and for some time we had five) who divide the district among themselves. Then all missionaries lived in Guntur, from which as a center the entire field was worked; now some live at Narasarrowpet, twenty-eight miles from Guntur, and one family at Reutachmtala, eighty-five miles from Guntur, in the center of their respective districts. The field is still inadequately supplied. We cannot call our district fully manned until we have at least eight missionaries in the district work, and three for the educational work in Guntur, constantly in the field. But we may well thank God and take courage as we contemplate the progress made toward this goal during the last ten years.

Better supervision, is, however, it must be confessed, partly responsible for the less rapid increase of our membership. From 1890 to 1900 the membership increased from 13,566 to 18,964 or about 40 per cent., while from 1880 to 1890 it increased 160 per cent. Our accessions by baptism during the 90's were 11,180 or an average of over 1,000 a year. It is safe to estimate that two-thirds of these were direct accessions from heathenism. Yet our net gain during the ten years was only 5,398. This was due in large measure to the more careful sifting of church registers, and to the enforcement of a more rigid church discipline. The encouraging feature in our statistical exhibit is that it shows regular, normal, healthy growth. It ought to be added that better supervision made possible the raising of the standard for admission to the Church and more

thorough examination of candidates for baptism. But for this, much larger numbers might have been baptized.*

The larger staff of missionaries has also made possible the more careful and systematic training of our native workers. Their number has not been increased during the decade under review. We began the 90's with 375 native workers; we end them with exactly the same number. From time to time we were compelled to close schools because of a reduction in our appropriations. Besides this, some workers, who were found inefficient, or unworthy, were dropped. Our course of instruction for our workers took definite shape during this time. We now require all our young men to read at least through the grammar school, and most of them take a few years in the high school. It may show the progress that has been made in the education of our boys that whereas at the beginning of the 90's we had only one or two reading in the high school, towards the end of this period from twelve to fifteen read there. Our standard may still seem very low. It must be remembered, however, that the boys are the descendants of generations of illiterates, and it is not possible for any but the exceptionally bright ones to pass a higher grade. And even so, they stand intellectually as far, if not farther, in advance of the congregations to whom they will be called to minister as does the average pastor in this country stand in advance of his people. After finishing their secular studies we give them a two years' course of special Bible training. Only after they have passed

* The following table shows the admissions by baptism in detail :

Year.	Total No. of Baptisms.	Net Increase.	No. of Baptized Members in Mission.
1890	843	125	13,566
1891	1,324	190	13,756
1892	756	507	14,263
1893	578	364	13,899
1894	983	275	14,174
1895	1,173	764	14,938
1896	1,158	761	15,699
1897	1,628	1,465	17,164
1898	1,195	647	17,811
1899	1,542	1,153	18,964

through this are they sent to work. Their training does, however, not end here. It continues after they have entered on their work. Annual courses of reading and study are prescribed, and these are followed by rigid examinations which our workers are required to attend and to pass. These examinations cover at least ten years, and it is only after finishing this extended course and after showing themselves workmen approved that they are thought fit candidates for ordination. At the South India Missionary Conference, held in January, 1900, it was interesting to observe the efforts that are being made by the various missionary organizations to develop an efficient native staff of workers, and to notice how generally they were feeling their way toward a system such as has been in vogue in our own mission. It revealed the fact that in this line few were in advance of us; very many were far behind us. And though we cannot claim that all in it was begun during these ten years, yet it was systematized and developed, and put on its present satisfactory basis during this time. The system of itself makes the indolent and inefficient drop to the rear and finally drop out. It develops our native workers and keeps them from stagnating. And though we started the 90's with two native pastors, and ended them with none, yet we have at least twenty-five workers who are the equals and a number of them the superiors of the pastors we then had. It is not because we are going backward that we have not been developing more native ministers. It is for two reasons: First, because we aim at keeping the standard for ordination high; secondly, because we are trying to develop self-support and a native ministry hand in hand.

And this brings me to the progress that has been made in the direction of self-support. And here I notice the general experience of missions, that at the beginning of the work local receipts are very meagre. We have the Apostle Paul's mission policy in support of the principle that Christianity ought not to make burdensome financial demands on new converts. In our mission work, we want teachers, school-books, preachers and churches, and for the few scattered converts to assume all the

financial obligations that these entail, would be enough to discourage them at the outset. Still we dare never lose sight of the great object of our work—that of developing self-supporting and self-propagating churches. Towards this goal the last ten years have been moving as no previous period has done in our mission. The people give a great deal in kind. They give meals to the teachers, houses to the preachers, and work in the building of prayer houses. This itself is no unimportant item, yet in the figures I quote I shall confine myself to cash contributions. In 1890 these amounted to Rs. 865; in 1899 to Rs. 3,793, or more than four and one-third times as much as in 1890. One of the most encouraging advances in this line has been made in our high school and college. In 1890 it cost Rs. 8,023 net; in 1899, Rs. 3,392, and that though the number of pupils increased during this time from 150 to 500. For the last three years at least seventy-five per cent. of the cost of the school has been met locally—from fees and government grants, and our college now is a drain on our foreign mission funds to the extent of only about \$1,000 a year, as against \$3,000 a year ten years ago. Similar reductions in expenses might be noted in other departments of our work. The boarding school must as yet be entirely supported from foreign funds. And yet though the number of students in this school increased from 90 to 140, the expenses have remained almost the same. These 140 boys cost us in 1899 about \$2,600. Were further proof needed that we are moving in the direction of self-help, I would point to the fact that in the beginning of the 90's our annual appropriations from the Board for the general work was \$16,000 a year, exclusive of missionaries' salaries. The annual appropriation for the last few years has been only \$12,000, or a reduction of \$4,000 per annum. In other words, with an ever-expanding work our demand for foreign funds has steadily decreased, the balance being provided for by the larger local receipts in India. The fair measure of success so far attained encourages the hope that a few more decades of faithful work along the same lines will make many of our congregations self-supporting. That college and seminary should pay their own

way there ought to be demanded of our Church in India no more than in this country.

As another item in the development of our congregations, we note the impetus that has been given to Sunday-school work during this period. The annual Sunday-school convention is one of the great events of the year in our mission. We have been publishing our own Sunday-school Lesson Book on the mission press since 1892. With it is incorporated a monthly journal which we call the *Mission News*. It is altogether Telugu, and our edition is 1,500 copies. One of the most pressing needs in India is that of supplying proper literature. Our mission has done little towards supplying this need. It is safe to say that this small attempt at journalism is the best service in this direction that our mission has yet rendered to the cause of supplying our part of India with much-needed, wholesome reading matter.

I have not, so far, touched specially on womans' work. It has been steadily extended. Hers is work not among churches already established, but almost altogether among the non-Christian women of India. There is not much room for self-help here. For woman's work, therefore, the appropriations from this country have steadily increased during these ten years from \$5,000 to \$9,500. The work here must largely yet be done by the Zenana ladies, and by wives of missionaries. They do not have the large staff of native workers that the general work has developed. The number of Zenana ladies increased from two to six during this period. I did not find figures available for a comparative statement, showing the progress that has been made during the ten years. I therefore content myself by giving some figures which show the work done at the close of the period under review. In 1899 there were in the girls' boarding school seventy-five pupils; in the Caste Girls' Schools 854 girls; in the Zenanas 170 pupils, all of whom were married women kept secluded; 172 patients were admitted to the hospital; 5,520 patients were treated in the dispensary, and 151 patients received medical attention in their homes. A few widows have been baptized as first-fruits of the hospital. Doors

have been opened, sick and suffering relieved, the story of the Cross told in the Zenanas, and in the schools. It has been a period of patient sowing, but as in the general work it seems to me the 90's did their greatest work in preparing workers and equipping hospital and dispensary for the work that yet remains to be done.

The work has enlarged in all directions during these ten years. As already stated, the number of pupils in the high school and college increased from 150 to 500; in the boarding school from 90 to 140; the number of villages in which we have Christians from 362 to 529; the baptized membership from 13,566 to 18,964. These figures tell much, but not all. Our mission has gained prestige during these years. Among the missions of South India we are accorded a place out of proportion to our size as a mission. Government officials give us equally generous recognition in all that pertains to educational work. But then, what is better, we have gained prestige among the Hindu and Mohammedan populations. Even making a fair deduction because of the abject servility of the East, which delights in nothing so much as in flattery, it counts for much that influential Hindus and Mohammedans in Guntur will in public meetings even acknowledge the benign influence of Christianity in India. They realize that Christianity has come to stay. It needs no longer to be on the defensive. All that those of other faiths ask of us is that we be equally tolerant with themselves and acknowledge the good in Hinduism and Mohammedanism, as they are ready to acknowledge the good in Christianity. This sentiment has gained strength and depth during these ten years.

But after all has been said I believe the greatest distinction of the work of the 90's will not be its immediate results but in the splendid equipment and thorough organization which these years have produced, and which will tell, and tell mightily, for the future spread of Christianity in that portion of India, which, under God, has been entrusted to us of the General Synod.

ARTICLE VII.

SOME OF THE WEAKNESSES OF DEMOCRACY.

BY T. B. STORK, ESQ.

A few years ago in one of our Eastern cities a worthy gentleman, whom for the sake of distinction we will call Mr. Brown, left a legacy of something like a half-million dollars to erect a triumphal arch, the details of which were very particularly set forth. It was to be erected in a prominent public spot. Upon it were to be placed statues of Generals McClellan, Meade, Hancock—I have forgotten all the distinguished men whose effigies were to adorn it—and last, but not at all least, in the very center, the apotheosis, the climax of all this greatness moral and magnificence physical, was to be placed—what can you imagine sufficiently worthy and appropriate! Nothing less than the bust of Mr. Brown himself, who, until then unknown and indistinguishable from the mass of his fellow-citizens, was thus at a single leap to spring into fame and immortality.

It is not necessary to draw the obvious moral or indulge in reflections such as will occur to all, but the incident may serve very well to direct attention to some of those weaknesses of democratic society which it so picturesquely illustrates. It reveals to us the truth that democratic society fails to furnish legitimate satisfaction to that human craving for distinction, that desire of a man to win from his fellows a recognition, public and universal, of his work and of his deserts and to have bestowed upon him some outward badge or symbol of that recognition. It is the craving that lies at the root of all the class distinctions and orders of honor in aristocratic societies.*

* Business enterprise has not failed to quickly mark and seize upon this craving for recognition and utilize it to its own profit. Thus we have publishers of *The Notable Men of Jonesville*, *Distinguished Americans of the Nineteenth Century*, *Men of Mark*, and similar books, in any one of which the thirst for reputation, public recognition, fame, may be

A pure democracy such as our own, lacking the means of satisfying this craving, lacks a very serious and important part of the social machinery. It is a lack that in primitive and simple societies may not make itself greatly felt, but as society grows complicated, advances in the arts and intricacies of civilization, it is sure to come more and more into evidence. Efforts to supply it by societies of Colonial Wars, Sons and Daughters of the Revolution and the like, are only pathetic in their inadequacy to the end proposed.

In every society there exists this desire for social esteem and appreciation. It is not so strong nor so insistent in its demands for satisfaction as that other great desire of men, namely, the desire for wealth, but it is a nobler and a better desire, and for that reason, and because it is feebler, and stands in danger of being utterly destroyed by its tremendous rival, the love of gold, it is vastly important that no means of strengthening it should be neglected. It stands for moral as contrasted with material good. It prompts men to worthy deeds and the avoidance of all that by common consent is held mean and base. Founded on it, deriving their vitality from it, rest all the distinctions of classes, the badges of honor, the titles and nicely graduated ranks invented by the leaders and controllers of men in early days, as rewards, first, of courage in battle, astuteness in council, and later of cleverness in invention, discoveries in science, and the arts, and later still of generosity in charitable gifts and all those other virtues which now confer as great or even greater benefits on society generally than the old virtues of courage and sagacity in war.

If we figure to ourselves the public esteem and approbation to be a great river of sentiments and opinions more or less vague and unformed, sometimes mistaken, but usually in all

slaked at prices to suit. A steel engraving, with notice of the subject written by himself, costs so much, wood cut ditto so much, and in this expeditious and mutually profitable way a rough-and-ready substitute is manufactured for the ancient orders of merit which we have abolished in America, without touching in any way their root deep down in human nature.

vigorous growing societies working for righteousness and goodness, we may figure these various ranks and orders, titles and badges of merit, as serving like so many dams or reservoirs that gather and concentrate, utilize and give to these sentiments and opinions direction, point and effectiveness.

How great their power may be was well illustrated by the strong influence which her late Majesty Queen Victoria exerted for good morals and upright conduct by her exclusion from her drawing rooms of all who violated the community's sense of decency and goodness. And she was nothing more in this sense but the embodiment of those sentiments and opinions in their highest form, that of the sovereign, the source of honor, of titles, of rank. And it is not impossible that those disgraceful acts of public plunder by officials, that are so common in the United States, would be given a check, if public sentiment and opinion were properly formulated by some outward recognition of honorable conduct and condemnation of the reverse.

We may be sure that these ancient contrivances of rank and class and badges of distinction were not mere empty toys, nor altogether mischievous. They had a useful and important part to play in the social economy, or they had not been so universal nor so long-lived, so that scarcely any society has ever existed that did not possess them in some shape. If for nothing else they were valuable as a counterbalance to that greed for wealth that is, we all know, the over mastering passion of the modern man. To the vast majority of mankind this greed far outweighs the praise and esteem, of their fellows, symbolized, no matter how finely, by high-sounding titles, and recognizing, no matter what achievements in war, science, art or philanthropy. How many of our fellow citizens, think you, if offered the choice of being Lord Tennyson or Mr. Rockefeller would hesitate even one tedious minute? In the United States as elsewhere millionaire is a word of might to conjure with. Reverence for the rich because they are rich seems to be the only kind of respect remaining in this not over-respectful age and country. And yet notwithstanding all, what country is more responsive to every generous impulse; what people is more

richly gifted with noble feeling than the American? What enthusiasm greets every worthy deed, every heroic act; goes forth to meet them as the daughters of Israel went forth with song and dance to welcome the returning Saul. Recall the triumphant landing of George Dewey, the extravagant ovation to the brave Hobson. A thousand similar instances might be cited. There never was a nation that so eagerly rewarded merit of every sort, or is so quick in its response to all that appeals to what is high and noble and generous. What a boon to a nation so highly endowed, would be the creation of some legitimate tangible expression of these feelings, something that should symbolize to men righteousness, morals, goodness, as against the grossest and lowest of men's appetites, love of gold and the sensual pleasures for which it stands. This vast and deep ocean of national feeling and sentiment is a mighty power for good that only needs to be given definite form and shape to play its true and useful part in rewarding the deserving, not merely with gold, but with honor. It would be highly presumptuous to condemn democratic society for its defects in this regard, or to undertake to manufacture a remedy, as presumptuous as it is to sweepingly condemn aristocratic societies for their titles and class distinctions without appreciating the real social services which such "toys"—if you please to call them so—have rendered. Without them democratic society is poverty-stricken when called upon to honor its great men adequately and fitly; without them the whole system of society is left to be organized and managed on the degrading basis that the one desirable object of attainment is wealth. But gain this, the great god Mammon seems to say, and all other things shall be added unto you, social position, the esteem and friendship of your fellows, and so much of rank, fashion and class distinction, as human ingenuity can contrive to introduce into a purely democratic society, where by law all men are equal.

And so, philosophically considered, not altogether without their social uses are those commercial transactions whereby so much money is exchanged over the international counter for a

title more or less battered and shopworn. They suggest at least worldly objects of ambition other than mere pelf, they help to counteract in some perhaps very small measure the influence of the grossest ideals of happiness that even worldly men can cherish. They represent, be it ever so poorly and inadequately, a little higher and different ideals, they smack of romance, of antiquity, of ancient deeds of valor and heroism, and thus they have a value for social purposes that cannot be disregarded.

Granted a theoretically perfect community of highly trained men and women, and we may suppose them living well and acting nobly without outward incentive other than the respect of their fellows; but to ordinary men and women some symbol and sign of merit that appeals to the eye and touches the imagination is a powerful aid to right conduct. Human nature is weak and prone to yield to manifold temptations of the most sordid and gross kinds. Stealing, lying, fraud, indecencies and swindlings, great and small, are sure to present themselves in various guises to us all, and we can ill afford to spare any artificial safeguards however imperfect, against them.

Nor are the weaknesses and pettinesses that follow in the train of title and class distinction any greater than those which exist in their absence. Toadying and servility to rank are no meaner, no more degrading than toadying and servility to money. Is the hanging on the skirts of the rich for the sake of pecuniary advantages and stock gambling "tips" a more respectable employment for a man than the striving to be seen in the company of "My Lord," or to gain the smile of a Duchess, who, however base or ignoble in their proper person, yet represent often past achievements and services?

Or is the more edifying spectacle that of Mr. Brown and his triumphal arch striving with might and main against oblivion and an obscurity which he feels is undeserved, but knows not how otherwise to escape? Why should not a true social order say to the struggling Brown: Give your half-million legacy to the Home for Consumptives, the Universal Hospital, the Teach-Everything College, and you shall write before your patronymic that small but all-powerful word "Sir," and go down the stream

of time to posterity, not your triumphal arch, but as Sir A. B. C. Brown, Knight of the Charitable Order of St. John, etc., etc., or of whatever society may seem suitable?

Observe how neatly and cheaply society pays Brown, saves the waste and extravagance of his arch, which is of no earthly use to anyone except the architect and the stone masons, and pockets his half-million for a true public beneficence. And at the same time Brown himself is far better satisfied, his hunger for distinction receives its proper and appropriate food, and he is gathered to his fathers with the sense of a rounded and completed career.

Sufficient has been said to suggest the uses which titles, rank, badges of distinction, play in society by way of satisfying the craving of men for the esteem of their fellows, by way of paying also legitimate debts of society to its statesmen, artists, inventors, poets, and so on, and further, their services in utilizing and formulating that great mass of popular sentiment and opinion which exists in all healthy societies, and which, when properly formulated, is a mighty power for good.

In all such societies popular opinion and sentiment make for honesty, sobriety, clean living, honorable conduct, all that we characterize by the general name of goodness. Without, however, direction and some definite form to give them value they roll onward mighty as Niagara and as useless, or which is even worse, their great power undisciplined and unguided or misguided by that mighty organ, the newspaper, acts sometimes oppressively, often cruelly and always blindly.

There is no worse tyrant than public opinion and this is the tyranny to which democratic society is peculiarly subject. It may be startling, but it is nevertheless true, that because of it the Arcadian dream of freedom is no more realized in a great democratic society, like that of the United States, than in the aristocratic and monarchical societies with which it is so much the fashion to contrast it. We are all governed in our thinking by forms of expression, habits of thought, catching words and phrases, that capture our reason before we are aware of it. Many of these were true a century ago and we still accept

them as current, much as we do old coin, forgetting that they have become obsolete or depreciated by the change of circumstances.

A democracy certainly does make all men free and equal in that it frees them from the burdens of class distinctions, the oppression of rank and the tyranny of superiors, but it only substitutes a different rule for that which it destroys. Instead of the tyranny of the few we have the tyranny of the many. It is not here intended to compare, much less decide, the relative advantages of the two; all that is attempted is to portray that other side of the question which always exists and which is often neglected, and justly neglected, for the time because of the immediate necessities of the case. At the time of the American and the French Revolutions and the subsequent revolts of the masses throughout Europe down to 1848, the evils of class distinctions were the crying ones, but now that the crisis is past we may deliberate once more and contemplate the weaknesses and disadvantages of a society like our own with not a vestige of rank or class, level as our own prairies and with as little diversity. Above all let us not imagine that when we have written as the French did, in childish exultation, the words *Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*, on every public space, we have revolutionized society and gotten rid of all social difficulties. There is no magic virtue in abstractions; whether liberty is a boon or a curse depends much on the use that is made of it. Equality is not of itself anything desirable, nor fraternity until we examine and see what the effect of these is on the happiness of the individual. We cannot look too closely into the beautiful and eloquent words with which glib-tongued orators present us, like so many prize packages gaily decorated and seductively wrapped, but which like them may turn out, when examined, to have very cheap and tawdry contents. There is a tyranny of the many as well as of the few, of the mob as well as of the aristocrat. And the instrument of that tyranny in pure democracies is that great mass of public opinions and sentiments which we have been discussing.

In democracies it is given shape and direction, if at all, by an

irresponsible and often worthless newspaper press. Public opinion, shaped by the press, tries and settles every question. To it the criminal at the bar of justice, the latest popular favorite, be he general, author, actor, statesman, what you will, appeal for final judgment. There they find their fate and future inexorably determined without appeal and without mercy. It is easy to understand whence comes that irresistible power of public opinion expressed and made effective by its formalization in the newspaper. It arises from the absolute equality which really exists between man and man. Each stands at the mercy of his fellows, defended by no panoply of sentimental regard, no badge of class distinction, no prestige of hereditary reputation. Stripped of every adventitious defence each man comes to the bar of public opinion simply and solely on his merits or rather on the community's opinion of his merits. To one so placed what the community thinks of him, how it treats him in business, in social relations, in all the complicated situations of civilized life is of pre-eminent importance. Eccentricity of thought or conduct is excused by no rank, no position, no ancestral title of respect. The common level must be sought by all who value safety or even comfort. His dress, his actions, his thoughts so far as he expresses them, must conform to the common standard or expose him to more or less disagreeable consequences.

It is not to be disputed that in all great communities of men there is this tendency to a common standard enforced by a public opinion more or less exacting, but in other societies there are counter tendencies which to a certain extent break its force, that surround the individual with barriers of rank or of position and thus partially at least protect him. The English country gentleman or noble, panoplied about with immemorial custom, secure in his social position, fortified with the esteem of his own class, can affect an independence of public opinion or prejudice that is all but impossible to the citizens of a democracy.

Instances of this subservience to public opinion, to fear of the neighbor, are continually revealing themselves in American social

life to the philosopher who has an eye for them. Not long ago in one large American city an application was filed for a liquor license, which required, according to local law, the endorsement of a certain number of the applicant's neighbors. One man, himself a total abstainer and property-owner, who considered the granting of the license an injury to his property, nevertheless endorsed the application. He explained his action by declaring that he could not avoid signing; it would be considered unfriendly in him to refuse.

In the same connection another neighbor, a tradesman in the vicinity, signed the application for the license to please one set of neighbors, and then signed a remonstrance against it to please another set.

In another case a man in search of employment produced a letter from his former employer recommending him in the highest terms. Within an hour after the presentation of the letter the employer appeared and declared the man totally unfit for employment, excusing his letter on the ground that he did not like to refuse the man's request for it.

In still another case a domestic presented a reference from her last mistress attributing to her all the virtues of the saints. Upon a personal interview the lady disavowed every assertion in her letter, explaining that she feared the servants' displeasure if she truthfully described her character.

Only the other day a prominent railroad man was quoted as saying that when he met his engine drivers and conductors in his tours of inspection he was careful not to allow his speech to be any better than theirs.

Thus the great averaging process goes on, penetrating and permeating every relation of life, depressing here, elevating there, relentlessly enforcing the democratic commandment: Thou shalt be as thy fellow, no better, no worse.

A democracy is the paradise of the average man, the liberty enjoyed is his liberty, to do as he does. In the United States this average man is higher than anywhere in the world, so much so that it is notoriously difficult to obtain good American servants. Laborers, sailors, soldiers, mechanics of

American birth and breeding, grow rarer year by year. Democracy tolerates no differences either up or down. Its mandate is as imperative upon the man below as upon the man above, and the high average of the mass forbids to one man his being a servant as it forbids to the other his being a master; both are equally incompatible with assimilation to the type of the average man in the United States. Even the public men, the leaders and political bosses are many of them only the average man's spokesmen, they are the average man, let us say, raised to the *n*th power. The most successful are those whose leading consists in anticipating the desires and opinions of the led, and their success is measured by the skill displayed in studying and foreseeing what those desires and opinions of the average man are likely to be. The moment they take upon themselves the role of real leaders, display ideas independent or different from those of the crowd, the sentence is pronounced, so terrible in a democracy, "he does not agree with the party," or to use the newspaper phrase, "he is not loyal, he is a kicker." No matter how correct his views, his doom politically is sealed when these words are spoken, and it is known that he has refused obedience to the opinions of the crowd. Never was there more perfect formula for suppressing all individuality, all true leadership.

It is one of the dangers of democracy that by this leveling process, this averaging of all to a common standard, all independence of thought and character such as tends to create true leaders, may be destroyed. Already the more intelligent students of our political parties are complaining of the lack of real leaders. In a recent newspaper one of them said: "The apparent dearth of leaders is due mainly to our elaborate political machinery designed to make real leaders impossible. * * * Parties exist to furnish a program and leaders, but here in New York they have only killed off talent and destroyed initiative" (N. Y. *Evening Post*). Trees and men must have room to grow if they are to reach their full stature. For vigor and strength of character, isolation and solitude, are indispensable. The isolation may be physical or moral; it may be

the isolation of the far Western frontier, of the wilderness, of the hermit, or it may be the isolation of the privileged class in an aristocratic society, of the country gentry in England, or of the slaveholders of the Southern States of the Union before the war. It does not necessarily follow that such isolation will produce leaders, it is not the cause, but only one of the necessary conditions of their existence.

Goethe gave expression to one side of this truth when he said that all intellectual power perfected itself in solitude. And already we find leading authorities like President Schurmann of Cornell University, in a recent address complaining that the United States has produced no great creative minds such as Darwin and Shakespere, and the characteristic answer is made to him that the intellectual strength of a nation rests not upon a few geniuses, "but upon those achievements of mental force that distinguish the mass * * * * (America's) intellectuality rather aims and desires to be not sporadic, but general" (Boston *Evening Transcript*). This illustrates precisely the averaging process that is taking place, which makes all men Darwins and Shakesperes by proxy, but discourages that originality, that independence of thought, which alone can give us new Darwins and future Shakesperes.

Be assured it was no mere coincidence that the greatest modern leader of men, Napoleon Bonaparte, came from an island where individual initiative and individual independence existed to a degree that almost reached anarchy. George Washington was but an aristocrat of aristocrats, a great provincial land owner; Abraham Lincoln came from the wilderness; the list might be indefinitely extended with few and insignificant exceptions to the rule that the leaders of men come only from those moral or physical isolations and solitudes that allow full and untrammelled development of individual character. Assuredly they cannot be called the natural products of those great modern averaging factories, the crowded cities.

The absence of these conditions has always resulted in a dearth of great men. Examine that powerful and wonderful

society which might almost be characterized as the society for the suppression of the individual, the Society of Jesus.

Loyola, its founder, declares in his constitution of the order, that the members should be remarked for "their true and perfect obedience, for the abdication of their will and their own judgment." He exacts an obedience that, in his own words, "strips yourself completely of your own will, of that freedom which the Creator has given you, and which you must freely give back to him, and consecrate it to the person of his ministers * * * and not only his will, but his intelligence * * * (we must) imagine that all that is ordered by the Superior is the order and the will of God himself."

Here is exhibited the subjection of the individual to society carried to the highest point. It invokes for its authority not human opinion as a democratic society does, but divine command, and is consequently so much the more searching. To disobey the one may be merely eccentricity, unpopularity; to disobey the other is sin. Here, therefore, we may trace the effect produced on character with the more clearness by as much as the purpose is the more pronounced and undisguised. The avowed object of the society's discipline is to extinguish all individual character, will and intelligence, and to make the member the blind tool of the society, represented in the person of his superior.

Upon the results of this discipline the great historian Michelet remarks: "The mechanism of the Jesuits has been active and powerful, but it has done nothing that will live. It has lacked that which for all society is the highest sign of life: it has never possessed a great man, not one great man in three hundred years."

And the reformer Laménais, himself a priest, declares on this point his opinion that: "In intellectual matters, distinction is only attained individually, and all things being equal intellectual value increases in proportion with the facilities and freedom given to its development."

Of the difference in this respect between an aristocratic and a democratic society no sharper contrast, in modern times per-

haps is available than in the political history of our own country up to and including the Civil War.

Prior to that war it was the semi-aristocratic society of the South that gave to the United States in rich abundance the majority of its leading statesmen, generals and politicians. It was they that lent to the South a preponderance in the national councils to which it was entitled by neither its relative wealth nor population. And such leaders as the society of the North did produce came with few exceptions from the extreme West or Northeast, from the primitive societies and simple conditions of life, where the grinding wheels of democratic equality had not yet had the opportunity to do their work, the vast primitive forests and prairies of the West or the simple societies of the farming regions of New England.

The beginning of the Civil War but emphasized the contrast. How long and patiently did Lincoln grope and search in vain for a military leader while the North waited with bated breath.

The South had no such difficulty; on every hand were found capable and able captains that gave to its armies a marked advantage in the preliminary struggle.

The South in the days of slavery was essentially an aristocratic society; a society in which the slaveholders stood a distinct and privileged class, hedged about by the institution itself, with rights and a position that gave the utmost liberty, if not license, to the individual.

The vast plantations isolated the slaveholders geographically for part of the year, at least, from their equals, gave them a sort of petty kingdom of inferiors to rule and tyrannize over if they pleased. Here was a congenial soil for the development of the individual, the leader and ruler of his fellows.

The North presented the opposite social picture, an industrial as well as democratic society, just developing into wealth and prosperity, without a social barrier of any sort or description to protect the individual from the "averaging" process.

For democracy is the triumph of the average man, the apotheosis of the commonplace. Under the beguiling guise of

making all men equal, it strikes down with relentless hand all that is unusual, eccentric, individual. This disease of democracy that kills off the individual for the sake of the average, may some day present us with a serious problem, if by its crushing equality it destroys those conditions which are necessary for the production and development of independent character, of leaders of men.

Whether in the long run this society of the average man will be superior to that society which cherishes and encourages differences and gives play and room for the rise of leaders, is too far-reaching a problem for more than mention here. It is possible to conceive a society whose members are capable of taking care of themselves without leaders, whose every individual is a leader. Certainly the democracy of the United States has shown itself very capable in this respect. In every hamlet and village is found the nucleus of a state, for every social grievance and public necessity there are organized meetings, with chairmen, committees, speakers and resolutions, showing a marvelous aptitude for self-government, which is perhaps another name and phrase for dearth of leaders in the great sense.

ARTICLE VIII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

In *The Expository Times* for October the Rev. T. W. Hodge pleads for consistency in the translation of παράκλητος and its consistent use as "Advocate" in John's Gospel and First Epistle. The Paraclete is Christ's "Alter ego." "Christ came in His Father's name, and His work was to glorify the Father. The Spirit comes in Christ's name, and the Spirit's work is to glorify Christ." "Christ is the Advocate of disciples: the Spirit is the Advocate of Christ." In the Epistle Christ is the sinner's Advocate before God; in the Gospel the Spirit is Christ's Advocate before the sinner.

Christ pleads with God His saving grace for sinners; the Spirit pleads with man the truth about Christ. The Spirit convinces the sinner of his sin, vindicates Christ's righteousness, and brings to man's consciousness the divine judgment upon evil. "It is hardly adequate to say that this conviction of sin would secure the acquittal of the disciples, it would secure *the vindication of Christ*; neither is it sufficient to say that the Spirit 'pleads the believer's cause against the world' (Westcott); for *even in the world*, the Spirit is the *Advocate not of the disciples, but of Christ*. *The disciples are not first of all defendants but witnesses.*"

The confused, darkened mind of man finds its illumination in the Spirit. The Spirit brings to the sin-burdened soul the consciousness of redemption through a suffering and crucified Saviour, while this Saviour pleads the sinner's cause before God. "Christ is now man's Advocate with God. That is the teaching of the Epistle. The Spirit is Christ's Advocate with man.

That is the teaching of the Gospel. Christ pleads the cause of those who did the wrong; the Spirit pleads the cause of Him who suffered the wrong. Christ pleads with the Holy the cause of the guilty; the Spirit pleads with the guilty the cause of the Holy."

It was not long since believed that the Egyptian race, if not the earliest historic race, was at least a race independent of Asiatic origin. The history of Egypt went back four millenniums B. C. to the dynasty of Senefren or Khufu, the kings at the beginning of the fourth dynasty. But tradition, through Manetho, claimed a founder, Mena, long preceding the pyramid builders. This, however, was regarded even by Maspero as a fable of ancient peoples. Four years ago M. de Morgan, Director of the Service of Egyptian Antiquities, had his attention directed to a tomb on the west bank of the Nile near the town of Negada, about fifteen miles north of Thebes. The tomb built of bricks and buried in the sand contained about thirty chambers built against the wall, and a large central one containing the remains of some significant personage. The brick casement had been subjected to heat and the contents of the tomb calcined by fire. In a state of semi-cremation numerous objects were recovered, some fractured, some intact. Among the remains were portions of calcined bones, the carved foot of the ivory couch on which the body had been placed, a Babylonian seal-cylinder, some well-lathed obsidian vases, and a broken ivory plaque.

Several fragments of the plaque adjusted revealed the *ka* name of a king, the name of his "double" or spirit after death. The contents of the tomb were removed to the Museum at Giza, where from among the fragments the remaining portions of the plaque were recovered, and on the reverse side of the one bearing the *ka* name was the living name, MEN, "King of Upper and Lower Egypt." The manner of burial and the seal-cylinder told the tale of origin and source of culture.

The customs of the Euphrates valley had been transported to the Nile. It told the story of Babylonia where clay was

the writing material, where stones were valued as gems, where pebbles were neatly carved and hung to the wrist to be used as seals for registry and correspondence. Chaldaean culture and customs had found their way into the Nile valley where hieroglyphs could be chiseled in stone, and tombs cut from native rocks. The sandy loam of the Nile valley was ill adapted to receive the impress of a seal, and after the sixth dynasty this mode of writing disappeared from Egypt.

"The land of Shinar" is the mother of Egyptian culture, and the native home of her people. The obsidian vases showed commercial intercourse with the islands of the Aegean Sea, and the beginnings of culture among races dwelling on the islands and northern shores of the Mediterranean. "The island of Melos was the nearest source from which the obsidian could have been obtained, and at how early a date its mines of obsidian were worked has been made evident by the recent excavations of the British School of Athens in the island itself." "Long before the Mykenaeen period the Ha-nibu of Melos had been carrying their knives of obsidian to the other islands of the Aegean and receiving in return the marble that was found in them." "In the bloom of the Mykenaeen age, that is to say, in the Mosaic age of Hebrew history, the art of writing was thus known and practiced, not only in western Asia and Egypt, but throughout the eastern basin of the Mediterranean as well. And the script that was used by the peoples of Krete and Cyprus, of Asia Minor and Greece, was not the cumbrous hieroglyphic system of Egypt or the cuneiform syllabary of Babylonia; it was, on the contrary, a phonetic system of comparative simplicity, the pictorial beginnings of which had been so long left behind that the characters had become linear and conventional. It was, in fact, the precursor of the so-called Phoenician alphabet." The supposed illiteracy of the times of Moses is shown to be false by the dissemination of culture through western Asia, Egypt, and southeastern Europe. The early western incursions by Sargon of Akkad and his son Naram-Sin (3800 B. C.), the Tel-el-Amarna tablets, the neolithic culture of Mykenaeen art in Krete dating probably as early as

1700 B. C., manifest a wide-spread commerce with its attendant pictograph, hieroglyph, and even cursive scripts and literary forms. The antiquity of man is a study interesting, indeed, but Prof. Sayce has made the study of "The Antiquity of Civilized Man" still more so.

The American Journal of Theology for October.

Prof. J. Rendel Harris in the December number of *The Expositor* suggests a textual emendation of 1 Peter 3 : 19 to clarify the mystery of the preaching "unto the spirits in prison." Jude acknowledges his indebtedness to Enoch by quoting him in his Epistle. Peter shows his indebtedness to Enoch too, but does not make mention of his name. Prof. Harris thinks Enoch's name was embodied in Peter's Epistle, but accidentally has dropped out. 1 Peter 3 : 19 contains it. The uncial text ran thus: *ENOKAI[ENOX]TOIS * * **, but the similarity of *ENOX* to the particles preceding deceived the eye of the copyist and was overlooked. So it was Enoch and not Christ that preached to "the spirits in prison." The solution is found in Enoch XII: "And I Enoch was blessing the great Lord and the King of the world, when lo! the watchers called me—Enoch the scribe—and spoke to me. 'Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go, announce to the watchers of the heaven who have abandoned the high heavens and have defiled themselves with women,' etc. And Enoch went and said, etc.'"

The elimination of Biblical difficulties by the elimination or substitution of the text may secure good sense in rendering the original, but we cannot always be sure it is the sense of the inspired writer.

The emendation of the text is a legitimate critical procedure, but its dangers lie in the subjectiveness of the critic. A sympathetic and critical knowledge of the Greek tongue does impart a keenness of penetration into the language and offers fertile suggestions for the emendation of obscure and doubtful passages. The theological predilections for the traditional interpretation of 1 Peter 3 : 19 are not so great as to oppose probable proof of the accidental dropping of Enoch's name.

The quotation from the Book of Enoch is seemingly close and suggestive, but we wait for further evidence.

In the same number of *The Expositor* Prof. Ramsay discourses on "The Family and Rank of St. Paul." In his *St. Paul the Traveler* Prof. Ramsay sets forth the probable social and political position of Paul as a Tarsian citizen. The rank of his father indicates considerable wealth and influence. Paul's education at the feet of the distinguished Gamaliel in Jerusalem, his competency in sustaining a lawsuit in the highest court of the Empire by appeal to Caesar, the marked respect paid him at Caesarea and on the voyage to Rome, the distinguished interview and private conversation accorded him with the governor Felix and the Princess Drusilla, indicate influence by the command of money. "King Agrippa and his Queen Berenice also desired to see him. A poor man never receives such attentions, or rouses such interest. Moreover, Felix hoped for a bribe from him; and a rich Roman official did not look for a small gift. Paul, therefore, wore the outward appearance of a man of means, like one in a position to bribe a Roman procurator. * * * An appeal to the supreme court could not be made by everybody that chose. Such an appeal had to be permitted and sent forward by the provincial governor; and only a serious case would be entertained. But the case of a very poor man is never esteemed as serious; and there is little doubt that the citizen's right of appeal to the Emperor was hedged in by fees and pledges."

When Paul became a follower of the Nazarine he was probably renounced by his father's family and excluded from the enjoyment of his father's wealth. Hence we find Paul maintaining himself by the labor of his own hands. As a tent-maker he toiled through the day, and at night met people at his lodging place or in their homes and taught them the gospel of Christ. The strict Phariseism of his father's family would not countenance his alliance to the cause of Christ. But at his father's death he fell heir to his portion of the family estate and means. His costly journey to Rome, however, and the

legal expenses as well as self-maintenance in respectability incurred by his appeal to Caesar and the trial at Rome, exhausted his patrimony, and after several years we find him thankfully receiving gratuitous help from his converts in Philippi. Dr. Gilbert in his *Student's Life of Paul* seems to value but lightly these inferences which are drawn from the Tarsian citizenship and family patrimony of Paul. Mr. Ramsay calls to his aid in vindication of his position the distinguished historian, Prof. Mommsen, who writes: "That Paul, though a trained handicraftsman, belonged to a civilian family of good position, appears from the fact that he possessed the Roman citizenship from childhood; for only the prominent townsmen of the provinces were distinguished in this way." And Prof. Ramsay adds: "No one knew better than Augustus that this aristocratic position could not be maintained without money; and we may be sure that none were admitted to Roman citizenship except those who could support the Rank."

The manumission of a slave to the condition of a freedman was also not unusual, but this occurred mostly by reason of the talent and competency of the slave, or subject, which qualities made him more valuable to his master as a freedman than as a servant. "But, further, it must be observed that St. Paul's father was not a freedman; he was a Tarsian citizen. Now, although Roman law granted Roman citizenship to a slave manumitted with the full and proper legal formalities by a master who was a Roman citizen, yet Greek law was never so generous and enlightened in that respect. A manumitted slave in a Greek city did not acquire citizenship, even though his master was a citizen." If the possibility be admitted that citizenship had been secured by a purchase from some venal governor leaving in doubt the quality and character of the purchaser, yet the willingness and ability to pay a high price for the coveted honor countenances the probability of considerable material means. The educational advantages secured for Paul in his youth, and his costly career subsequent to his arrest in the temple where he was defraying at no small cost the expenses of vows of purification for four men, bear significant

testimony to the probability of the truth of Prof. Ramsay's opinion.

In the November number of *The Biblical World* the Rev. Dr. George H. Gilbert gives a dissertation on "Demonology in the New Testament."

Since to the consciousness of Jesus God was very near to men, angels were little needed as ministering spirits. They were regarded as inhabitants of heaven, whose activities did not much concern men. Bad angels, too, were of but small account. "The place and importance of demons, were, in the thought of Jesus, wholly incidental." Jesus held the popular view of demoniacal possession, which is regarded as a mistaken one. He was subject to the limitations of His times respecting psychological knowledge, and is not to be held as knowing better, yet practicing accommodation to popular superstitions.

The noteworthy attitude of the demonized toward Jesus was their recognition of Him as the Messiah. The explanation of the phenomena of demoniac possession is insanity, insanity on the subject of the Messiah. "If, now, we admit that the demoniacs had heard of Jesus, and like other men had been deeply moved by what they had heard, and that their cries on seeing Jesus were a result of what they had heard, perhaps in some cases the result of what they had seen with their own eyes, then the view that they were insane persons—insane at least on the subject of the Messiah's advent—becomes more easily tenable."

The expectation of the Messiah was wide-spread, and the announcement of His advent affected people of unbalanced mind brooding over the excitable subject and plunged them into monomaniacs on Messiahship. The intense feeling was confined to Judea and Samaria. "There is no instance of demoniac possession among gentiles, as far as the New Testament informs us. It is significant that the phenomenon of demoniac possession seems to have disappeared so soon after the resurrection of Jesus, and that it was confined to Jews and

Samaritans." Dr. Gilbert seems to have forgotten the daughter of the Syrophenician woman in his statement of prevalence; and this case with that of the boy afflicted from childhood, who was brought to the disciples at the hill of Transfiguration, presents two significant examples of children of immature minds who would not likely brood over, or be unduly excited, by the announcement of a Jewish Messiah.

Another form of evidence produced by Dr. Gilbert is his interpretation of the consciousness of sin on the part of the demonized confronting Jesus, and the ethical comprehension manifested in their exclamations. "Even the recluse on the east side of the lake of Galilee, in a section where Jesus had never been, ran to him from afar, and seems to have addressed him at once as Son of the Most High God." "In two instances the demonized are apprehensive that Jesus has come to destroy or to torment them. The narrative seems to attribute this sense of guilt to the demons themselves rather than to those who were possessed. This feature of the narrative is difficult of explanation on either theory of demoniac possession. For, in the first place, it is not easy to see why evil spirits should have volunteered a confession of their fear to Jesus; and, in the second place, assuming that the demoniacs were insane, it is not easy to account for their apprehension that the Messiah would torment them. It certainly was not characteristic of the Jews that they anticipated evil from the Messiah." There is certainly a difficulty here before Dr. Gilbert in the maintenance of his thesis based on the theory of insanity, though he should build on the saying of Dr. Bruce that "Insanity is much nearer the kingdom of God than worldly-mindedness." It is akin to the doctrine that the more a man is beside himself, the nearer he is to God. But mere insanity cannot explain the spiritual conception of certain demonized in respect of the Messiah. The popular expectation of the Messiah lacked the ethical content necessary to the proper apprehension of His mission. For this reason Jesus was compelled to hold back a public admission of His Messiahship, and request silence on the part of all so confessing Him.

The anticipation of a Messiah's advent was so far echoed that mention is made of it by the Roman historians, Tacitus and Suetonius. The announcement of His presence was followed by a wave of enthusiasm. But the conception of His mission was that of the political Zealot and the popular humanitarian deliverer, or Jewish king. And when Jesus refused to be made king, the people's opinion changed. When Jesus had escaped from their presence to the retirement of Caesarea Philippi He asked His disciples, "Who do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" The people had come to recognize Him as the Messiah, but now that notion had fled when Jesus refused to become king after their appointment. The popular idea of Him now descended to that of leader, or prophet, or forerunner, but not Messiah. And Peter voiced the common opinion when he answered: "Some say John the Baptist; some Elijah; and others Jeremiah, or one of the prophets." A spiritual deliverer was not the expectation. The reticence of Jesus respecting His Messiahship was due to this popular misconception to which He would not accommodate Himself, and was not caused, as some suppose, by the indecision of His own consciousness. Clear and unvacillating was His Messianic consciousness manifested by the decisive choice of the means to be employed in founding the kingdom made at the time of His temptation in the wilderness, evidencing His unwavering conviction that He was the Messiah sent of God. But through all His ministry He was constrained to withhold a public declaration of the acceptance of this title because of the mistaken preconception of the people. Spiritual conceptions were so utterly lacking that Peter's confession elicited the declaration from Jesus that it was only from a supernatural source that Peter had been qualified to express it. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven."

Brooding, or excitement of weak, unbalanced minds over the Messianic expectations so widely prevalent cannot account for the spiritual and ethical statements made by demoniacs upon confronting Jesus. The supernatural seems to be necessary here too for a confession of a spiritual Messiah.

The December number of the same magazine contains a suggestive article by Prof. Bosworth on *What the Nazareth Years did for Jesus*.

We scarcely appreciate the fully-developed character with which Jesus came forth from Nazareth. The town of His youth had its influence in forming His unique personality and equipping Him for His career. Nazareth did not make Jesus. It "profoundly influenced, but did not dominate Him." It had sufficiency to make Him become known significantly as Jesus of Nazareth. It is here that He won His education and His knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures. From Nazareth's elevation He gazed upon historic places which stirred His enthusiasm and patriotic feelings. He marked the path which Elijah took from historic Carmel across the plain of Esdraelon leaping in advance of Ahab's chariot, fast-driven before the advancing storm. There within sight was the Shunem of Elisha; Gilboa with its sad tragedy of the fallen Saul and Jonathan; and the curtained valley of Gideon's midnight march with his famous three hundred. The great trunk roads of commerce between the Far East and Egypt twined their way in the distance with their long processions of wearily-marching soldiers, caravans of truculent aspiring traders, and sickly travelers seeking health from distant warm baths. From such scenes possibly were quickened those feelings which voiced themselves in the sympathetic call, "Come unto me all ye that weary and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." In His walks on the heights He saw the ravens in their flight; the wild crocus and the lily at His feet; and in the stillness found His joy in prayer and conference with His God. In the home He experienced the grace of social ties, in contrast with the austere and ascetic John the Baptist. His toil at the carpenter's bench gave Him an understanding of the task of family maintenance and the social problem of earning a living. At His mother's knee He witnessed the selecting of a full-shrunk patch to mend a well-worn garment; and at vintage time experienced the disaster of the economic attempt to preserve the new wine in old wine-skins. And at midnight as He lay upon

the rug that hedged the swinging door and forbade its opening, He may have heard the shamelessly-reiterated knock of the borrowing neighbor, and the drowsy reply of the father, "My children are with me in bed; I cannot rise and give thee." Full many a vital experience trained Jesus in sympathy with, and interest in men, and in personal self-control. And yet, all this, however stimulating, and natural, is supposititious, and we cannot claim to have discovered the psychology of Jesus' development, nor the key to His self-consciousness.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

Prof. Gunkel's Commentary on Genesis, Nowack und Gunkel's *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, which has just appeared, is of special interest, because it is the first attempt at a complete critical study of Genesis, in the form of a commentary, from the standpoint of the history of religion. In his preface he says that textual and literary criticism, as well as archeological and grammatical explanations, which have heretofore formed the content of Old Testament commentaries, must be considered only a preparatory step for the true Old Testament exegesis, which should seek a "true understanding of the men of the Old Testament, and especially, of their religion." Though this is not a new method for studying this part of the Bible, the emphasis that Gunkel lays upon it, and the fact that his application of it to the entire book of Genesis is the first that has ever been made, have led some Old Testament students to call this commentary "an epoch-making work."

In the text the sections from the several primitive sources, and from the redactors, are distinguished by different type. In the quest of sources, which seems to be the exclusive work of many Old Testament students of to-day, Gunkel has been more richly rewarded than many of his fellow-students. There are, of course, the Elohist and Jahvistic sections. Then he

not only finds two sources in the Jahvistic sections (Budde *et al.*), but concludes that they were two complete and wholly independent primitive collections (the claim of mutual independence is new). When these were worked into one account, "aside from other additions," a third source was introduced, giving us a complex from three different sources, with "other additions," in that which has been known as "the Jahve sections" of Genesis. Even the Jahvistic account of Abraham (the early account) proves to be a literary composite of three previous accounts, Ja, Jb, Jc. Ja was a collection of stories or sagas covering the events of Abraham's life, which gradually grew into the form in which it was when the editor incorporated it into the account that we have now. It has no parallel in the Elohist document of Genesis. Jb has parallels in the Elohist sections and was added later. Then certain parts, that do not fit this theory, are collected under the head of Jc. Even in the Jahve section of the story of Jacob, Chap. XXVI, because it breaks the connection, is "probably" a later addition. The account of Joseph is, of course, made up of the Jahvistic and Elohist sources woven into our present narrative. But chaps. 38 and 49, v. 1 to v. 27 are later additions to the Jahvistic text. However, the primitive Elohist source is a uniform account, with only traces of former combinations. Gunkel recognizes no literary relation between the Jahvistic and Elohist texts; neither one is in any way dependent on the other.

But this analysis of the text is of importance only as a necessary preliminary step for that which is to follow. From these primitive sagas, thus discovered, Gunkel gathers rich material for studying legends, in the form of oral tradition, before they were put into literary form. In this way he claims to reach sources from which he can reconstruct the history of culture, religion and morals, in a prejahvistic age, and to a certain extent, in a prehistoric age.

There are four steps in the process by which he arrives at his conclusion: 1. By the analysis of the composition (see above) he secures the primitive sagas; 2. By reconstructing

the older saga forms from those which we have, by noting and eliminating the little changes that have been made in them when they were collected and committed to writing; 3. By classifying the sagas according to their style; 4. By comparing these sagas, *a*, when the same sagas are given more than once in Genesis; *b*, when also found in other books of the Old Testament; *c*, when found in extra-biblical writings.

By these means Gunkel essays to go back to the very genesis of the sagas and to read from them the contemporary religion and life of the people. Certain of these stories (likely not all of Israelitish origin) are really myths, accounts of the gods, and are older than the real sagas. But the Israelitish religion, which was from the beginning inclined to Monotheism, was not at all favorable to these stories of the gods; hence they had to be changed in the process of adaptation. The real origin of some of these sagas were the phenomena of nature. Creation is represented as a great Springtime, and the deluge is from the great inundations of Mesopotamia. Other myths of Genesis are attempts to answer the questions, Whence is heaven and earth, reason in man, and his death, the differences in languages, etc.? Thus myths are "the beginnings of theology and philosophy."

It is different with the sagas of the patriarchs. They are not myths, though Sarah and Laban and, possibly, Abraham may have been deities. These sagas are classified as follows: Historical; Ethnographical; Aetiological. The last class is subdivided into, Ethnological; Etymological; Geological and Cult sagas.

Many other conclusions of Gunkel are interesting, but this is sufficient to give a good idea of his position. It is reported as the most extreme production of the negative criticism of the Old Testament that we have seen in the last seven years. Even a laymen in Old Testament matters can see that it is a veritable labyrinth of finely-spun theories, through which Gunkel must pass in order to arrive at that knowledge of primitive conditions, which he considers the most important result of the study of Genesis. And yet Steuernagle, a young

Professor in Halle, agrees with almost everything that is claimed, and is very profuse in his praises of the wonderful scientific value of the book. We regret that we are not able to give the opinion of Prof. Rothstein, his senior colleague in Old Testament work at Halle. Judging from recent declarations he has made concerning the Wellhausen school (See this vol. of QUARTERLY, p. 446.), we think that in all probability he would regard it as only another sign of the certain dissolution that threatens the left wing of Old Testament criticism.

A suggestive incident occurred in Leipzig University in November, 1901. Prof. Guthe, of the theological faculty, probably its most liberal member, declared unconditionally that Polytheism was the primitive religion of Israel, from which they developed to Monotheism, and proceeded to establish it from Old Testament passages. The next day Prof. Linder, of the philosophical faculty, in lecturing on *Introduction to the History of Religion*, said: "Students of the Old Testament are wont to claim that the Israelitish religion developed from Polytheism. There is no proof for it. They find such development in contemporary and adjacent religions, and simply assume it for Israel."

The question of inspiration, in its relation to Old Testament Prophecy, has been treated frequently within the last five years, in commentaries, works on Old Testament Introduction and Old Testament Theology, and in a number of pamphlets that have appeared from time to time. The tendency seems to be toward a more conservative estimate of the prophetic office and the value of its productions as the revelation of God. The division of the prophetic books, as we know them, still continues. But the critics, as a rule, merely claim that a greater number of prophets were used by God, in giving us the prophetic parts of the Old Testament, than we have believed. At present the dating of some of these sections is the most negative element in the work of the critics. Certain parts are assigned to dates so recent that most of their supernatural

character and religious value is lost. Last year Prof. Kittel, of Leipzig, delivered a lecture on *Profetie und Weissagung*, in which he stated his position as to the relation of the human and divine elements in prophecy. It is essentially the same as that of Giesebrecht. The prophets were patriots, reformers, preachers, but above all "men of God," who had an "immediate revelation," which, worked out in their lives and personal experience, became "mediate revelation." Thus, though they could be certain that the resulting message that they had for the people was God's word, they added to it a large human element. Kittel regards the fulfilling of this prophecy as concerning only the "kernel" and not the "shell." "We can easily see how Kittel strives to vindicate the divine character of Prophecy, and at the same time to lay proper emphasis upon the human side, and to give a psychologically mediated explanation of the phenomenon." In his evident attempt to stand between the extreme left wing of Old Testament critics and the conservative party, he is forced to hazy conclusions (like others with similar ambitions) which satisfy neither class.

On the other hand, Prof. Koenig, in his address delivered about the same time at Wupperthal on the *Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*, gives a clear and unequivocal statement of the supernatural character of the office of the prophets. Their messages cannot be the result of the observation of nature, the course of history or their own inner experiences, or of the teachings concerning the future in the so-called schools of the prophets, or of their thoughts in moments of "ecstasy." The source is to be sought "exclusively" in a "supernatural sphere." In the religious history of Israel the unseen world projected into the visible world.

Cornill is inclined to prefer Kittel's position to that of Koenig.

Dr. Rietschel, Professor of Practical Theology in Leipzig University, discusses, in a recently published pamphlet, the question of a union or federation of the Evangelical Churches

of Germany. He gives a brief history of the movement, from the Reformation to the present, as a foundation for treating the necessity of such a movement, and then exposes the weaknesses of the previous attempts. The federation dare not be effected by placing over the several state Churches a central legal authority, after the pattern of the Empire. Proposed plans that have had this in view have remained unrealized creatures of the imagination (Dorner, Brückner, Lechler, Hofmann, Beyschlag, *et al.*). Rietschel does not think that altar fellowship among the Evangelical Churches should be considered a means for attaining this end, because it simply has nothing to do with common church interests and rights. Yet it is the duty of the Lutheran Church "to admit to the Lord's Supper such Evangelical Christians as come hungering and thirsting—to the table of the Lord, even when they have not formally come over to the Lutheran Church." "A confession that is to stand over the several confessions is and remains, nevertheless, a union confession, and such a union by consensus must be excluded from such a confederation." The organization must be a simple federation, into which the several state Churches enter voluntarily. All the machinery of the Empire is to be rejected, save a central committee, which shall attend to business matters coming up when the general body is not in session. All questions within the Churches, confessions, theological science, polity, in brief, everything that touches the independence of the state Churches, is excluded. "The meaning of the alliance consists in having a protection for the general evangelical interests against Rome, civil legislation and the sects, and at the same time in possessing a common field of work in the positive care of evangelical Germans in foreign lands."

It is now more than fifty years since the question concerning the reform of evangelical confirmation began to be agitated in Germany. In the last decade the general interest has increased greatly, as is proved by the extensive literature on the subject, in pamphlets and magazine and newspaper articles, and by the numerous assemblies of preachers and religious teachers that

have discussed the subject. In the September and October numbers of the *Theologische Rundschau*, Professor Achelis, who lectures on Practical Theology in Marburg University, gives a resume and critique of the publications that have appeared. "Confirmation, even in its present form, enjoys such a high esteem, and is so deeply rooted, that only the very best reasons can awaken the hope that the need of a renewal can succeed. For the pastors it is the crown of their catechetical work, often the very blossom of their pastoral labors in the growing congregation; and even the voice of conscience with many an earnest pastor does not avail to dim the glory that surrounds confirmation. Throughout the congregation it is valued above baptism. Not to mention the frequent very worldly degeneration of the ceremony in family celebrations and the like, for the consciousness of the evangelical people, confirmation is the passing from the unripe age of childhood into the riper age of youth. For most children it means the end of school days and the beginning of life as a citizen with an occupation, and the attaining of a series of churchly privileges, through which confirmation surrounds the young Christian with a religious consecration, the like of which it really does not have. The adherence to confirmation and the power of the custom are so great that in the first decade after the introduction of the new civil law (not requiring confirmation and baptism and the religious ceremony in addition to the civil ceremony at marriages), in Berlin, Koenigsberg, Stettin and Magdeburg, four-fifths of the marriages were without religious ceremony, two-fifths of the children were not baptized, but almost without an exception every fourteen-year-old child was confirmed. This general estimate of confirmation explains, at least in part, why the holiday humor is allowed to influence people too easily to neglect to study the origin, manner and purpose of confirmation. Of course everywhere it stands in some relation to baptism and the Lord's Supper, but so many different conceptions of that relation prevail. Simons examined a large number of these opinions, and found that a number of the defenders of the present practice admitted, not only that great confusion pre-

vails as to the conception of confirmation, but also that there is perfect option as to the plan of teaching, material, method and purpose of catechisation. Among the numerous voices that have been heard on the question recently, scarcely one is to be found who would have the present condition, at least of catechisation, remain untouched."

Achelis finds three chief viewpoints, from which confirmation is criticized and change is advocated. The ecclesiastico-political, the pedagogical and the religious and moral. These can be distinguished but not separated.

1. "We call that plan ecclesiastico-political which would train up out of the mass of the baptized and the confirmed a nucleus of faithful Christians, to whom the administration of the Church can be trusted. They feel that it is a great impropriety, that, according to the prevailing presbyterial and synodical order, every person confirmed, in the course of a certain number of years, attains the privilege of voting and being a candidate in the churchly corporations, although, especially in the larger cities, scarcely ten per cent. participate in the Lord's Supper or the divine services of the Church. 'The present method of confirmation is the organized devastation of the Church.' (Stoecker)." Certain advocates of change classed here recommend a double confirmation (Hoeftling, v. Zeschwitz), one admitting to the sacramental privileges of the congregation, and the other admitting, after four years of voluntarily received instruction, to the exercise of the administrative rights in the congregation. Others of this class (Schleiermacher, v. Hofmann, K. Buckrucker, Theodosius Harnack and, to a certain extent, Adolph Stoecker), with differences in details, would limit the exercise of the privileges and responsibilities of administration to those who partake of the Lord's Supper regularly.

2. The second class of writers deal with the problem chiefly from the standpoint of catechetical instruction in the schools, and its relation to confirmation. Much has been published on the question and a number of meetings have been held. The following are some of the changes suggested: Children should

be older when confirmed (one writer advocates the opposite); Full confirmation; No confessional obligation; No vow; A better understanding between Church and schools as to the matter and method of teaching; Simplification of confirmation, etc.

3. "In order to bridge over the recognized deep chasm between the requirements of confirmation, and the religious and moral life of the confirmed, W. Caspari and H. Cremer would like to see the universality of baptism and confirmation set aside. Because the baptism of children assumes a subsequent Christian training, the children of such parents, as the Church cannot trust with their Christian training, should be excluded from baptism and subsequent confirmation." Achelis finds here the free Church, but *in pessima forma*, and the dangerous assumption of a sort of infallibility on the part of the Church, in claiming to know the hearts of the parents. He justifies fully the attacks made on the incongruity of unripe fourteen-year-old children using the present forms of confessional obligation and vow. In order to avoid the difficulty, some writers advocate the simplest forms. Those which are found in the new Prussian "Agende" are severely criticized because they are beyond a child, and express assensus to a dogma rather than the faith of the heart. Almost all religious teachers and many pastors advocate, in addition to simplification of forms, a change of the age for confirmation from the fourteenth to the sixteenth year. But Achelis sees many difficulties in the way of this innovation.

The cardinal question of the entire reform movement is this: "Can we, religiously and morally, justify joining to a confirmation that is obligatory for all an obligatory confession and vow and an obligatory first reception of the Holy Sacrament? The answer to the question cannot be doubtful. Every confession of faith that is worthy of the name, and every vow of faithfulness to the confession and to live a Christian life that is worthy of the name, and the partaking of the Holy Sacrament, are not only worthless, when they are the result of coercion, instead of being born of a free personal decision, but are to be rejected.

This dare not raise any objection in the Lutheran Church." Achelis here reviews the defenses of the present practice, and concludes that they show clearly that coercion is present and that it is intolerable.

He concludes thus: "Accordingly confirmation must be freed entirely from the confession and vow, from connection with the Holy Sacrament and the rights of Church administration, and must get a simpler and clearer catechetical character, as that act in which the presupposition for infant baptism, namely, the succeeding Christian training, is set down as completed, so far as it lies in the hands of the organ of the Church and is a matter of instruction." "This is one condition for the reception of the Holy Sacrament. The other is the voluntary decision, the free desire of the confirmed." Religious instruction should not cease with confirmation; it should merely cease to be obligatory. This post-confirmation instruction will mean more pastoral work and a great change in the life of the pastor.

Almost everybody who has treated this question sees a great and pressing need for a thorough reform in religious instruction. The plans suggested vary greatly. It is not time to speak of the attainment of definite and marked results. But a great advantage has been gained, in that a wide interest has been awakened. The problem is only in the stage of discussion. However, there is almost absolute agreement as to the need of smaller classes, an understanding with the schools as to the matter and method of instruction and as to the practical religious character of the instruction.

Perhaps the most striking thing in these articles by Achelis concerning this discussion is the unconscious, and therefore eloquent, confession of the weakness of the state Church in this respect. In a number of the articles that he condenses and quotes, the "free Church" is mentioned as something to be feared and avoided.

The theological stir, caused by the appearance of Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, has subsided, but the book is by no

means forgotten. Its influence can be estimated, but not known. The demand for it has exceeded that for any book published in many years. It is now in the fifth edition, between 21,000 and 25,000. Some admirers of the book claim that it is the most important work that has appeared since Schleiermacher's *Reden ueber die Religion* of 1799. A learned conservative pastor, who, in addition to his pastorate, occupies a position that brings him into contact with many professors of many universities, made the following observations concerning Harnack's lectures: Among the theological professors it is comparatively fruitless. I have not heard any one speak of the book as profound, and nearly every one, liberals as well as conservatives, note a marked lack of thoroughness in it. Its influence among the teachers of the schools is great, more so among men than among women. It has also had great influence on the student body of Germany. But that is natural; youth is critical and ready for new theories. This accounts, in part, for the popularity of the book. Speaking from the largest city and from a chair in the largest university in all Germany it was easy to get a hearing elsewhere. One Professor, not noted for his conservative tendencies, said: "We must acknowledge that even Harnack can go mad at times." A very conservative noted professor of history said: "I consider Harnack a great historian in the early Church. But in dogmatics, where this book properly belongs, he is nothing." All the professors whose opinions are known to us, conservative as well as liberal, recognize a great service that the book has done and is doing among the cultured classes who have had little or no practical interest in Christianity. They are not in a condition to bear much positive truth. And Harnack does not offer them much. But that little which he does offer has a religious warmth and enthusiasm about it, the influence of which they cannot help feeling. Though, in a certain sense, this book can be considered a polemic against that which is generally called orthodox, it is, nevertheless, a powerful advocate of a living Christianity. The professors who have expressed themselves in regard to the matter, are glad that the lectures were pub-

lished. The published replies have been very numerous, and generally considered weak. That of Prof. Walther, of Rostock (now in 5th. ed.) is considered the best by nearly everybody. Prof. Cremer's attack (Griefswald) is the only one to which Harnack replied. He strikes at Walther very sharply in the preface to the 5th edition. He says that he has not been able to learn anything from his antagonists. At present the book is being criticized as a theological exercise in one of the theological Vereins at Leipzig. Prof. Seeberg, of Berlin, is lecturing on *The Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion*. Like Harnack's lectures, they are public for the students of all faculties. Rev. Tressler writes that he lectures with great power, and has about 400 hearers. Prof. Lasson, of the philosophical faculty of Berlin, is also giving a *publice* on "Faith and Knowledge." His position is pronouncedly conservative. It is understood that these two courses of lectures are intended as replies to Harnack, though thus far in Seeberg's room no reference has been made to him.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

Life Everlasting. By John Fiske. The Riverside Press, Cambridge. 1901. Price \$1.00.

Special interest attaches to Dr. Fiske's brief discussion of this great subject because of his thorough acceptance of the evolutionist theory of man's origin from brute ancestry and his eminent ability and sincerity as an interpreter of it. Against the skeptical tendencies developed by the theory, he has maintained a high appreciation of the value of man's religious interests and aspirations. His broad scholarship and independence as a thinker, as well as his whole relation to the thought of our times, give peculiar interest to his expression of views on this profound and vital theme of a future life. "The faith in immortal life," he declares, "is the greatest poetic achievement of the human mind, it is all-pervasive, it is concerned with every moment and every aspect of our existence as moral individuals, and it is the one thing that makes this world inhabitable for beings constructed like

ourselves. The destruction of this sublime poetic conception would be like depriving a planet of its atmosphere; it would leave nothing but a moral desert as cold and dead as the savage surface of the moon."

The discussion is the Ingersoll Lecture for 1900, delivered at the request of Harvard University, and published as delivered. In the first part the author seeks the probable genesis of the idea of life after death, and concludes that belief in it was "not only coeval with the beginnings of the human race, but also coextensive with it in all its subsequent stages of development—in short one of the differential attributes of humanity." He notes the immense advance over all Gentile and even Hebrew views by "the glorious and inspiring Christian development of the belief in immortality," and recalls the grotesque and hideous perversions introduced into mediaeval scholasticism and Dantean poetry. In enumerating the occasions of modern skepticism on the subject Dr. Fiske notes the discovery of the correlation and equivalence of the physical forces, the connection of mental phenomena with the various degrees of complexity of nerve organization, and especially the doctrine of evolution. His method of discussion is an examination of these forms of teaching as maintained by recent science, with a view to a critical verdict as to their bearing on the question of a future life, or the natural immortality of man. His examination discovers no new impediment to belief in it. In respect to the correlation of force, after tracing the metamorphosis of motions within the body, from the sense organs to the brain, and thence outward to the muscular system, he finds the *physical* circuit complete in itself, the "consciousness" being neither the cause nor the effect, neither the producer nor the offspring, but "simply the concomitant." "As for our conscious life, that forms no part of the closed circle, but stands entirely outside of it." He rejects the materialistic explanation of mind. To the materialistic claim that the relation of intelligence to the brain is like that of music to the harp, and that when the harp is broken there can be no more music, Dr. Fiske opposes the "view long familiar to us, that the conscious soul is an emanation from the Divine Intelligence that shapes and sustains the world, and during its temporary imprisonment in material forms the brain is its instrument of expression. Thus the soul is not the music but the harper." And he adds: "Obviously this view is in harmony with the conclusions which I have deduced from the correlation of forces. Upon these conclusions we cannot directly base an argument sustaining man's immortality, but we certainly remove the only serious objection that has ever been alleged against it. We leave the field clear for those general considerations of philosophic analogy and moral probability which are all the guides upon which we may call for help in this arduous inquiry."

After the same manner he treats the difficulty alleged in the Darwinian theory of man's origin—when and how could immortal man have

been produced from an ephemeral brute?" This he holds as essentially simply an appeal to our ignorance of the mode—not necessarily a confutation of the fact. And he holds that the analogy of "leaps," even prodigious leaps," in nature after long preparation, well suggests a way in which all the higher spiritual attributes may have been bestowed. And he maintains that since "this belief in an unseen world, especially associated with the moral significance of life, was coeval with the genesis of man, and has played a predominant part in his development ever since, that belief must be based upon an eternal reality, since a contrary supposition is negatived by all that we know of the habits and methods of the cosmic process of evolution." Dr. Fiske's claim is, thus, not simply that modern science has not nullified the rational grounds of faith in man's immortality, but rather strengthened them.

M. VALENTINE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Early History of Syria and Palestine. By Lewis Bayles Paton, Ph.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis and Criticism in Hartford Theological Seminary. Pp. xxxvi and 302. Price, \$1.25 net.

This is Volume VIII of what is known as the Semitic Series. The entire series embraces thirteen volumes. Under the announcement of this projected work we are told that "Recent scientific research * * * has provided us with a picture of hitherto unknown civilization, and a history of one of the great branches of the human family. The object of the present series is to state its results in popularly scientific form. Each work is complete in itself. * * * Each contributor is a specialist in the subject assigned him, and has been chosen from the body of eminent Semitic scholars both in Europe and in this country."

Our author fulfils these promises very well. His style is clear and concise. He avoids technical terms and his work covers the entire ground indicated by the title. The opening chapter begins with chronological tables of the early Babylonian, the Egyptian, the later Babylonian and the Assyrian dynasties, and of the Kings of Judah and Israel. The author is quite conservative in his time estimates, dropping several milleniums of years and adopting the views of recent German writers on this subject. Then follows a chapter on Bibliography which is very full and of great value to the investigator. In the succeeding chapters the history of Syria and Palestine is presented, as this history may be gathered from the inscriptions of surrounding nations and from the Old Testament. Who the original dwellers of these two lands were, whence they came and what their character, our author professes not to know. The Canaanites are the product of the Amorites carried hither by successive waves of immigration and the expelled Hyksos of Egypt. The proofs adduced for this view are not convincing.

The Hebrews are the next invaders. The varying fortunes of these people from the establishment of the monarchy to the final captivity,

the influence of the Egyptian, Hittite, Assyrian and later Babylonian supremacy, are fully described. When drawing upon the Bible, however, for facts for his history, our author feels called upon to reconstruct the Old Testament. In doing so he follows along the lines of the most extreme rationalistic criticism. This is a pity; nay, more, it is a blot on an otherwise fair page. It mars the book. If the author deals as violently with other documentary evidence that he uses in making up his history, his book is not above suspicion. Moreover, it is altogether unnecessary to pursue such a method when writing a history of Syria and Palestine. Such a history can be written without tearing the Old Testament into fragments. Such histories have been written. It has not been shown that the Old Testament is in conflict with any archæological discoveries that have been made.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians. By John Edgar McFayden, M.A. (Oxon). Pp. 350. Price, \$1.25 net.

It is fortunate for the great body of Christians that neither the Bible nor the Church in her ecumenical creeds, has attempted to define inspiration. Theologians and certain denominational confessions have ventured to give a categorical definition of the phenomenon, but the Scriptures themselves and the Church do not insist upon any theory of Biblical inspiration. That the Spirit of God aroused and guided certain great prophetic souls to action and rebuke, to sing, and to write laws of councils, is beyond dispute. But primarily it was persons that were inspired and not their writings. All this is becoming more and more clear as we study critically the Old Testament.

The Messages of the Prophetic and Priestly Historians aims at presenting the essential, that is, the religious messages of the historical books of the Old Testament, as those messages are reached and interpreted by the scholarship of to-day. One of the greatest difficulties that besets, for the general reader, the scientific study of the Old Testament, is the absence of any easily accessible criterion to distinguish the original sources from the later redactional material. These are two of the purposes of Mr. McFayden's book. The third is to present in paraphrase the outlines of Jewish history in the light of its great dominant theological ideas.

The origin of Hebrew literature he finds in poetry—a poetry rugged and celebrating great victories. War ballads form the earliest type of Hebrew writing, such as Book of the Wars of Jehovah (Num. 21 : 14 ; Num. 10 : 35, 36); The Book of Jashar (Josh 10 : 13. Formal literature was hardly possible before David. Every student of the Old Testament is driven to consider the question of a Hexateuchal analysis. The Book of Joshua, which deals, among other things, with the campaigns and the ultimate settlement in the West, is the necessary complement to the Story of the Pentateuch. Together they make one

theme. When to this is added the fact that the literary features which characterize the Pentateuch reappear in the Book of Joshua, it will be seen that we are justified in regarding as our unity not the Pentateuch, but the Hexateuch.

Our author points out that the unity of the first six books is not a unity of authorship, for there are many incoherencies. Take, for example, Exodus 32. Here is a really dramatic incident—an apostasy and an intercession. So much is clear; but the detail is not only obscure—it is conflicting. In verse 14 the apostate people are forgiven by their God. In verses 19 and 20 they are punished by Moses. In verses 25 to 29, three thousand of them are slain by the tribe of Levi at the command of Moses in execution of the express command of God, who had pardoned them but a few verses before. Nay, in verse 35 God actually punishes them himself after having in verse 34 suspended the punishment for the second time. Other contradictions are pointed out by our author. Chronological difficulties, duplicates, etc., all drive us to an analysis. Mr. McFayden's presentation of the clew as found in the names for God—Jehovah and Elohim—the characteristics of each group of documents, the appearance of the Jehovist-Elohists are as clear and satisfactory recital of the results of modern criticism as we have read. He declares that the Elohist and Jehovist documents belong to the Northern and Southern kingdoms respectively; that each document is the work of a school. The Jehovist he thinks is the earlier. Neither could be earlier than the time of David or later than Amos or Hosea. His sketch of the national history as given by the prophetic historians is necessarily scrappy by reason of paraphrase. He thus characterizes the historical quality of these earlier writers: "The history is not written for its own sake, but as the vehicle of great religious ideas. In other words, it is written in the prophetic spirit, and by men to whom ideas meant more than facts. * * * Gleaming through the gray tradition are bright and indisputable facts which historically cohere and are of high historical value; but of more value than the facts are the divine ideas which they suggest and partially illustrate." The two later sections of the book treat of "The Prophetico-Priestly Histories" and "The Priestly Historians." The same didactic value of history appears in the work of the writers of Deuteronomy, which was discovered 621 B. C., and which marked an epoch both in the history of Israel's religion and literature. The exile gave impetus to the study of ritual practice. That study was encouraged by the course of history after the return. It expressed itself in the effort to write the history of the origin of the theocracy. It idealizes the past by ignoring all scandal. Priestly interests have marked prominence even in ordinary narrative. It has a more exalted conception of God.

By the use of various styles of type the author presents what the great body of conservative critics consider the original story, the additions, and the redactions of the text.

One feels grateful that the editors of this series—*The Messages of the Bible*—selected such a clear and careful writer to present the consensus of opinion upon the historical study of the Old Testament from the view-point of modern criticism. As we said in the beginning of this sketch—It is fortunate for the great body of Christians that neither the Bible nor the Church has attempted to define inspiration. The new era of historical Biblical study certainly demolishes many of the older theological assumptions concerning the present text of the Old Testament. The history of Israel becomes far clearer and more vital under the guidance of such leaders in sane criticism as Mr. McFayden.

E. H. DELK.

THE MACMILLAN CO., NEW YORK.

The Teaching of Jesus. By Geo. Barker Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., Dwight Professor of Systematic Theology in Yale University. Pp. 190. 75 cents.

The ever-increasing literature on the words and works of Jesus testifies to His supremacy in the world's best thought. Until recently, however, the specific department of Biblical theology has been somewhat neglected by American authors. Dr. Stevens is probably the leading contributor. His *Johannine* and *Pauline Theology*, and his more recent *Theology of the New Testament* have given him a very high place in Biblical scholarship.

The Teaching of Jesus is a reproduction of the substance of the first two parts of his *Theology of the New Testament*; yet it is practically a new work. The matter has been rearranged and rewritten to bring it into somewhat narrower limits. In point of clearness and freshness the new work excels the old. The aim of the volume is "to aid in clarifying the meaning of Christ's life and work by setting forth the principles of His teaching in a clear, succinct and systematic form. The effort has been made to translate the thought of Jesus into modern terms, and so to correlate the different elements of his teaching as to exhibit its inner unity."

Dr. Stevens makes use of the best results of exegetical and historical criticism. But his conclusions are practically in harmony with the old faith. The divinity of Christ, the universality of sin, and indeed all the cardinal doctrines of the Church are found in his *Teaching*. He denies "total depravity" in the sense that the fall left no good in man. The old dogmaticians certainly were wont to overstate this matter. Perhaps the principal point of hesitation in approving Dr. Stevens will be found in his treatment of those portions of the gospels which are explanatory of Christ's own sayings. He does not find absolute inerrancy in the interpretations of the evangelists.

The volume belongs to the excellent series of *New Testament Handbooks*, edited by Shailer Matthews. It is designed as a text-book for schools and Bible classes, and as a manual for private study. The

teachings of Jesus in the synoptic gospels and in John are presented together, and not separately, as in the larger work. We believe that this is the better way in such a treatise. We commend also the marginal statement of the topic of each paragraph as a decided help to the student and the general reader.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

MORNING STAR PUBLISHING CO., BOSTON, MASS.

New Wine Skins. Present Day Problems. Lectures Delivered before the Maine Ministers' Institute, at Cobb Divinity School, Lewiston, Me., September 3-8, 1900. Pp. 457.

As is at once evident, the title of this volume of interesting discussions is drawn from the phraseology of Matt. 9 : 17 (Revised Edition), and advises us of the progressive trend of the contents. However, the "new vintage" here preserved, being gathered by seven different lecturers, is not all equal in the type and flavor of newness. Of the ten lectures given, three treat of Sociology, two of the Problem of Philosophical Interpretation, two of the Problem of Biblical Interpretation, one of the Problem of Practical Work, one of Methods of Evangelization, and one of Opportunities before the Church of To-day.

The first three lectures, by Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, on the Meaning and Scope of Sociology, The Nature of Society, and The Social Forces, respectively, are worthy of the highest commendation. Though the presentation of the great subject is necessarily brief, filling only seventy-five pages, simply marking out the aim and bearing of the social problem, fixing the elemental conceptions involved in the term Society, and noting the different forces whose adjustment is to give us the solution of the problem—a mere synopsis of the science to be investigated—the author's wide range of view, thoroughness of investigation, mastery of resources, and discriminating judgment are everywhere evident. It is a well organized and valuable introduction to the science of human society. The seriousness and difficulties of the whole problem are brought strongly into view. The learned author, instead of attempting an elaborate solution, in his small space, limited himself to making a plea for earnest study of the subject and simply sketching out the fundamental principles that must determine that solution.

Prof. F. C. Robinson's paper on Science and Religion is able and valuable. His view-point is that of evolutionist science. But he argues well against materialism and for the spiritual essence of the human mind. Following this up he finds, after the manner of John Fiske, some support for the belief in its natural immortality. His evolutionism is distinctly theistic, finding a Divine Intelligence to be a necessary pre-supposition as the First Cause of nature, as nature exhibits itself to scientific inspection. From like scientific facts he maintains that the relation of God to the evolutionary progress and the providential

direction of the world is such that he can efficiently help or guide the movement without disturbing the fixed laws of matter and force. God does not simply let nature alone. The lecture of Dr. A. T. Salley on Advantages of the Historical Method in Studying the Old Testament, and also that of Prof. Alfred Williams Anthony on the Historical Setting of the New Testament Evangel, are temperate and impressive presentations of important subjects. The latter, however, in connection with the fact of Christ's making no provision whatever for leaving a written record of His teaching and work, seems to be justly open to criticism for the one-sided and repeated emphasis with which that fact is credited simply to His embounded trust in man, "supreme trust in humanity." "He trusted men," after He had left His life in them. Surely He had not found even His disciples infallible in themselves. Would it not be nearer the full truth, had the professor counted the Divine Providence as meant to be a factor in the future of Christianity, and as furnishing at least in part an explanation of this "trust"? "Lo, I am with you always." "The Spirit shall bring all things to your remembrance."

The new wine skins offered in Rev. C. S. Patton's lecture on Herbert Spencer and the Christian Faith are not to be commended, Its pantheistic identification of God and man and new evolutionary Trinity show alien vintage, not to be accepted for conservation in Christian theology.

M. VALENTINE.

PERRY MASON COMPANY, BOSTON, MASS.

If we were asked to recommend a weekly periodical for young people we should unhesitatingly name *The Youth's Companion*. It is clean, entertaining, full of interesting and useful information. A boy or girl that reads it a year will want it the next and will continue to want it long after age matures. Its management keeps it on a high plane of excellence. Among its contributors are leading writers of national and international reputation. Manifestly no expense is spared in maintaining its rank as a model paper for the young, and it well deserves to lead in circulation as it leads in every other respect. Its price is reasonable, \$1.75 a year. No. 201 Columbus Avenue, Boston, Mass.

ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON.

Those who know and love what is best in literature will not miss the *Atlantic Monthly* for 1902, for, while it has never failed its readers in the past, it has an unusual list of attractions for the coming year.

The Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State, will contribute a paper upon "The Latin-American Republics." Mr. Ambrose Winston will furnish three articles dealing with the history and present characteristics of American Labor Organizations. Miss Vida D. Scudder will furnish a group of papers upon the Present Social Movement, and Prof. Barrett Wendell has promised the *Atlantic* some essays dealing with the American of to-day. There will be articles on Golf, Sailing,

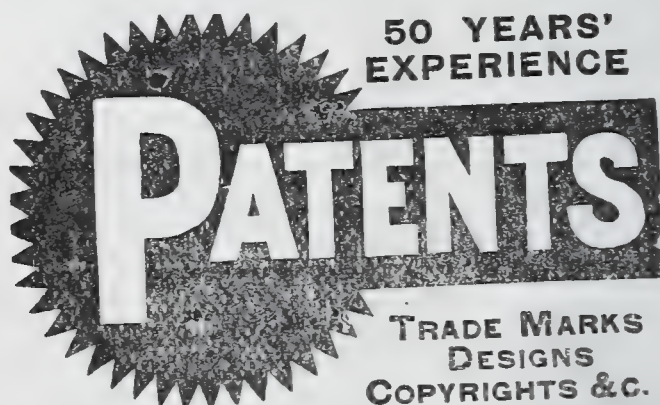
Going into the Woods, and another one on the far-reaching influences of outdoor sport as followed in Great Britain and America, by John Corbin. Two anonymous papers which are sure to attract attention are "The Confessions of a Provincial Editor" and "Our State University." There will be papers on the most timely subjects, fiction by the most popular writers of the day, and indeed almost all of the contributions for the new year are from those writers who have won undisputed places in the field of literature. The *Atlantic Monthly* presents features superior to those offered by any other magazine.

R. NEUMAN, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

Der Zionsbote, Christlicher Volks Kalender für 1902. Pp. 96.

This annual, published for the German Literary Board of the Lutheran Wartburg and Nebraska Synods, besides the calendar material usually found in publications of this kind, abounds in valuable historical matter, paragraphs of excellent religious reading and interesting church statistics. It contains a list of the General Synod Church Boards; clerical register; educational institutions; postal information, and a history of the German Wartburg Synod, with portraits of Revs. J. D. Severinghaus, D.D., F. W. Steffens, R. G. Lenker, W. Schuelke, W. Rosenstengel, and Bruno Garten, and cuts of the Lutheran church, Pittsfield, Ill., and Fontenelle, Iowa.

The publisher has succeeded in giving the Church a fine annual, worthy of an extensive circulation.



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THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

APRIL, 1902.



ARTICLE I.

THE CATECHETICAL USE OF THE BIBLE.

BY G. U. WENNER, D.D.

A catechism is popularly supposed to consist of questions and answers. But this form is only an accident of modern times. In early Christian usage the catechism was a compend of religious instruction for candidates for admission into the Church. It is in this sense that I shall use the term. The use of the Bible will be considered in its relation to the instruction and training of children who are to be prepared for the duties of membership in the Church.

Bible study is conceded to be the basis of all wholesome and effective Christian teaching. This may seem like a self-evident proposition, but it was many years before I learned the importance of this principle. It came to me as a new discovery. Although the instruction and training of young people and children in religion has been the chief business of my ministry, I confess that much of my effort was wasted because I ignored the fundamental place of the Bible in my scheme of instruction. I taught what I supposed was the catechism, consisting of a dogmatic system, derived, of course, from the Bible, and fortified by proof-texts. The instruction was given with warmth and with care. But the results, as I now view them after many years, were not satisfactory. The foundation was inadequate.

The mistake may have arisen in part from the assumption that the foundation had already been laid in the biblical in-

struction of the home and the Sunday school. Only a superficial examination of most children will show that this assumption is not warranted.

The error is fostered also by the unscientific character of many of our Church catechisms—the hundreds of questions and answers that must be committed to memory. To the best of my information and belief much of the so-called catechisation in our churches fails to produce the best results, not merely because of defective methods, but because it is based upon a false foundation.

Catechisation has become the symbol of churchliness, and hence it is the fashion to speak well of it. Nevertheless, in its present use, I venture to characterize it as a fiction, as a simulacrum, and one object of this paper is to appeal for a more correct conception of its place and character in the life of our churches.

After I had discovered the mistake of my own catechetical method, and while I was mourning over lost opportunities, I found to my great surprise that whole periods in the history of the Church had suffered from the same error. Apostolical Christianity was built upon the Bible story, and long before there was a Christian canon, the narration of the facts of revelation brought men into vital relation with Christ and the Church. In the second century, beginning with A. D. 180, the Alexandrian school of catechists, in a long line of eminent teachers, faithfully followed the Apostolical method. Two hundred years later there appeared the most important contribution to the subject in Augustine's tract "On the way in which ignorant people should be catechized," *de catechizandis rudibus*. But through some strange perversity of history, this principle was lost sight of for a thousand years. Although the Middle Ages produced eminent pedagogues, Scholastics, and the Brethren of the Common Life, and in later years Gerson, who wrote the treatise "On bringing the little ones to Christ," Christian training was secured by other means than Bible study. The plastic representations of the Bible story as given in the church buildings, and the poetical reproductions of the story

of salvation, left the people not altogether ignorant of Scripture. But repentance, faith and the Christian life were developed and maintained largely by other methods than the use of the Bible.

The Apostolic and Augustinian principle was restored to the Church as one of the results of the Reformation. Luther's Small Catechism, which marks an epoch in catechetical literature, is, indeed, a dogmatic treatise. But Luther also gave an impulse to the popularization of the Bible by his collection of Bible stories called the *Passional*. He also expressed the hope that some one would arouse the interest of the people by making pictures for the collected stories of the Bible. The suggestion was followed by Fischart, who published Bible pictures and verses, a valuable work of art. In the middle of the sixteenth century Hartmann Beyer, the Reformer of Frankfurt, published the first real Bible story book with pictures, an undertaking which the Brunswick theologian, Justus Gesenius imitated on a larger scale a century later. It had special reference to instruction in schools. For high schools, Melanchthon's pupil, Neander, had designed his *Historia populi Dei* 1582, which aroused great interest. Felicitous creations, with the same end in view, appeared in the latter part of the seventeenth century in the Sacred Histories of Sagittarius, Castellio and Fabricius. Huebner's Bible Stories appeared in 1714, and attained such widespread popularity that he has often been regarded as the founder of the Bible story method of teaching. But his way of telling the story, in a popular version rather than in the language of Scriptures, came to be recognized as faulty. In 1830 Zahn's epoch-making Bible Stories appeared in close conformity of the Bible, and it has been the norm for the numerous books that have followed on this field. The use of the Bible story book is not intended to supplant the use of the Bible itself, although for many years it did so, before the Bible societies made it possible for every one to have a copy. It is intended as a means of helping the child to grasp the Bible narrative in its entirety. The principle is that the Bible itself is the Divine Revelation which must lie at the basis of Christian instruction.

And yet this principle has not always been recognized even since the Reformation. The very excellence of Luther's en-chiridion made it such a favorite form of instruction that for a long time it assumed an inordinate place in catechetical teaching. In churches where the true pedagogical view has not obtained, a brief period of dogmatic instruction still takes the place of systematic and comprehensive Bible study.

In non-catechetical circles, that is, where the Churches are built up by means other than the instruction and training of the baptized children, this principle is in still greater danger of being neglected. The hyperpietistic schools object to the entire system as appealing too largely to the intellectual nature and not to the heart, and it is sometimes regarded as a mechanical method of making Christians. Too much occasion has indeed been given for this criticism. But it is not inherent in the system. It must not be forgotten that Spener, the father of modern Pietism, found in it the most potent means for the revival of the Churches. Nevertheless, where subjective experience is emphasized at the expense of the objective faith, the boy preacher and the peripatetic evangelist will be more acceptable helpers than the Bible catechist.

Another repudiation of this principle is found in those rationalistic systems which substitute natural religion for Revelation and which direct their questions to the innate ideas of morality and religion. But wherever a supernatural revelation is conceded, the method of instruction in its fundamental principles must be *an authoritative presentation of the facts from the sources.*

Recognizing the importance of this principle, the Christian teachers of Germany have during the last half century provided a literature of pre-eminent value in the field of Bible catechetics. Philosophy, History and Art have contributed their aid, so that their catechetical apparatus is rich and stimulating. In this country there are encouraging signs of a growing interest in the subject. But the full value of Bible study as a means to a definite end, and therefore conducted in a scientific and systematic manner, is even now but little appreciated and understood in English speaking churches.

A practical knowledge of the subject, an ability to teach the children of the congregation in accordance with approved pedagogical principles, ought to be one of the requirements of Synod at the examination of candidates for the ministry. In a synodical experience of thirty-three years I have never known of such a requirement.

The first principle of the catechetical use of the Bible is that the foundation of Christian instruction is laid by telling the Bible story. From the pedagogical standpoint this is enforced by the importance assigned to object lessons in the development of ideas, a fact that was first popularized by Pestalozzi, but had already been shown by Amos Comenius, a century earlier. Children love to hear stories, and by this means the food for their thought can best be supplied.

But the Christian teacher has a deeper reason for recognizing this principle. Christianity entered the world as a fact and not as a dogma. It was the facts of the Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles that St. Luke related to his friend Theophilus. And it was in the proclamation of the great facts of redemption that the Apostles gained the trophies of their missionary journeys.

In the statement of this principle there is contained also the first rule of the method which the teacher of the Bible story must observe. He must *tell* the story. He produces his first impression by means of an oral narration. One reason for this is that the younger children are not yet able to read. But there is also a psychological reason. The first impression which the child receives of the Divine Revelation must come with the authority of a prophet's utterance.

It is not necessary in the earlier classes to devote much attention to moralization, or making the application. The sacred story opens the mind of the child to a wonderful land where God is, and the holy angels, and in this realm it is almost an impertinence for men to intrude with their explanatory remarks and their paranetic exhortations. In the older classes there is room for homiletic application, but not so much in the younger grades. Here the chief object is to impress the fact, and to

make it the permanent possession of the soul-life of the child. The story will teach its own truth and will produce its effect on the life and character.

The stories have a primary importance of their own, and are not given for the sake of the dogmatic or ethical lessons which they contain. Christ did not die on the cross to teach us courage or loyalty to truth, but his death is itself the great fact upon which our redemption depends. He did not rise from the dead in order that we might learn lessons of immortality, but his resurrection is itself the great act through which he has become our living Lord and Redeemer.

The material for this instruction consists of a selection of the stories of the Old and New Testaments, sufficient in number to be mastered in the course of a year. Whether the Old Testament or the New precedes is a mooted point. But in view of the fact that in Christian homes the main facts of the New Testament are already known, and because the Old Testament is a preparation for the New Testament, many teachers favor the Old Testament.

The teacher tells the story as simply as he can, not monotonously, or as if it were a recitation, but as a real story, and as nearly as possible in the language and forms of the Bible. Only such explanations are made as are necessary for a clear understanding of the facts. The story is then repeated without any explanations, and the children are given an opportunity to reproduce the story. Or this part of the lesson may be required at the next hour. But it is important to tell the story in such a way that it may be reproduced by the children.

Luther's suggestion that pictures should be drawn to accompany the stories, a suggestion that was promptly accepted in his own day, has been universally endorsed in our times. Christian artists have vied with each other in supplying the Bible story with illustrations.

The next stage of instruction is reached when the child is able to read. In three different forms is the instruction given: Reading, Explanation and Application, Committing to Memory.

READING.—In the Roman Catholic system it is not necessary for the people to read the Bible. The priest is the mediator and source of authority. But in the Protestant system it is necessary to lead the believer to the sources of religion, from which he may draw with independent judgment the teachings that are to control his life. Where there are parochial schools it is easy to read the Bible in course. Where these do not exist, the class instruction must be supplemented by means of a course of home readings.

EXPLANATION AND APPLICATION.—While in one sense it is true that the Scripture is its own interpreter, and the Apostles did not find it necessary to send commentaries along with their epistles, the question is still in order: "Understandest thou what thou readest?" And the answer is still: "How can I, except some man guide me?" It is an art that must be learned, to read the Bible understandingly. The object of catechisation is not merely to study the Bible, but to show how it should be studied, and to accustom the mind to the proper method.

The study of the Bible is in two directions. First, we must understand the Scriptures themselves, in their objectivity, the facts, persons, lands, language and ideas. Secondly, we must understand them in relation to our own hearts. We must teach the children to experience the truth of the Bible story in their own lives. For this task—the catechisation of a class in such a way as to make the Bible story clear in its meaning, without and within—preparation is needed. It is harder than preaching. In preaching there is no one to interrupt, and the line of thought can be followed to the end. But in catechisation, the questions and answers of the children may at any moment throw the teacher off the track and hinder him from attaining the result at which he is aiming. For this reason it is well to have the questions written out so that the teacher may maintain his theme and follow his aim in an undeviating course.

A valuable help in catechisation is the text-book, containing the seed-texts of the Bible, which must be committed to memory during the school curriculum. The Wuerttemberg

Text Book has the following divisions: Texts which teach:
1. What to believe. 2. How to live. 3. How to suffer.
4. How to die. My pastoral work frequently brings me into contact with aged people who learned these texts in Germany when they were young, and who are now proving their value when all things else are taken away.

When shall this work be done? In the State Churches of Germany religious instruction is part of the curriculum of the day school, and the first hour of the day is given to religion. But how can this question be solved under conditions existing in America? This is a problem to which thoughtful Christians are giving deserved attention.

Some think the only solution is the parochial school. In many of our Lutheran churches it is made obligatory upon the pastor to maintain a parochial school. If the congregation cannot support a teacher, the pastor must conduct the school himself. The number of these parochial schools in the German churches is very large, especially in the West. But in the East it is almost impossible to maintain them. Some other method must be found.

I venture to suggest a method which has been in operation in my church for some years, and which has proved to be practicable. We have a "Religion Hour" at four o'clock in the afternoon and on Saturday forenoon. The children of the congregation are divided into six grades: two primary classes, children from five to nine years of age; two intermediate classes, children from ten to twelve years of age; and two classes of catechumens. The highest class meets me twice a week, the others only once a week. This is very little, it is true, as compared with the five hours of the schools in Germany, but still it is something, and it is very much better than nothing.

One feature of these classes, which is much criticised, is that the attendance is obligatory. Every child of the congregation is expected to attend. They can no more miss my classes than they would public school. Indeed, we hold that while secular training is important, religious training is imperative. With a

systematic plan, covering nine years, even though we have but one hour a week, much can be accomplished.

A pleasant feature of this system is that the public school authorities of New York have given their cordial co-operation, so that all danger of friction in respect to hours and lessons has been removed.

But where shall the teachers be secured? It would be a good investment if a congregation were to employ a trained teacher who could impart the instruction in accordance with approved methods. Many of the deaconess houses of Germany have made the training of sisters for such work one of their principal aims, and this would seem to be a practicable solution of the question in this country.*

But if trained help cannot be secured, there are intelligent volunteers in many churches who can be prepared by the pastor for good service. And finally, the minister himself must do whatever he cannot get others to do for him. The instruction of the catechumens can of course not be delegated to any one else.

Besides, there is the Sunday school. This can be made an effective supplement to the regular catechetical system, provided it is not conducted on independent lines, but follows the course and methods of instruction that will lead *to* the Church instead of *away from* the Church.

I have endeavored to state the principle and the methods of

* As chairman of the General Synod's committee to report on the establishment of the Deaconess Work in our Church, the writer of this paper had especially in view the teaching office of the Deaconess. It not only had proved a most beneficent institution in Germany, but it seemed so eminently adapted to the special needs of our churches that he unceasingly advocated its adoption here. Nothing has grieved him so much as the apparent failure of this project. Seventeen years have now passed since the Deaconess idea was first introduced into the General Synod, and we are still without a teaching Deaconess, scientifically educated and capable of training the brightest minds of the churches for a work of such pre-eminent usefulness. Nevertheless we still hope that those to whom this work may be entrusted by the General Synod may in time realize its importance, and aid in the establishment of this helpful office in the Church.

the catechetical use of the Bible as they are explained in the handbooks of approved teachers, and as they are observed wherever catechisation is more than a fiction or an empty form. The presentation has been brief and imperfect. But while it seems to deal largely with methods which may or may not be practicable elsewhere, I trust I have made clear my main contention. There never has been a true and permanent revival in the Church that was not accompanied by a new impulse in the instruction and training of the young. And I believe we shall have better Christians and better congregations if we succeed in bringing up a generation of young people who are well grounded in the Scriptures.

COROLLARY 1.—Catechisation as a preparation for confirmation is inadequate and incomplete, unless it includes a systematic course of instruction in the Bible. This would require more time than the fraction of one year.

COROLLARY 2.—The churches of the General Synod could make good use of a Bible story book, such as has been in use in the Lutheran Church for centuries. As a business proposition this subject is commended to the Publication Society.

ARTICLE II.

PROPER AND IMPROPER DEPORTMENT IN GOD'S HOUSE.

BY REV. E. H. DORNBLASER, A.M.

It is the custom in the Lutheran Church and in other denominations of Christians, to consecrate or dedicate houses of worship with their furniture. This custom is sanctioned by the Word of God and the example of pious men in all ages. By the act of dedication such buildings and their furniture are set apart from an ordinary to an extraordinary, a sacred, use. Such a building is, from the time of its dedication, God's House—God's peculiar dwelling place.

It is true that God is everywhere. The whole world is his workmanship, and there is no place where men may not render reverence to his supreme majesty. But from the very beginning of time *some place* was appropriated to the solemn duties of religious worship, which place was more sacred than others. Adam, even, during his continuance in Paradise had some place at which to present himself before the Lord; and after his expulsion thence, his sons in like manner had a place whither to bring their oblations and sacrifices. "This is probably the reason," says Dr. Horne, "why Cain did not immediately fall upon his brother, Abel, when his own offering was refused, because, perhaps, the solemnity and religion of the place, and the sensible appearance of the Divine Majesty there, struck him with reverential awe that might cause him to defer his villainous design till he came into the field—where he slew him."

The Patriarchs, both before and after the flood, used altars, mountains and groves for the same purpose. The Tabernacle and afterward the Temple, were each called the Sanctuary; and subsequently the synagogues were the places set apart for the worship of Jehovah. The Christian Church edifices have in these modern times, by the will of God, come to take their

place. In the Tabernacle and Temple God specially manifested himself. There he promised to meet his people. And he fulfilled his promise, and there he did mercifully treat with his people. So is now the church edifice peculiarly his house; and after it has been consecrated it is no longer to be used as other buildings are, but in a special way, becoming the august character of him to whose service and worship it is set apart.

The proper use of a church edifice may be gleaned from the formulas recommended by our church authorities for use in the act of dedication.

We find in the Liturgy adopted in 1855 this statement made in the address to the people, just preceding the act of dedication: "No one can fail to perceive how suitable and desirable it is that such edifices should be specially consecrated to the service of the Most High; that is, solemnly declared to be set aside from every secular use, and designed *solely* for the sacred purpose of religion. For in this manner safeguards are provided, that in the places of our common worship of God, no thoughts or feelings inconsistent with these sacred purposes shall be awakened. For such purposes we are now assembled."

And in the consecration service this language is used: "We, ministers of the Gospel, here assembled, consecrate this house, and declare that henceforth, under the name of ——— Evangelical Lutheran Church it shall be devoted *exclusively to the sacred purposes of religion*. We appoint and consecrate it, with its pulpit, its altar and its pews, to the promotion of the glory of Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, to the end that in it may be heard the voice of praise and thanksgiving, of prayer and intercession unto the Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of the world. We appoint and consecrate it to the preservation and extension of the Gospel of His only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Instructor and Redeemer of men, that in it the Word of His Cross may be preached, His Holy Sacraments administered and His kingdom built up; we appoint and consecrate it to the gracious work of the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Truth, of life, and of peace, that in it

through His influence the hearts of men may be enlightened, sanctified, and sealed unto salvation, and that Christian harmony, love and happiness may be promoted; we consecrate this house in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

In the Liturgy adopted by the General Synod and published in 1880, we find this paragraph in the dedicatory prayer:

"Vouchsafe, O Lord, to be present with us, who are here gathered together with all humility and readiness of heart to consecrate this place to the honor of thy great name; *Separating it henceforth from all unhallowed, ordinary, and common uses*; and dedicating it to Thy service, for reading Thy Holy Word, for celebrating Thy Holy Sacraments, for offering Thy Glorious Majesty the sacrifice of prayer and thanksgiving, for blessing Thy people in Thy name, and for the performance of all other holy offices."

And in the act of dedication according to this formula and in consonance with the petition of the prayer just quoted, the officiating minister pronounces the edifice "To be set apart henceforth for offices sacred and divine."

The Christian church edifice is therefore properly used only as a place of religious worship of the Triune God. A service of praise and prayer and religious instruction is legitimate in God's house. Any thing that develops piety, true devotion to God, and builds up the soul in God, is allowable in the sanctuary. Anything that hinders communion with God, that *interferes* with the development of true spirituality of mind and practical piety in life, should not be allowed in God's house.

1. What, then, should be the deportment of men in the house of God at a time when a religious service is held there?

As God's house is emphatically a "house of prayer," the spirit of prayer should be the controlling feature in one's deportment there. "Prayer, in its widest sense, including every act of devotion in which a Christian congregation may unite, should be the chief business" of every attendant of divine worship in God's house. And as we are exhorted to "let our requests be made known with thanksgivings unto God," the voice of joy and praise will also largely enter into the spirit

of those who attend acceptably the public service in God's house.

We are also to go there *to hear*—hear God's Word, hear the word of prayer and praise—but we can hear to best advantage to our souls when we heartily join in the act of common prayer ourselves. Such deportment as that which is controlled by the spirit of prayer in this wide sense is approved by the Lord.

It is said that “whatever deportment in look, gesture or manner is suited to the act of prayer, the same is becoming demeanor in the house of prayer; and whatever is foreign to the business of the place is also inappropriate to the place itself.”*

God fills the place with his sacred presence. In a *peculiar sense* is he present in his house. This fact the worshipper must remember. The keeping in mind of this fact will, with most devout people, suggest their conduct there. A solemnity should possess us as soon as we cross its threshold. The moments passed as we sit in the pew before the first chord peals from the organ, or the minister breaks the silence in the name of the Holy Trinity, may be very precious moments.

Idle gossip is here out of place. Curious gazing about is inappropriate; carrying worldly business and cares with us here, is an injury. But silent meditation and prayer, wooing the Holy Spirit's presence, reading some devotional hymn, or psalm, or prayer, is a very auspicious beginning of a religious service in God's house; a rich blessing is thus obtained even before an audible word is spoken. Then, when the public service is being conducted there ought to be from beginning to end a devout attention and a hearty uniting of all the people in all the parts of the service. No conversation between one and another should be held while a hymn is sung, prayer is offered, or the word is read. Ministers, if more than one participate, should have all things previously arranged and in another room, if possible, so as to prevent the necessity of any conversation by them during the progress of the service. Some

* Horn, *Com. on Mark*, p. 411.

people think it discourteous to speak to one another while the *preacher addresses* them, but do not consider the greater sin of doing so when he reads the Word of God to them, or addresses the throne of grace in their behalf.

Doubtless many of us, both pastors and people, have been greatly annoyed at times by certain young people who seemed to think it was their duty to entertain one another during the service, while they, as lovers, sat side by side in the congregation; and we can testify that it requires painstaking care to break up a habit so annoying to speaker and hearer and so displeasing to God.

When a hymn is sung everybody should be supplied with a book, and should sing. When prayer is being offered, everybody physically able to do so, should stand, with head bowed, eyes closed, the world shut out, the heart shut in with God, and should render a silent assent to every petition made, and expression of thanksgiving spoken. Such deportment in God's house during service we believe to be pleasing to him.

2. The deportment of men in God's house when no service is in progress is of almost equal importance. It is still God's house, and he is in his sacred dwelling place. Out of respect to him we must not improperly use the place of his abode, nor deport ourselves indecorously while in it. It seems clear to us that it is totally wrong to use God's house—the sanctuary, the place of prayer—for any secular business that does not belong to the work of the church, or for humorous entertainments; and it is extremely doubtful whether it is allowable to hold a literary or musical entertainment there unless all the numbers on the program are of such a character as that they could be, with entire propriety, part of a religious service on the Lord's Day. Lectures of a historical character, if not entirely moral or religious, or intended to inculcate moral or religious truth, had better be given elsewhere than in a church. So-called temperance lectures are sometimes delivered in a church, which are simply caricatures of intemperance, and are entirely unfit for the platform of God's house.

Doubtless every pastor is besought by the professional en-

tertainment-giver, who wants the church edifice for an entertainment, and offers to share the profits of the entertainment with the congregation that owns the edifice. He or she is always sure that the proposed entertainment will be perfectly appropriate for a church. But, alas! experience proves in most cases that the entertainer's sense of the moral fitness of things does not accord with that of the pastor or of his most godly people. Those who give these entertainments are usually not satisfied nor are the people who come to be entertained or amused, satisfied unless they have something funny. Anything pathetic will not answer; it must be humorous, and such things in the church are ridiculous, indecorous, incongruous, and sacrilegious.

The humorous singer and the professional elocutionist would almost invariably be sacrilegious rather than appear dull. So it is not safe to venture on many, yes, most, of what are called "perfectly innocent and fitting entertainments for a church."

If a church building is to be used for such purposes we would far better dispense with the form of dedication. For it would be a hollow mockery to say, "We now set apart this house from all unhallowed, ordinary, and common uses, to the exclusive use of reading and teaching the Word, the celebration of the sacraments and such other holy uses."

If we mean to use the church otherwise than as the dedication service implies, we should not offend the Lord with any such hypocritical dedication ceremony. By the practice of such insincerity we lower the tone of true spirituality among the people.

We also believe it to be an abuse of the house of God to use it for money-making schemes; removing the chairs in the place of prayer or the altar, pulpit and pews, and turning the place into a restaurant or a fair; or to use it for any secular purpose, even if the object be to raise money for church purposes. Church people often resort to this kind of thing to raise much-needed revenues. We believe this is wrong; the end does not justify the means. It is forming a forbidden alliance to carry

on the Lord's work. It reminds us of the time when Eliashib,* the priest, had the oversight of the temple in Jerusalem during the temporary absence of Nehemiah, the governor; Eliashib, contrary to the law of God, became allied by marriage with Tobiah, one of the heathen princes of Judea, and gave him permission to occupy a large chamber in the house of God as a dwelling; Eliashib even prepared it for him. It was not a room that had been set apart for worship either. It was only a storage chamber, where the offerings for the priests, the tithes of various things commanded to be given to the Levites, singers and porters, were kept. But when Nehemiah returned from his visit to Babylon he called this *an evil*. It grieved him, and he cast forth all the household stuff of Tobiah out of the chamber, and commanded that it be cleaned and restored to its proper use. Eliashib may have done this for revenue. He may have got a good rent for this room; the record does not say. If he did, the loss was greater than the gain. The Lord's service did not prosper. The Lord's house became forsaken, and the people's interests were not advanced. The sanctuary service was not sustained. What was the reason? They had displeased the Lord, and his blessing was withheld, and the people in their work and service did not succeed.

When Nehemiah did away with the evil, restored the mis-used chamber in the temple to the legitimate purpose to which it had been consecrated, and returned to the method the Lord had ordained for raising revenues, they came again into prosperity. Is there not here a lesson for us?

If professing Christians would depend less on hawking money out of the world by festivals and fairs, fish-pools, grab-bags and picture galleries, oyster-suppers, and ice-cream parties, etc., etc., and would develop themselves in the spirit and practice of benevolence, consecrating a definite per cent of their income to the Lord for his cause, they would be far happier, and God's cause would have greater prosperity, and the Church would to a far greater extent have the respect of the world, and

* Nehemiah, chapter 13.

would exert a much more wholesome spiritual influence upon men. It is not wrong to secure help for God's cause from non-Christians; but we would far better ask them to give their contributions *outright*; and solely for the Lord's sake; and for the good of the Church or of mankind; we should encourage them to give from a higher motive than the gratification of a carnal appetite.

The man is deceived who gives a quarter of a dollar for an oyster-stew, and thinks he is doing it for the Lord or for the Church. He is not doing so at all. He is giving a very small part of it to the Church; the most of it goes to gratify his appetite; and if the Church restaurant has not cheated him in the quality of the stew (such a thing is not unheard-of), he may be oppressed by eating two suppers, where one is sufficient, and better for his health. There are church people who flatter themselves that they have done great things for the Church, when for years they have not given a cent outright, but always baked a cake instead, or gave something else for a church supper, and then took good care to carry a liberal share of left-over provisions home for the family. Such benevolence leaves the Church poorer, and is an injury to the Christian who practices it.

If a church restaurant business must be carried on, let it not be done in *the place of prayer*. But it is better not to give suppers for revenue. Let the church parlors, if there be such apartments, be used for purely social meetings, not for money-making.

It is clear to us also that it is a wrong use of the place of prayer to remove the pews or chairs, and to occupy the floor space with games necessitating the running to and fro through the room. In fact no games of any kind are appropriate in the place of prayer. Some of our churches have been very frequently used in this way. It is feared that some young people have used the prayer room for purposes for which they would scarcely have been free to use their parlors at home. They had no idea of the sacredness of the house of God, and considered the same as a public hall or theatre, or an empty store-room. Such people are in need of instruction.

We are fortunate to have upon record in the Gospels, the Saviour's attitude toward those who used the *temple* in much the same way as some modern Christians would use the church. He twice cleansed the temple. Once when he first came to it, after he entered upon his public ministry, and again just before he died for our sins. Both at the opening and at the close of his ministry did he drive out those who bought and sold therein, together with the sheep and doves offered for sale. He also overturned the tables of the money changers.

Doubtless this merchandizing was done to accommodate the worshippers who had come a long distance, who could not easily bring their animals for sacrifice with them. It was also a matter of convenience for them to have the opportunity to get their foreign money exchanged there into Hebrew coin, such as was required in the offerings of the temple. Doubtless the men who did business of this kind found it most advantageous to their trade to be as near as possible to the place where the sacrifices and money should be offered. And the purchaser found it desirable to procure what he needed from a vender whose place of business was as near the altar as possible. In these modern times men would be willing to pay a high rental to get the nearest place in the temple apartments for such business. It may have brought the temple authorities a large revenue. And men may have argued *then* as some do *now*: "It is right because it is for the good of the Church." But the Saviour did not agree with this Jesuitical principle. He said: "Take these things hence. It is written my house shall be called a house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves."

Perhaps these traffickers charged exorbitant prices for their produce and services, as some modern church people do for church fair or supper articles, because it is "for the Church." The question then arises, Might not the Saviour have permitted them to do this business there if they had not been so extortionate; and so, make it right to conduct sales of this kind in the church if moderate prices were demanded, if people were satisfied with ordinary and honest profits? This idea might hold, were it not for another thing He said viz.: "Take these

things hence, make not my Father's house a house of merchandise." So it would have been wrong to buy and sell in the temple if they had done so at no profit at all, simply and purely as a matter of accommodation. It seems to settle the matter most conclusively that the Master wants no buying nor selling done in the house set apart from all ordinary and common uses to a sacred purpose.

Another question arises: Are there not different compartments of a consecrated house? Some allotted to one purpose and some to another? That is true. It was so in the temple. It had first the holy of holies. Into this apartment only the high priest went and that but once a year. Secondly, the holy place, into which only the priests were allowed to go. A veil separated these two compartments. At the death of Christ this veil was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, indicating that all priests may now have reverent access to the most holy place; by Christ's death all believers are made kings and priests unto God.

Thirdly, surrounding these was a court called the court of the Israelites, and around this court and separated from it by posts or pillars was the court of the Gentiles. About the latter court were added from time to time other compartments. It was in this outer court, the court of the Gentiles, that the Jews allowed the merchants with their merchandise, and the money changers to be. The Jews seemed to think that this outer compartment, where they did not worship, and where only the Gentile proselytes were, could be lawfully put to these ordinary uses. But the Saviour forbade it. He, with unique dignity and grandeur drove out these merchants and said: "My Father's house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations." It was just as wrong to interfere with the opportunity for the development of the devotional and prayerful spirit of the Gentile as of the Jew. It seems very clear, then, that no part of the church which is consecrated to the purpose of worship can be rightly used for such merchandising purposes. If rooms are desired for social occasions, for promiscuous gatherings, lectures on various topics, or concerts, and occasions for the promotion

of mutual acquaintance and fellowship, it may be proper to have an annex, as the Episcopal parish house, or some separate compartment originally built for, and dedicated to, such purposes, as coal bins and furnace rooms, etc., are now. But until such provision is made for them, they ought to be held in a hall, a home, or not at all, rather than in the place where the people are to meet God in sacred worship.

To say that other congregations hold such meetings in *their* places of prayer, or that our own Church in certain localities has done so for a quarter of a century, does not make it right to do so. The conscience may be dulled and made to have lost its sensitiveness to this wrong by long abuse or misuse of God's earthly dwelling place. We must be shown from *God's Word* that it is right to continue to do so. If Luther's conscience could have been satisfied by the voice of customs or traditions, or precedent, or by the word of the pope, he could never have caused a discontinuance of that which wrought great harm. But God did not allow Luther's conscience to be thus easily satisfied. So God is laying this *misuse* of his house on the consciences of a great many of his people to-day; and they do well to insist that they must be convinced *by nothing short of God's Word* that such a use of consecrated property is right, before they receive it as a fact. The fact that the Saviour has spoken so positively on this subject cannot be ignored. "On no other occasion in the Lord's earthly ministry," says another,* "do we find him acting so energetically, and exhibiting such righteous indignation" as when he cleansed the temple. "Nothing seems to have called from him such a marked display of holy wrath as the gross irreverance which the priests permitted in the temple notwithstanding their boasted zeal for God's law. Twice, it will be remembered, he discovered the same profanation of his Father's house going on within three years. * * * Twice we see him expressing his displeasure in the strongest term. 'The thing is doubled' in order to impress a lesson more strongly on our minds."†

* Rev. J. C. Ryle's *Commentary on John's Gospel*.

† Ryle on Matt., p. 268.

Resistance to the Saviour's act of expelling merchants and merchandise and money changers from the sacred courts, "there was none, for men knew he was right. Objection there was none, for all men felt that he was only reforming a notorious abuse which had been basely permitted for the sake of gain."

"We must not allow ourselves to lose sight of the simple, obvious lesson"* which the Saviour teaches. That lesson is the sinfulness of careless and irreverent behavior in the use of buildings set apart for public worship of Almighty God. It was not so much as the "house of sacrifice" as the "house of prayer," that our Lord purified the temple. His action clearly indicates the feeling with which every house of prayer should be regarded.

The Apostle Paul is also careful to instruct his spiritual son, Timothy, whom he put into the ministry, on this important matter. This youthful pastor was left by St. Paul in charge of the congregation of believers in Ephesus, while Paul himself went out to other points as a Christian missionary. He writes to him to encourage him and strengthen him in his arduous work, and to advise him how to comport himself among the people, and how to direct them in sacred matters. In 2 Timothy 3 : 14, 15, he says : "These things write I unto thee * * that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God." This quotation from the authorized version applies the admonition of this text most forcibly to pastors and teachers, who by example and precept prepare young men for, and send them into, the office of the holy ministry. I am sure we are all willing to receive and heed the word of the Apostle of Jesus Christ. But the authors of the revised version of the New Testament have thought it wise to change the rendering of this text to this : "These things write I unto thee * * * that thou mayest know how men ought to behave themselves in the house of God which is the Church of the living God."

* Ryle on Mark, p. 235.

By this translation the application is made to the *minister and people*. The responsibility of the pastor, or teacher, or leader, is increased; for he is not only included among the people who appear before the Lord in his house, but is in a sense to be responsible for men's conduct there. Particularly is such a leader held responsible for teaching the people of his pastorate what the revealed truth on this question is.

A great deal of irreverent conduct in God's house is the result of thoughtlessness and lack of information. Much of it can be corrected by a careful, kindly, sincere, conscientious imparting of information. A long-continued observance of the scenes unbecoming God's house has removed from many the sensitiveness they once had.

If our deacons, who have charge of the communion service, should take the paten and use it as a common bread-plate on their tables on a state occasion, or regularly, and the flagon as a common water-pitcher, or the baptismal bowl as an ordinary wash basin, would not every Christian be shocked at the irreverence, not to call it blasphemy? Yet this is not a particle more sacrilegious than the use sometimes made of the house just as solemnly consecrated or set apart from an ordinary, secular, unhallowed and common use, as the communion vessels are. And doubtless the Lord is just as much displeased and grieved over the real, as he would be over the supposed case of irreverent use of consecrated property.

But there has been progress made by the churches of our own denomination in this country in this matter. We Protestants are able to learn something from the Romanists in preventing an improper use of the Lord's house. In reverence for the Lord's house the Episcopalians may now be in advance of most of the other Protestants, yet the time was when the Church of England was very lax in this respect.* Dr. Plumptre is my authority for the remark that, "The history of Christian Churches has not been altogether without parallels that may help us to understand how such a desecration came to be per-

* In Horn, *Com. on Matt.*, p. 492.

mitted. Those who remember the state of the great cathedral of London, as painted in the literature of Elizabeth and James, when mules and horses, laden with market produce were led through St. Paul's as a matter of every-day occurrence, and bargains were struck there, and burglaries planned, and servants hired, and profligate assignments made and kept, will feel that even Christian Protestant England has hardly the right to cast a stone at the priests and people of Jerusalem ;" and we may add, dare not be too severe in its criticism of the conduct of other denominations. It is extremely doubtful if the same degree of desecration of church property was ever allowed in Lutheran countries.

In extenuation of the custom practiced in many places of using the dedicated church edifice for almost any purpose, it has been said that the Christian church edifice was not modeled after the temple, but after the synagogue; and that what the Saviour said and did in the temple, is not applicable to the modern church edifice, nor to our deportment in it; that the synagogue was used as a school-house primarily, and not as a place of worship.

We have not been able to verify this statement authoritatively, but on the contrary have found that "common prayer and religious instruction were the purposes for which the people there met. The Sabbaths and feast days were the principal times on which the faithful assembled in them; and they contributed more than anything else to the steadfast adherence of the people to their religion and liberty as long as there was any possibility of keeping both intact. *All profane doings were strictly prohibited in it. No eating, drinking, reckoning and the like were allowed*, and even as to dress and other things of general decorum, the reverence due to the place was enforced as rigidly as possible ;"* so there is no justification here for the desecration of the house of prayer.

Now, just a word on the method of correcting the evil of improper deportment in God's house, where it exists. It some-

* *International Cyclopedia*, Vol. XIV., p. 153.

times becomes a very difficult matter to do so without running into other errors or encountering other difficulties which interfere with the real work of the Church. It is often extremely difficult to change public sentiment and the public conscience in matters which have been for a life-time and more in existence. This cannot be done in a day. A pastor often runs counter to opinions long held and prejudices deeply seated.

The first duty of a pastor is to teach his people a better way, show the error of the wrong way, and do so kindly and patiently. He dare not allow himself to become angry. If he does, he loses his power of leading the people. He must be able to assure his people that he does not simply antagonize them or their views for the sake of argument. He must remember that he is dealing with some who may be as intelligent as he is, and with some who have been Christians longer than he. He must convince them of his deepest sincerity and thorough conscientiousness, and that he is performing a sacred duty laid upon his conscience by the Lord. And he must be sure his position is sustained by God's word. Convinced of these things the people will hear him, and consider and weigh his words. And they will be influenced by the truth. He ought to be much in prayer for himself and his people with reference to this subject.

If he has faithfully declared the truth in public and private, and tried himself earnestly to live consistently with the truth which he believes, the responsibility then rests not so much on his shoulders as on those of others. The people then become particularly responsible for their misconduct; his skirts are clear of sin if the evil continues in spite of, or notwithstanding, his protests.

In practice he would better lead them step by step with him than to make a breach of separation, and hold himself aloof from them. Better effect a change gradually, taking for it a number of years, if need be, than to do it by a revolution, and so divide the Church. Avoid an open and angry warfare, if possible. Patience and kindness will finally win the day for righteousness.

The pastor may *sometimes* effect a radical change in arbitrarily declaring that "this or the other thing shall not be tolerated in the church edifice." And he may sometimes and in some places make a humiliating failure in such an attempt. It is doubtful whether the pastor has such absolute authority in our Church. Americans view such an act or assumption as too much like popery. But somebody has or ought to have the authority to say what shall and what shall not be tolerated in God's house. In the opinion of the writer such authority is vested in the trustees, if there be any, or in the church council if there be no trustees. If this body required that permission must first be obtained from it before any meeting other than the stated public worship, be held in the church, it would put a great check upon the efforts of irresponsible parties to hold meetings of doubtful propriety in the church. If this be done the pastor will not stand alone. He will have the coöperation of the most spiritual men, it is to be hoped, of his congregation. If he is overruled he cannot help it; he is not responsible; his skirts are clear of sin, if he has done his duty.

It is to be earnestly hoped that the spirit of greater respect for God's house will grow, and that the house of the Lord will be carefully guarded against the admission of anything that would profane the sacred place—that more and more it shall be to us a holy, holy, holy place.

When all improper entertainments and conduct are banished from the house of God, persons will be much more beneficially affected by the very spiritual atmosphere of the place when they enter it, and be much more likely to be spiritually helped by the services held in the house of prayer which is dedicated exclusively to the service of Almighty God.

ARTICLE III.

THE CENTRALITY OF CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP.

BY REV. EDWIN HEYL DELK, A.M.

The Nineteenth Century witnessed the rise and fall of three promised saviors of society. Democracy, science, and socialism have each, in turn, been declared the sure road to civic order and social satisfaction. The attainment of our American autonomy and the French Revolution of 1789 made possible the experiment in Democracy. The Declaration of Independence, penned by Jefferson, and the Rights of Man, framed by the brilliant Frenchman, Dumont, came to down-trodden people like a new gospel of emancipation. In France, feudalism was overthrown, and the dogma of the equality of man proclaimed from the housetops. No student of history can regret or ignore the exhilaration and hope created by this bold Democratic manifesto. The promises made by the French National Assembly, and the glittering watchword of the Revolution—"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—came like the evangel of an opulent peace to the liberated Parisians. The ideal presented was entrancing. The promise of political equality and social satisfaction filled the imagination with visions of national glory and economic abundance. How did the promises of Democracy fulfil themselves? Let us give speedy honor to all the benefits that have come to us through the Democratic principle. Absolutism and class privilege have been broken. The sovereignty of the nation has been accepted. Every worthy citizen enjoys the privilege and duty of political self-expression. The people as a whole, and not a titled aristocracy, is the first class considered by modern legislation. Yes, Democracy has accomplished many reforms, and secured for us liberties for press and pulpit, school and forum. But the conviction deepens that, beyond the form of government, the real question is the question of individual character. Dumont himself asked, "Are all

men equal? Where is the equality? Is it in virtue, talents, fortune, industry, situation? Are they free by nature? So far from it, they are born in a state of complete dependence on others, from which they are long of being emancipated." The value of Burke's attack on the exaggeration of revolutionary Democracy is receiving new evidence as we begin to realize that no one form of government assures social peace and perfection. You can't build a cathedral out of chunks of mud. However wise and just may be the plan of a government, the mere form will not save the individual or the citizenship as a whole. Democracy, as a social savior, has failed us. The corruption and poverty of New York is as pitiable and great as in Berlin or St. Petersburg. The very champions of Democracy cry out for a fresh ally in the work of civic and social betterment.

The next aspirant for social regeneration was science. Disgusted with the scholastic restrictions and methods of Mediævalism, the seekers after nature's origins and actions discarded the formulas and speculative methods of the cloister and bookmen, and, by the path of immediate contact with rock and human organism, determined to ferret out the secret of the universe. "Give us time, and we will tell you the ultimate truths of all life, inorganic, organic, and spiritual." Science promised us the final revelation of truth and goodness. In the middle decades of last century she was boisterous, if not positively arrogant, in her claim to dominate all other teachers and leaders in thought. Who will deny that Bacon, Faraday, and Huxley, with their inductive method of approach to nature, have given us the true principle of discovery? Science has made splendid conquests in the realm of lower nature, and given us sure rules and sane ideas in the realm of hygiene and civic comfort. The reign of law is no small lesson to have taught the world. Her lesser gifts of electrical apparatus, chemical products, studies in primitive life forms, and her impressive tracings of the evolutionary advance toward man are joy and crown enough for any body of human investigators. But as a guide and motive power in individual and social life, science has failed us in our greatest

hours of need. Geology, biology, sanitation, and vaccination do not touch the vitals of life. Proven science has no final word to offer on all the deepest and ultimate problems of life. Whence come all things? What is a man—his conscience, his prayer—and whither is he going? Toward these ultimates science is agnostic or impatient. The first cause as well as the final cause of the universe are beyond her ken. In the presence of poverty, social injustice, moral depravity, and the spiritual outcries of the soul, she sits like the impassive Sphinx amid the hot, throbbing desert of life. Her votaries, who once shouted themselves hoarse in the so-called "Warfare of Science and Religion," have finally discovered that, on the proper field of science, there is no battle with religion at all; that science cannot even advance into territory of true religion without acknowledging a superior power to mere intellect. Pure science, as a social leader, has suffered defeat, and passes the ultimate problems of life over to the moralist and theologian. Man's social and spiritual questionings demand a more competent and effective leader.

Midway in the century, socialism arose to declare that the governmental ownership and direction of all the productive and distributive forces of the nation would usher in the reign of international peace and plenty. Poverty was declared the root of all evil. Labor was proclaimed the source of all values. Marx's book, "Capital," became the Bible of the discontented workmen of Germany, France, and England. "Once reorganize the industrial life of the nation," he advised, "on the basis of socialism, and then shall be ushered in the reign of social peace and plenty." How eagerly the cry was taken up! How true was much of the picture he presented! Poverty, hatred, a brutal fight for employment, disease, disgust, hopeless submergence of the lowest stratum, overcrowded poorhouses, useless charities, and aristocratic contempt for Democratic aspirations—all this was the groundwork and reason for industrial reformation. To transform the social order then seemed simple enough. His shallow philosophy and economic fallacy was hid in a mist of statistics and prejudice. Democracy had

brought political equality; socialism would insure equal industrial opportunity. In time, this would lead to every social satisfaction. Industrial organization was declared the pivotal point in social well-being. Socialism had not yet accepted Hegel's words: "The social order, however omnipotent it may seem, is limited and finite, and man has in him a kindred with the eternal." In a word, man has other and higher needs than the merely economic and civil satisfactions. "Man cannot live by bread alone." No! nor by education, yachts and brown-stone fronts. The range of man's needs encompasses all loves, charities, and purities, both human and divine. Slowly, but surely, even the leaders of socialism are beginning to realize the impotency of merely industrial and educational reform for the uplifting and completion of life.

What are the factors in Christianity which give it the effective and central position among all the forces which go to the conserving and regeneration of society? In a sentence I reply—The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man, and the regeneration of the individual life. These three factors find their expression and fulfilment in a person—Jesus Christ and his continuous life throughout the centuries.

In these last days we have a great deal about brotherhood and fellowship. We have much so-called brotherhood which is only class organization for material benefit. Engineers, plasterers, Irish clans, privy orders, German turnvereins, internationalists, and trades-unionism are but class or party clubs, not pretending to include employer, or women, or men of alien race, the poor, the rich, the strong, the weak, the saint, and sinner, but their basis and circle of brotherhood stop with a restricted membership and a section of society. Defiance of the public will and weal has characterized some of their actions.

At best, they are mutual benefit societies, not much higher in their spirit and operation than the insurance companies and social clubs. A brotherhood with such an insecure and limited basis will not reach far nor mount high. Humanitarianism in all its phases, without religious re-enforcement, has proven a pathetic failure.

Christian brotherhood has a far richer origin, sweep of interest, and power of reconstruction. Christian fellowship has its birth in the belief in God—in God, the Father, who art in heaven, who has made of one blood all men who dwell beneath the skies. The one Father makes possible the many brothers. Eliminate his creatorship and will from the brotherhood and it goes to pieces upon the rocks of self-interest and racial antagonisms. God is the first cause, the author of the moral law, and the source of love's fellowship. He is the creative center of all sympathies and all holy ideals of the State. His kingdom is the goal of history. He is the answer to humanity's perplexities and sufferings and aspirations. Society without God could be paralleled only by the chaos of hurtling planets without a central sun. Christian fellowship is unique because it has enthroned above it a creative power and intelligence guiding all cosmic and social law. Given this incentive and goal of God, the Father, and the whole of life is swept within the sphere of assured faith and abiding love.

Christian fellowship is no less unique in its conception of the solidarity of society. Long before the economic dogma of social solidarity became an accepted fact in practical statesmanship, St. Paul had declared: "Ye are all members one of another. If one member suffers, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it." It would be wrong to quote these words, however, as his belief in the modern theory of mutual social dependence. He believes that, and something more. His social solidarity was a spiritual oneness in Christ. It was an organism of dependence but dependence upon a central spiritual Master. It was a brotherhood not for individual advantage through an organization, but an association of individuals for the uplift of the whole of society. The incarnate Son of God was to be its Supreme Head. His life and will were to be both law and life. As the Father had sent him into the world to be the friend of pauper and sinner, so Christ sent his work-fellows into the world to encompass with the gospel of peace all classes, all conditions, all nationalities. There is a brotherhood larger than trade, than

Church, than black and white, than country ; that brotherhood is the kingdom of God. I call this brotherhood Christian because Jesus Christ is the only sufficient propulsive force for the realization of such a supernal ideal. No man cometh unto the Father but by him, and no man cometh unto his fellowman truly until he comes in the spirit of Jesus Christ. That modern Christian knight, the Earl of Shaftesbury, pushing a costermonger's cart along a London street, in order to express his sympathy and gain the experience of their hard life ; the modern university settlements amid the squalor and emptiness of the average day-laborer's section of the city ; the self-consecration of many a city missionary to the rescue of criminal and outcast ; the tender consideration of many a high-bred woman for the woes of orphaned childhood and more helpless old age ; the resolute faith of the plain deaconess confronted by the hot passion and grief of a dissolute woman ; the daring attack on slavery and intemperance and corporate greed by a disinterested minister ; the outpoured wealth for pagan souls beyond the seas—all declare the supremacy and graciousness of that brotherhood which has Calvary for its controlling center.

This recalls the third element in Christian fellowship—the regeneration of the individual. The elemental defect in our social life is not organization, but character. The discord which breeds the bulk of our intemperance, crime and pauperism has its source in a distorted moral nature. The root of all crime, pride, hate, lust and murder, is selfishness. Great as is the light and power given through education and legislation, not until these two splendid arms of the social body are directed in their work by a purified heart can they accomplish the highest civilization. Every member of an educational board or labor union knows that the most beneficent programme of social improvement is a mere paper constitution until invigorated and executed by strong moral impulse. It is because men are shiftless, arrogant, suspicious, and piggish that all our fine schemes of co-operation and universal culture go to pieces. At Exeter Hall, in London, at the close of a great labor demonstration, an old mechanic was called upon to make the closing speech. It

was short, but it hit the nail on the head. He said, "The speakers who have preceded me have spoken of the urgent need of legislation to redress our wrongs, and of education for the working men's children. This is all right. Legislate, legislate, legislate; educate, educate, educate; but let no man forget our greatest and most important work is to regenerate, regenerate, regenerate."

The great need of humanity is faith in God and man. Without the purity born of God, and self-sacrifice like unto the Son of Man, the social ideals painted by socialists and poets, however worthy, are but tantalizing and impossible fantasies.

To be more specific, permit me to indicate several spheres where this Christian fellowship should be made the central and controlling principle. First, in the industrial life of society. The labor question is not a question of mere justice. Whatever may be the form of industrial organization, whether it be the wages system, co-operation, or State socialism, the ultimate question is the question of complete and satisfied manhood. Though the employer may pay every cent of a rightful wage; even if he is willing to share his profits with his employees; if in the co-operative establishment all the shareholders get their promised part of interest and benefit on the invested capital; granted, if you will, the establishment of nationalism or socialism in the industrial world, where "each according to his ability, and all according to their need" receive the benefits of production and consumption, still no true man would be satisfied with bare justice. *There must be a reciprocity of manhood as well as of dollars before we can look for social peace.* To give a man his wages and refuse him respect will not satisfy for long. To establish a public bath by the writing of a liberal check, and then to write with the same pen a supercilious article on "the lower classes" is a contradiction in form, if not in spirit, which will not be tolerated. To give a man his price of labor and not your praise of his workmanship is withholding the truest and most pleasing incentive to toil. Better than dividing your fortune is the distribution of manly sympathy. It is the invisible part of your estate, the part which

the law or the strike cannot touch, which the working man really craves. I know they repudiate charity, and demand, in their platforms, "mere justice," but all the while they want something much richer and truer than simple justice. Justice does not cast out envy and jealousy. Among millionaires greed and hate are no strangers. Equal wealth is no defense against civil and moral distraction. The labor problem is pre-eminently a moral problem. It is a cry for the recognition of the essential manhood of every true worker in every sphere of life.

Now it is to this fundamental need that Christian fellowship directs its beneficent powers. "One Father, one blood, and one destiny." With these words emblazoned on its banner, it leads the world's teachers and philanthropists, its educators and artisans, its foremen and managers, its superintendents and boards of directors, into that larger justice which is sometimes mercy, but always love.

I wish, in the second place, to show the centrality of Christian fellowship in all movements toward a better civic order and morale. Municipal pride and economic taxation may arouse to spasmodic reform. Revelations of corrupt official life have shocked us into moral consciousness. Huge steals by bibulous aldermen and interested councilmen may cause us to rally around the public treasury, but neither civic pride nor a rifled corporation furnishes a heroic or continuous motive in the fight for law and order. It is not institutions, but men, that most need saving. It is because such abuse of office breeds moral rot in every avenue of public and private life that we seek to reform an administration or an institution. I am sure our Civil War took on nobler proportions when, added to the purpose of preserving the Union, it became a battle for the rights of man—the liberation of four million slaves. It is because the city exists for man, not man for the city, that the arousement of the public conscience is such a splendid event in our national life. We Americans must never forget who has been our prophet in this new crusade. It is a man fired by Christian faith and determination. Parkhurst is first and foremost a lover of men; this makes him invincible in his fight for probity and decency

in the administration of public trusts. It is not until we love men supremely that we can conquer our fear and sloth to march forth to retake the citadel of public justice. Christian fellowship answers the question, "Who is my neighbor?" by declaring, "Every tempted boy and tremulous girl, every unfortunate of the street and asylum, every lodger in our tenement houses and majestic avenues, every bullied apple-woman and garment-worker, every boss-taxed clerk and harried millionaire." What are clean, smooth pavements worth, save as related to man's health and easy walk? What are wharves and piers, save as they make easy access for the cheapened food for the citizen? What significance has electric plant and water supply, save as they guide and refresh the homeward bound and thirsty? Why build the stately palaces of State, if not to impress the sense of reverence for law and order? Why paint our pictures and rear our art galleries, if not to call out man's latent power of observation and love of beauty? Why construct our noble cathedrals, unless to tell the story of man's unquenchable aspiration for the beauty of holiness? Man, it is man back of all sciences, arts, and institutions that gives vigor and value to all our toil and heroism. The truest patriotism is bred of Christian fellowship. Back of so much dirt and rock, streets and houses, charters and constitutions, stands a human history made by men of our own blood, and whose lives are our heritage, calling out our reverence and love, and devotion to the arms and institutions they bequeathed. Well may Taylor sing :

"The bravest are the tenderest ;
The loving are the daring."

May I mention another realm of thought and action where fellowship holds the central place in the co-ordination of divided forces? I refer to the Christian Church. A union of the sects of Christendom or a synthesis of their various confessions is, in my own mind, a waning belief. I am still hoping against hope. There stands that prayer of Christ: "That they all may be one." So long as that prayer stands in Holy Scripture, so long I am compelled to strive for the spiritual oneness of all be-

lievers. I am not sure as to what He means. Good men tell us He means organic union, having one institution, and that organized on the Episcopal plan. Well, I am ready for that, provided the Episcopus is not an arrant autocrat. But would any form of church organization make us one in Christ Jesus? No; we need something more than polity. Some scholars would carry us back of all denominational history and creed making, and put us down in the first century of the Church, and bid us be satisfied with the confession of the first disciples. But what was that confession? And, if we had it, would that insure Christian unity? No, not so long as men are born with their varied mental and emotional tendencies. There is something more precious than uniformity, and that is Christian liberty. What, then, must be the central power for the unifying of Christian activity? One thing is certain: we must have more Christian unity before we dare expect more Church unity. Here our cherished power of love, which is considerate, humble, gentle, forgiving, generous, and full of faith, is the dominant factor in the co-ordinating of individual Churchmen. It is to the men of this large Christian love in all the denominations, and not to the narrow ecclesiastics, that we look for that spiritual unity contemplated by Jesus. For "Christ" first, for "the Church" second, for "my denomination" last. This must be the historical and affectional order if we are really serious about the union of Christendom. One thing is certain: where there is constant rancor and self-assertion there can be no Christ. The faith once delivered to the saints was not an elaborated creed or a hierarchy of spiritual prerogatives, but an abounding trust in Jesus as the Saviour and Lover of all mankind. I glory in my Lutheranism, because I believe it to be a pure Paulinism, and Paul the largest and truest interpreter of Christ. The nearer we get to Christ, the closer will we come to one another. *We must have a confederacy of the churches before we can have a unification of the Church.*

The last sphere to be mentioned, in which I believe Christian love must be made the central and controlling motive of action, is in the individual life. Whether it be a system of

theology or a single Christian life that is to tell for God, the love of God in Christ Jesus must be put at the core of the structure. The doctrine of the incarnation has taken on new significance in our age, because the recovered Christ has been seen to be the personalization of God's love. Among the Christian graces Paul makes charity, or love, supreme. Above the faith which clings to Christ for redemption, beyond the hope which strains its prophetic eye into the age of the completed Kingdom, reigns the constraining power of love—love which suffereth long and is kind; love which envieth not, vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up; love which endureth all things and never faileth. Prophecies may fail, tongues may cease, knowledge shall vanish away, but love shall abide triumphant over every ill and sorrow of life. What force is more needed in our daily lives than this Divine attribute? If men were ruled by this principle in the marts of trade, in the realm of science, in the home, in the Church, in the university, on the playground, in the social circle, what a revolution would be accomplished; how like a new Eden this old brutal world would become! "A little child shall lead them." The day seems far off yet. The vast standing armies of Europe, the struggle for existence among the masses of men, the ruthless licentiousness among all classes, the wasteful luxury among the unemployed rich and improvident poor, the blank materialism among so many, the reckless race for power among our political aspirants, seem to be all too resistless a combination to be halted and subdued by anything short of the Archangel Michael himself. But we hold by our central principle—"Not by might, nor by power, but by my word, saith the Lord of hosts." Let us bring all our learning, all our discovery, all our art, all our science, all our legislation, all our poetry, to this central figure of love. Let her firm, warm hand be laid in consecration on all your talents and opportunities and struggles. Let her lips rest upon your brow before you go forth to the battle of life. In her name Paul, John, Jesus, won their glorious triumphs over Pharisaism, Grecian thought, and Satan's power. By love's power the gory forum of Trajan and Nero was closed and Caesar's

palace captured. By love's might the German forests were pierced and made vocal by Christian song; by love's venture England's isles were redeemed from brutal butcheries and darksome faiths. By love's propulsion out into East, West, North, and South, the heralds of the Cross have gone to bring civilization and joy to haunts of vice and pestilence. By love's might Christ came down and bore in his uplifted hands a whole world's sin up to the pardoning Throne of God. And ever since, in nursery and on battlefield, the thrill of his redeeming love has given nerve and faith to mother-love and manhood's noblest sacrifice.

I remember standing before the altar of Westminster Abbey. Behind that altar were the tombs of England's illustrious kings and queens, the shrine of Edward, and the chapel where the body of Henry of Agincourt sleeps its glorious sleep. To my left, in the north transept, were the marble statues of England's great statesmen and naval heroes. Turning toward the south transept, the tablets and busts of "Poet's Corner" recalled the pilgrims of Chaucer, the immortal dramas of Shakespeare, and the heroics of Milton. Standing in the north aisle of the Abbey, one looks upon the two floor-slabs which bear the names of Darwin and Livingstone, the monuments to Harvey and to Pitt. Down the main aisle, as we approach once more the altar, bard, soldier, musician, actor, physicist, and philanthropist in silent effigy look down upon us. Around, above us, rise in sculptured symmetry, a forest of stone columns and over-arching traceries. The music of the great organ behind us commenced to move and swell into every bay and nook of the ancient minster. Slowly and unconsciously our eyes turned to the very center and heart of this vast mausoleum of the world's great masters—the reredos behind the altar. There, painted with his first disciples, stood the Man of Galilee, with hands outstretched to bless and to command the inmates of that vast cathedral. Yes, he was and is the true center of the world's best thought and life. He is the commanding center of all noble action and discovery. The uplifted Face, in the center of the world's history, gives significance to every war

and constitution, every grief and joy, every struggle for the emancipation of man, every poem and oratorio, every love and hate, every drama acted and king dethroned, every passion conquered, and every prayer wrung from the heart of stricken men. Here, at last, in his life, we have found the centre of all loves and divine fellowships.

As I close, no one more than I realizes how imperfect and crude has been the presentation of this noble theme. I have wished that another voice than mine had pleaded for this principle and ideal of society. An inspired pen would be none too choice to arouse and declare the majesty of the fellowship which has Christ for its creative and controlling center. But I am satisfied if in any way, however rude, I have led you to the beginnings of that pathway which, broadening upward, opens at last into the City of God, where all great poetry and noble prophecy find their fulfilment made perfect in our joint-heirship with Jesus Christ.

ARTICLE IV.

CAN THE CHURCH AS NOW CONSTITUTED MEET PRESENT DEMANDS?

BY REV. HARVEY E. BERKEY, A.M.

This question, in its consideration, resolves itself as follows:

1. What is the Church as now constituted?
2. What are the present demands made upon the Church as now constituted?
3. Can the Church as now constituted meet these demands?

By endeavoring to answer these questions, in turn, we shall hope to answer the question at the head of this paper.

I.—WHAT IS THE CHURCH AS NOW CONSTITUTED?

The answer to this question depends, ultimately, on one's attitude towards the Church.* The Church as now constituted, as seen by a sympathetic observer is one thing, as seen by an

* Cf. Morgan *et al.*, *Theology at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*, p. 413; *Biblical World*, May, 1901, p. 323.

unsympathetic or hostile observer is quite another thing. The term as used in our subject is, therefore, not easily defined. The seventh article of our Augsburg Confession might answer admirably, were we now considering the invisible Church. But for our present purpose the eighth article, which applies to the visible Church, is more to the point. "The Church is properly a congregation of saints and true believers; yet in the present life many hypocrites and wicked men are mingled with them." But even this hardly defines "the Church as now constituted" with reference to "present demands." Perhaps the definition of Professor Mathews of the University of Chicago will serve us here: "The word means to-day almost every sort of religious organization from a mission to the Roman Empire; but the proper meaning of the word is two-fold. It is, first, that of a localized social group of men and women more or less organized, composed (at least constructively) of religious persons, who have associated themselves together for the purpose of incorporating the spirit and diffusing the teachings of Jesus. Its second use is that of a general conception which stands for organized Christianity in its universal and historical aspects."*

In accord with this definition there are certain characters of the Church as now constituted which the general observer, whatever his attitude, notices.

First of all, the general observer sees that the Church as now constituted is composed of a large number of divisions and subdivisions, popularly known as sects or denominations.

In the next place, the general observer notes that the Church is marked by different forms of polity. They range, he observes, from the monarchical system of Romanism, down through the oligarchical of the the episcopacy, the republican of Presbyterianism, and the democratic of Congregationalism, to the democratic-republican of Lutheranism, the last, by the way, the most American of all.†

Further, the general observer notes that the Church is marked

* *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1899, p. 603.

† Cf. Pres. Chas. F. Thwing, Essay: *The Adjustment of the Church of the Future to the Life of the Future*, p. 432.

by different creeds. Aside from the œcumenical symbols common to all, he sees the Greek, the Roman, and the Protestant, the last subdivided into the Lutheran and the Reformed or Calvinistic; these two again modified and abridged to suit the various subdivisions of Protestantism.*

Furthermore, the general observer notes that the Church is characterized by different forms of worship, from the most elaborate to the most simple.†

Yet again, the general observer recognizes different types of the Church as to its individual organization. He is familiar, for example, with the "Church of the family," placed in the midst of homes, orderly and decorous in its service, stable and conservative in its methods. The "Institutional Church," placed in the midst of a neighborhood composed partly of families and largely of single men and women who are in a certain way homeless, a Church using many agencies in carrying on its work. The "evangelistic" Church, placed in the midst of great tides of population, and content to preach the gospel and to minister to the individual needs of men.

These characteristics of the Church as now constituted, the general observer notes regardless of his attitude towards it. But from this point on his personal attitude becomes a factor in the answer. For, if the observer be out of sympathy with the Church or hostile to it, the characteristics just noted, the many divisions and subdivisions of the Church, its various creeds and forms of polity and ritual, are but the marks of a house divided against itself and which in the end must fall. He sees in denominationalism, for which these things stand, only a wasting of the Lord's money in providing a superfluously large number of churches, pastors and supplies.‡

But worse than this, the unsympathetic observer regards the Church as an effete institution. Along this line listen for a moment to a famous liberalist. "The churches have been slow to engage in Christian work. Almost all the great Christian

* Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. I. pp. 9-11.

† Richard and Painter, *Christian Worship*, p. 17.

‡ Cf. *The North American Review*, Vol. CLXVI, p. 375 ff.

enterprises of modern times have been undertaken by consecrated men and women outside the Church and often in spite of the opposition of ministers and other ecclesiastical authorities. The Young Men's Christian Association, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, and many other organizations of similar character, are potent energies of Christianity outside the Church, although conducted by Christian people. If so much of the work of Christ may be carried on outside the Church, why not more? May not the Church after all be an effete institution, very useful indeed in the olden time but of no practical importance in our time? Possibly it is the design of Providence that the Church form of Christianity should be thrown aside, and Christianity in new and more modern forms may increase its usefulness and become more Christlike. Other forms may do its work more economically and more efficiently. Such is the opinion of not a few earnest Christian people in our times whose hearts are inflamed with zeal for Christian work, but who are chilled by the cool inertia of reactionary ministers, and grieved to the soul by the self-satisfied conservatism of the churches."*

For further testimony as to the effeteness of the Church hear Professor Mathews again. Writing of the way in which working men and their leaders in the social movement view the Church, he says :

"The essentials of one age are often the bric-a-brac of its successor. The spinning-wheels and swords which were to our ancestors the symbols of toil and adventure, and even life itself, fill museums and adorn the walls of reception rooms. Their mission is past, and an age which they created, but by which they have been outgrown, regards them with curiosity rather than reverence. Similarly, to many men working at the cost of infinite sacrifice for their less fortunate fellows the churches are pieces of bric-a-brac. Useful in the life of the past, doubtless of the utmost value as agents in the production of the life of to-day, they are now judged as no longer needed. The age

* Dr. Briggs, *Forum*, Vol. XVI, p. 374.

is believed to have outgrown them, except as reminders of a less perfect civilization. The teachings of Jesus, it is true, Christian ethics, and to some degree Christian theology, are honored, even though they may be judged impracticable. But a regard for Christian ethics does not imply a regard for Christian churches. Many an honest man, both within and without the ranks of the laboring class, is convinced that the time has come for self-respecting philanthropists to cut loose from the churches and form themselves into more efficient organizations. Charges of hypocrisy are frequently made against the churches by men who are passionate champions of the teaching of Jesus. It is easy to exaggerate, but it certainly seems within the bounds of probability that, wholly apart from a materialistic hostility to supernaturalism, the majority of workingmen and their leaders, of socialists, and of professional sociologists are convinced that the churches are at present composed of the well-to-do fraction of the community; that clergymen as a class have little or no sympathy with economic reforms; that political corruption is condoned in the case of wealthy church members; and that it is useless to expect anything more of churches than that they will become religious clubs, limiting their support of social reform to words, to denominational missions, and conventional Sunday morning collections, untrue to the ideals of Jesus, as centers of social convalescence worthless.*

"And," says Bishop Satterlee, "when we hear Christian writers like Canon Freemantle and Professor Drummond ('who is nothing if not an earnest Christian Missionary') holding up the vision of a city without a church as the triumphant consummation towards which the evolution of Christianity is moving we have another illustration how strongly even Christian leaders themselves are being carried away by the surging current of modern opinion."†

Again, the unsympathetic observer regards the Church as too much concerned about the future life and too little about

* *Amer. Journal of Sociol.*, March, 1899, pp. 604, 605.

† *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, p. 181.

that of the present. Says a writer in the *Forum* :* “The Church has limited its conceptions of salvation too much to the future life. It has not comprehended the length and breadth of the salvation of Jesus. The poor, the sick, the suffering and dying need a salvation that relieves their physical maladies. Christians have undoubtedly in all ages, in a measure, established hospitals, infirmaries, institutions for the relief of the poor. But this has been sporadic and occasional, rather than as an integral part of the salvation preached and practiced by the Church.”

Says Dr. Boardman : “The Church is still largely spending her brains, her pens, her lungs, on technical questions of Church order, liturgy, historic episcopate, relation of baptism to communion, etc. Of course creed has its place—a great place it is. But creed is out of place when it stands between me and a suffering man. Go, ye sticklers for ecclesiastical technicalities, and learn what the prophet Hosea means when he says : ‘I desire mercy and not sacrifice : practical sympathy and not mere ritual.’ Here is the point where the world is watching the Church. Here is the real touchstone of Christianity.” And then he quotes :

“What does it profit my brethren, if any one say that he has faith, and have not works? Can the faith save him? If a brother or a sister be naked, and in lack of daily food, and one of you say to them, ‘Go in peace, be warmed, and be filled,’ but ye give them not the things needful for the body, what does it profit? Even so faith, if it has not works, is dead in itself”—James 2 : 14-17.

“The time has come,” continues Dr. Boardman, “for us to listen to the apostle of justification by works as well as the apostle of justification by faith. * * * The Church must secularize Christianity in order to Christianize secularity” (a most questionable and dangerous teaching, to the writer’s mind). “So shall she have the same mind which was in Christ Jesus. So shall she reach the masses.”†

* November, 1893, p. 375.

† *The Church*, pp. 54, 55.

Says Professor Mathews: "Our age needs not merely the gospel of a man saving his soul, but the gospel of the kingdom of God. Let men be reborn, not that they may by and by get comfortably into a heaven above the earth, nor yet as a matter of duty or penance perform good deeds on earth; but rather let men be reborn that, just because of their new natures which draw love from God himself, they may constitute a better social environment and a better humanity here on earth."*

This then is "the Church as now constituted," viewed from the attitude of an unsympathetic observer. How now does the sympathetic observer view this same Church?

As we have seen, the sympathetic observer sees in the Church the same characteristics as does the unsympathetic observer, but from a different attitude. Hence, though the sympathetic observer may deplore the many divisions and creeds and forms of polity and worship, he yet sees in them that variety which in another sense adapts the Church to every soul's need. He sees in the Church as thus constituted an illustration of Paul's all things to all men. He sees too that the Church with all this diversity is nevertheless one and united. She has one gospel, one Lord, one God and Father of all. She has one aim, to obey her Lord's command in bringing salvation to men. She has one prayer, that men will accept that salvation and be blessed.

Nor to the mind of the sympathetic observer has God left the Church without means to the end just noted. Says Dr. Boardman: "On the one hand she has all resources of human wealth, learning, philosophy, etc.; on the other hand she has all resources of divine promise, inspiration, omnipotence, etc."†

Says Dr. Henderson: "An institution which can show in the United States 165,177 organizations, 111,036 ministers, and 20,612,806 communicants and members, cannot be ignored by the worldly statistician. An institution which can open 142,521 houses of public assembly, with a seating capacity of 43,564,863 is, indeed, a light set upon a hill. Religion is not

* *Amer. Journal of Sociol.*, Vol. IV, p. 620.

† *The Church*, p. 47.

near becoming obsolete when it can command the use of property worth \$679,630,139, the result of the gifts of belief and love unconstrained by the legal power of the tax gatherer."*

Besides all this the sympathetic observer is proud of the Church's history. She can point to nearly two thousand years of a successful past. Hear Dr. Barton: "The Church has set forth, as is nowhere else exhibited, the basis of ethics, and a new conception of duty, of worship, of the moral worth of man, and of the being and relation of God. It has given us a new ideal of childhood; it has brought a new glory to womanhood; it has ameliorated the condition of slavery and prepared for emancipation; it has reduced the occasion for war, and has given to the world a hope of universal peace. It has inspired in men a belief in the moral value of being that has created a hope which is one of the most potent of all influences for good; and which may be measured either against the hopelessness of the world before the Church had gained a footing, or the hopelessness of non-Christian lands and faiths, or the hopelessness of unchristianized Christendom."†

"Say what you will," says Dr. Boardman, "the Church is time's most beneficent institution. Who organized the first diaconate? Who instituted the mediæval charity orders? Who are at the head of modern charities? Who are the practical friends of the abandoned, the criminal, the dirty, the feeble-minded, the incurable, the lost? In brief, who is transfiguring mankind? It is the finger of the Church, often unnoticed, which is touching the springs whence arise our varied

* Essay: *The Place of the Church in Modern Civilization*, p. 414.

Dr. Henderson's figures are according to the census of 1890. *The Independent*, Jan. 3, 1901, p. 35 f., gives the following: "Ministers, 156,137; churches, 184,662; communicants, 28,350,130. Recent statistics as to number of organizations, seating capacity, and value of church property, are not at hand. However, assuming that the increase in these has been proportional to the increase in ministers, churches, and communicants (which may or may not be the case), with Dr. Henderson's figures and those of *The Independent* as a basis we get the following: Organizations, 214,725; seating capacity, 56,828,325; value of church property, \$882,026,650.

† Essay: *The Church and Ethical Leadership*, p. 406.

organizations of secular beneficence; our asylums, hospitals, refuges, reformatories, wayfarers' lodges, etc. Show me, if you can, Plato's Asylum for the Orphaned; Caesar's Hospital for the Wounded; Voltaire's Infirmary for the Feeble-Minded; Paine's Retreat for the Homeless; Ingersoll's Home for the Incurable."*

Such is the Church of to-day as viewed from the attitude of the sympathetic observer. We have thus seen what the Church as now constituted is as viewed from the standpoint of the sympathetic, as well as from that of the unsympathetic and hostile observer. We are now ready for our second question.

II.—WHAT ARE THE PRESENT DEMANDS MADE UPON THE CHURCH AS NOW CONSTITUTED?

Like the restless spirits that possessed the man of old their name is legion. Some of them are scarcely better in character. Others stand in about the same relation to the Church. There are the demands of the low and the vile dens of infamy and their supporters that ask the Church to go on its way and let them alone. Demands of well-meaning but misled friends in and out of the Church that the Church incorporate Eddyism or Dowieism or something similar. Demands of professional and imaginary reformers that the Church father every new fad, scheme or ism, as well as every real reform. Demands of socialist leaders that the Church become the champion of the masses against the rich, be the arbiter between labor and capital, preach to the masses about present-day secular problems rather than about God and Christ and the Christian life. Demands of scientists that the Church accept their latest theory as a fact and incorporate it in the Church's doctrine, even though it is labeled "liable to change without notice." Demands of the higher critics that the Church accept their theory that they have discovered the original coat of many colors, and that the Bible account that it belonged to Joseph is not credible.

* *The Church*, p. 46.

inasmuch as the coat fits Genesis perfectly. Demands of progressive liberalists that the Church discard the doctrine of an infallible Bible, of future punishment, of the immortality of the soul, of original sin, for behold, say they, these things are not found in the Bible, and are not in accord with the views of scholars or with reason. Demands of zealous enthusiasts for the coming of the Kingdom, that the Church adopt hot-house methods and bring the millennium in this generation. Demands of a nameless host that the Church discard present and historic doctrines and methods and return to Christ.

These are some of the many demands made upon the Church of to-day. For specific cases of these demands we may cite the following:

Dr. Joseph Agar Beet, Professor of Systematic Theology in *Wesleyan Theological College*, near London, and of whom Dr. S. M. Jackson speaks in high terms as having written some excellent commentaries, is publishing a series of articles in the current numbers of *The Expositor*, on *The Immortality of the Soul*. In these articles Dr. Beet aims to show that the idea of the immortality of every human soul is not a Christian doctrine but incorporated into Christianity from the heathen philosophy of Plato. To quote his own words: "The infinite value of the soul is recognized by Christ in Matthew 16 : 26. But the New Testament never asserts or implies its essential and endless permanence; or, in other words, that in virtue of its own nature or by the will of God, every human soul will think and feel for an endless succession of ages.

"The above denial will find presumptive support in a later paper, where I shall refer to the absence of any direct appeal to the Bible in various modern theological works which maintain the immortality of the soul.

"It is worthy of note that whereas, Plato taught that the soul of man is immortal, and imperishable, Christ asserts or implies the possibility of its destruction. 'Fear him that is able to destroy both body and soul.' "*"

* *Expositor*, March, 1901, p. 133.

On the demands with reference to the infallibility of the Bible, future punishment, original sin, etc., as being contrary to reason, hear a few of the foremost educators and divines of our country.

President Eliot, of Harvard, in a paper contributed to a recent volume,* delivers himself as follows: "The Reformation substituted for the infallibility of an institution and its official representatives—another infallibility—the Bible. Contending vigorously against the infallibility of the Church and the Pope, it set up the verbally inspired, inerrant Bible as infallible authority. Fortunately the Reformation taught that the humblest Christian might have direct access to this infallible Scripture; and therefore it ultimately set up the human reason as the legitimate interpreter of this new infallibility. Now the hugest superstructure ever reared on a diminutive foundation, and the most formidable speculation ever based on a minimum of doubtful fact, is the Augustinian systematic theology, resting on the literal truth of the story in Genesis about the disobedience of Eve and Adam in the garden of Eden. The whole superstructure of the generally accepted Protestant systematic theology is founded on the literal acceptance of the Scriptural account of the fall of Adam and Eve. If this account is not a true history, then the whole logical system built on it, including the doctrine of original and imputed sin, of the plan of salvation, of grace, mediation and atonement, of blood satisfaction and blood purchase, and of regeneration, falls to the ground.

"In the centuries since the Reformation, and particularly in the nineteenth century, the human reason, enriched by new stores of knowledge, equipped with new methods of incisive inquiry, and fired with a new zeal of truth, has gradually undermined the faith of the majority of Protestant scholars, first, in the unerring interpretation, and secondly, in the infallibility of the Bible itself. These scholars no longer believe in the fall of man, or in the fabric of doctrine which a purely human

* *Theology at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century.*

logic has built on the fall. Among the masses of Protestants some belief in the infallibility of the Bible still survives ; but the opening century will doubtless see the gradual surrender of this transitional belief throughout the Protestant world. The controversial writings of St. Augustine have dominated Christian systematic theology for fifteen hundred years. Luther, St. Augustine's disciple, prepared the ruin of his master's system when he declared the Bible infallible, but opened it to the individual inquirer. The nineteenth century has seen the foundation of the structure undermined, the twentieth will see it given over to the bats and the owls, so far as Protestants are concerned." Now watch him catch at a straw in the next sentence : "It is not, however, the real Bible which is thus losing its hold ; it is the inferential structure which has been built around and over it.*

"If it be said that though implicit faith in the Bible as an infallible revelation of literal truth be lost, the real foundation of the old dogmatics will remain unshaken, because they rest on human nature and experience, the answer is that civilized society's convictions about human nature and human conduct have undergone profound modifications during the nineteenth century, are manifestly undergoing still further modifications. Thus, instead of attributing sin in the individual to the innate corruption and perversity of his nature, modern society attributes it in many instances to physical defects, to bad environment, to unwise or wrongful industrial conditions, to unjust social usages, or to the mere weakness of will which cannot resist present indulgences even when the cost in future suffering stares the victim in the face. With this fundamental reconsideration of the whole doctrine of sin goes grave discussion of the till-now-accepted ideas of justice, punishment and reformation."

On this same line of human reason as the final arbiter in

* This "real Bible," we may presume, is a companion picture to that of the real Christ, drawn by this same liberalist, and yet to be presented in this paper, a Bible stripped of all its supernaturalism and written to President Eliot's order.

matters of the Church, regardless of revelation, hear another of our prominent educators and divines. President Thwing, of Western Reserve University, represents that "The Church must stand ready to answer that little, that infinite question, 'Why?'—The Church must address herself more and more to the reason of men—The Church of the future, in addressing the reason, is not to make undue demands."*

Thus we have seen what the Church as now constituted is, viewed from the standpoint of the sympathetic, the unsympathetic and the hostile observer. We have seen, further, what are the demands now made upon the Church by the proprietors and patrons of haunts of vice, by the believers in faith cure and allied subjects, by professional and imaginary reformers, by socialist leaders, by scientists, by higher critics, by progressive liberalists, by evangelistic enthusiasts, and by the motley throng whose watchword is, "Return to Christ." This brings us to our third question.

III.—CAN THE CHURCH AS NOW CONSTITUTED MEET THESE DEMANDS?

We answer, Yes, in so far as these demands are in accord with the teaching of Christ, or, if you please, of the Bible. This answer makes it necessary that we point out which of the previous demands we regard as in such accord, and for those that are not, wherein and to what extent they are not, and what is the Church's proper attitude toward them. This we shall proceed to do, as briefly as possible.

As we go on it will be well for us to keep in mind the fact that when Christ was on earth there were some demands which he himself could not meet—in the sense of granting them. The fond mother who wanted her sons exalted was told frankly, "That is not mine to give." When the Jews, in their enthusiasm, sought to make Him their temporal king, he was compelled to remind them, "My kingdom is not of this world." And doubtless, if the Saviour's teachings mean anything, we

* Essay: *The Adjustment of the Church of the Future to the Life of the Future*, p. 427.

may believe that, were he on earth now, he could no more grant some things demanded of his Church to-day than he could the things just cited, in the days of old.

Let us now look for a moment at the demands made by and for the masses. Let us see how they accord with the teaching of Jesus. Hear them in the *American Journal of Sociology** in answer to the question, "Why are so many intelligent workingmen non-churchgoers?" One says: "If the Church would let workingmen have the same rights and privileges that the rich enjoy, the Church would be too small to hold them all. Let the Church help us fight some of our battles with the rich and show it is friendly with the working classes." Says another: "The churches are opposed to the workingman, inasmuch as the Church opposes Sunday newspapers, Sunday theaters, the Sunday opening of libraries, and every other reform of the kind that would benefit the laboring class." Says a third: "I don't find the average sermon preached in the churches interesting to the union workingmen. They are interested in a shorter working day, more pay for their labor, better homes to live in, and better conditions for their families and children in this world, which the Church ignores." Says a fourth: "The churches are sustained by rich men who grind their workmen. We are interested more in the getting of food, raiment and the payment of our rent than in a future life. We want a heaven on earth. Jesus Christ is with us outside the Church, and we shall prevail with God." Says yet another: "The Church has, as an organized body, no sympathy with the masses. It is a sort of fashionable club where the rich are entertained and amused, and where most of the ministers are muzzled by their masters and dare not preach the gospel of the carpenter of Nazareth."

Such are some of the demands made by and for the laboring classes. We would not have it inferred that we regard these demands as the only ones that are or can be made in behalf of labor. The masses have their burdens to bear with the rest of

* March, 1899, pp. 620-626.

mankind. And some of their real grievances are not paraded in the literature of the hour. But we do regard the demands just cited as typical of the causes that lead to the impression, and foster the same, that the Church has been and is shamefully neglectful of, if not utterly indifferent to the interests of this class of mankind.

Now what is the nature of these demands? With all charity for the honest and sincere souls among those from whom these demands come, must it not be admitted that their demands are of the earth earthy? Demands for the bread that perisheth? Such demands are diametrically opposite to the Saviour's exhortation, "Seek first the kingdom." This class want all temporal things "first" instead of "added" and the "Kingdom of God" last—if indeed at all. To their minds the Church must begin with the "added" things. And because the Church insists on following the Lord's orders, the Church is condemned. They forget the Lord's words to the man who came saying: "Master, bid my brother divide the inheritance with me." The Master's stern answer was, "Man, who made me a judge or a divider over you?" And then to the multitude he added the warning: "Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth." And yet is not this the spirit that characterizes the demands made by and for the masses as quoted above?

Further, the fact must not be forgotten that the Church has been and is interested in this class. Recall Dr. Boardman's testimony already quoted. Hear in addition Professor Mathews again: "Until there can be shown some other social institution or movement which can boast an equal record of permanent social reforms—of slavery ended, of life protected, of woman ennobled, of children educated, of home sanctified, of schools, and missions, and charities, and martyrs—your social reformer had best give himself a course in church history. Contempt is here the sign-manual of ignorance and conceit.

"The simple fact is that, while men dream and agitate, the Church is creating and organizing altruistic and religious im-

pulses, is training men to live together in mutual recognition of each other's rights, and compelling them to recognize social as well as individual gifts. In a word, as exemplified in the Christian Church, religion breeds and disciplines *corporate enthusiasm*. Can the social movement afford to despise it?"*

Says Bishop Satterlee: "The real reason why the Church is losing her hold upon so many in this generation is not a want of charity or Christian activity, for she has never been more zealous in her efforts to reach the masses than she is to-day, but because men are antagonized by the Church's persistent effort to bring them to a personal God, and by those definite features of Christianity, positive doctrine, sacramental grace, public worship, and personal sanctification through Christ, which she keeps emphasizing."†

Here it may be well to remember again that the condition of this class is not so bad as it is sometimes represented. Even Dr. Briggs, a champion of the masses as against the Church, admits: "The toiling masses in our age are no worse off than were those of other ages. But they think they are more miserable, and they are more miserable, for they have learned that they are capable of better things, and they are yearning for better things."‡ But from their own testimony, we ask again, is this yearning in accord with the spirit of Christ? We leave the reader to judge.

Another demand that we need to examine in reference to its scripturalness is the popular cry: "Back to Christ." This demand is on the lips of men like Principal Fairbairn, of Oxford,§ progressive liberalists like Professor Herrmann of Marburg,|| the leader of Ritschlianism in Germany, and President Eliot, of Harvard; and it is the watchword of social reformers and the laboring class generally. But what does Christ mean to all classes? Is he the same in every case? By no means. To

* *Amer. Journal of Sociol.*, Vol. IV, p. 613.

† *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, p. 181.

‡ *Forum*, Vol. XVI, p. 375.

§ *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, pp. 18-21.

|| *Communion with God*, pp. 40, 65-66, 186-187.

Principal Fairbarn and his class Christ is indeed the Son of God, the Saviour of men.* To Professor Herrmann† and President Eliot Christ is a different person altogether. Take a look at our divine Lord as the Harvard president pictures him: "In a barbarous age Christ was inevitably given the reward of deification, just as the Pharaohs and Alexanders and Caesars were; and his memory was surrounded by clouds of marvel and miracle during the four or five generations which passed before the gospel took any settled form. The nineteenth century has done much to disengage him in the Protestant mind from these encumbrances; and the twentieth will do more to set him forth simply and grandly as the loveliest and best of human seers, teachers and heroes. Let no man fear that reverence and love for Jesus will diminish as time goes on. The pathos and the heroism of his life and death will be vastly heightened when he is relieved of all supernatural attributes and powers. The human hero must not have foreknowledge of the glorious issue of this sacrifice and pains; he must not be sure that his cause will triumph; he must suffer and die without knowing what his sacrifice will bring forth. The human exemplar should have only human gifts and faculties. If these principles are true, the more completely progressive liberalism detects and rejects the misunderstanding and superstitions with which tradition and written record concerning the life of Jesus were inevitably corrupted, the more will love and reverence grow for the splendors of truth and moral beauty which, as a matter of indubitable fact, have shown from the character and teaching of this Jewish youth."‡

This is the Christ as seen by the liberalist. How now do the socialists and the masses conceive of Christ? Says a writer in *The American Journal of Sociology*:§ "The Jesus of

* *Place of Christ, etc.*, pp. 300-375.

† *Communion with God*, pp. 52, 65-66, 135-142, 182-183; cf. Prof. Orr's *Ritschlian Theology*, pp. 125-135, 209-211.

‡ Essay: *Progressive Liberalism in the Closing and Opening Century*, pp. 514-15.

§ March, 1899, p. 629.

the average working man is a minimized Jesus Christ, a fictitious person, not the Christ of the Gospel." And, in view of what we have seen as to the demands of this class, have we not a realistic picture of the Christ of the socialists and the masses in the paraphrase, "Ye seek me not because ye would see signs, but because ye would eat of the loaves and be filled?" These prophets of the present and their followers know not the Christ who added, "Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life." Equally unknown to them is the Christ who taught men, "Be not anxious for the morrow." And if they have ever heard of the Christ who came "not to send peace on earth but a sword," they know him only as his sword is made to do duty in its scabbard on dress parade while the Church foolishly marches to the music of their worldly song. When that sword is drawn to save them from their sin and miseries they know not the Christ who sent it.

There is another demand that we need to measure by the divine pattern, the demand of religious enthusiasts for greater progress on the part of the Church. Dr. Boardman in his recent book *The Church*, after paying a glowing tribute to the progress of the Church from its founding to the present, says: "Nevertheless, the Church, compared with her mission and resources, is a tragic failure. Nearly two thousand years have elapsed since our King was born. Yet the Church has gained hardly thirty per cent. (of the world's population). Even of those (gained) a large proportion are still virtually heathen; look at our non-churchgoers, 'slums,' etc."*

Now, with all due respect for Dr. Boardman and others who may agree with him, we ask: Is there not too much impatience and haste with reference to the progress of the Church? Think of the world waiting over four thousand years before God fulfilled the *promise* of redemption—more than two thousand before he called the first of the chosen people. Shall

* *The Church*, pp. 46-47; for a similar view of the Church cf. an article by Dr. Stimson, *Wanted, A Prophet*, in *The Outlook*, June 25, 1901, p. 405 ff.

we complain now, after these two thousand years of "grace and truth," with thirty per cent. of the world already won? Is it not comparatively a splendid showing, and ought we not to rejoice in it? But perhaps some one suggests that the Father's delay in sending the Son was due to the fact that men were slow in fulfilling their part. Then, we ask, Is human nature different now from what it was then? Or, if the delay was necessary to discipline His people, is such discipline now no longer needed? If God wanted the world converted in one generation, as some modern reformers and evangelistic enthusiasts would feign have us believe, why, we ask, in all reverence, did Christ found the Church with only twelve men—most of whom even were only moderately efficient? Surely, to our minds, such a force was utterly inadequate to accomplish his purpose. Yet Christ was satisfied with such a force.

Here we may note, too, that if the Church is slow in its growth, and sometimes shows signs of decline and apparent paralysis, it, by this very fact, shows itself to be in harmony with God's laws of growth in the natural world, and in the spiritual life of the individual believer. The most casual observer of nature sees that the things that have any degree of permanence have been slow in their development. The mushroom grows in a night, but declines in a day. The tree marks its development by centuries, and its age, barring accidents, is practically limitless. During its entire history it is subject to the vicissitudes of time. The cold and frost of winter, the storms, the lightning, the hail, and the drought of summer, in turn, blight its buds, distort and disfigure its branches, check, and all but paralyze its growth. But are not these the very things that help to harden it and give it the power of endurance?

So too in the individual Christian life. It grows slowly and is only completed at death. Like the tree, it too has its vicissitudes, exaltation, depression, assurance, doubt, joy, sorrow, sometimes almost despair, yet through them all it grows slowly but surely up into the full stature of the Lord of Life. The Church in its vital essence is but the congregation of be-

lievers. Why then should not the laws of growth just noted apply to it also?

We would not be misunderstood. We do not mean to say that the Church has no faults; that it in no case comes short, or fails of its mission entirely; nor do we mean to affirm that such is true of any of its ministers or members. What we do mean to say is that, in view of the fact that no individual, even though aided by the power of God, does, or can live an absolutely perfect life here on earth; and in view of the further fact that the Church is composed of such Christians, and many wicked and sinful men besides, in view of these facts, we say, we think it unfair and unjust to Christ's Church to demand that it shall not, as a whole or in any part, come short of its mission.

And here again we need to remind ourselves that if some churches are not accomplishing as much as others for Christ, that is but in accord with our Lord's teaching. Not every pound gained ten. Not every grain of wheat increased a hundred fold. And if some churches are indeed what their hostile critics call them, fashionable clubs, subsidized by the rich and utterly failing in their mission, they are still only illustrations of the tares among the wheat, and of the man with one pound or one talent. If some ministers and some laymen, high in educational work, have wandered from the old paths and decry Bible, and Church, and creed, let it not be forgotten that God's first high priest, in response, to the clamor of the age, set up the golden calf; that time and again the chosen people turned away to idolatry and sin; that more than five-sixths of them were utterly lost, and that only a remnant were left to welcome the long-promised Saviour. Yet he came and established his Church that is now marching on to victory. With thirty per cent. of the world already won for Christ let us not cry failure, but thank God, take courage and press forward.*

* For a hopeful review of the Church see the article by Dr. Gladden, *The Outlook of Christianity*, in *The North American Review*, June, 1901, pp. 919-933, where he states that during the past century the popu-

But we have seen that not all the demands made upon the Church are in accord with her standard, and therefore cannot be met, at least not directly. What then is to be her course? In reference to social matters, the answer of Dr. Barton is pertinent: "The Church may provide, and often ought to provide, wholesome entertainment and amusement, but a larger proof of its leadership will be found in the type of amusement which is patronized by the body of those whom its influence reaches. The Church may in special exigencies provide wood-yards and workingmens' restaurants for the relief of the poor, but a better and larger proof of its leadership will be the infusing of the spirit of Christ into the business world, so that wood-yards and restaurants shall be maintained in righteousness and at a fair profit.

"It is not to establish beneath its own roof every sort of commercial and social activity; it is to inspire the community with an ideal which shall realize itself in the world of commerce, of politics, of amusement, of literature, of art."*

The answer of Professor Small, of the University of Chicago, is, if possible, still more to the point: "It is not the function of the Church to get justice between man and man. It is the function of the Church to help individuals discern and want justice. It is not the function of the Church to settle strikes. It is the function of the Church to make men[†] conciliatory. It is not the function of the Church to elect temperance candidates to office. It is the function of the Church to make men will

lation of the world has increased fifty-four per-cent., Christianity more than one hundred per cent.; that a century ago a little more than one-third of the people of the world were under the government of Christian nations, whereas now fifty per cent. are under Christian rule. Figures like these of Dr. Gladden's are often tabooed as of little value in determining the true spiritual condition of the Church. However, if they do not indicate the character of the spiritual current, they may at least indicate its direction. On the other hand, we have yet to discover that Frederick's rules for recruiting his famous Potsdam regiment were antedated by Christ in recruiting His spiritual army. Nor if they had been, can we be certain that they would have been a surer guarantee of fighting qualities in the one case than in the other?

* Essay: *The Church and Ethical Leadership*, p. 409.

to be temperate. It is not the function of the Church to dictate civic regulation of the social evil. It is the function of the Church to make men able to conquer their own lusts, and zealous to protect the innocent against the vicious. It is not the function of the Church to settle any concrete social problem that falls outside its own function of worship. It is the function of the Church to inspire in each worshiper that spirit of loyalty to the requirements of his own post in life, which will make the members of the churches the most devoted and patient promoters of all genuine social progress.”*

This is to be the Church’s attitude towards social reforms. We may ask further, What about matters of faith? If, as we have seen, one of the most pronounced liberalists is at the head of Harvard, it is a matter of no small satisfaction to recall that Professor Thayer of Greek Lexicon fame was until very recently connected with the same institution. His answer in reference to matters of faith is here well timed: “But inquirers, you tell me, demand certainties. They clamor for immediate and unequivocal answers.

“Doubtless, and overlook the fact that divine wisdom rarely vouchsafes such. If God’s Book had had the average man for its author, no doubt it would have abounded in direct and categorical replies to all questions. The most complicated problems of time and eternity would be solvable by a process as simple as the rule of three! But, alas, impatient souls, His people do not get into the promised land that way.”†

Dr. Bradford, in his recent book‡ speaking of Christ’s teaching, says: “He never tried to harmonize truths. He simply announced them, and left them to shine like stars in the darkness of human life.”

Bishop Satterlee a few years ago wrote as follows: “Much as we Christians may regret the prevalence of Agnosticism, it needs no prophet’s eye to see that, in the near future, a day is

* *The Independent*, February 28, 1901, p. 483.

† Quoted by Dr. McConnell, Essay: *Scripture Inspiration and Authority*, p. 117.

‡ *The Return to Christ*, p. 25.

at hand when Agnosticism will be found to have rendered a valuable service to Christianity itself in showing the world that the only religious altar that scientific evolution can raise, is one inscribed "To the Unknown God."*

His prophecy is already being realized. Witness one of the leaders of "higher criticism:"† "Far too much is said in these days about the assured results of criticism. There are such results, most certainly; but many of the points which the last generation of critics thought itself to have settled, at least so far as possible, need, perhaps, to be unsettled again, and treated by new methods. Besides this, a quantity (number?) of new problems are rising up, for which, upon the old principles of criticism, no solution is possible."

While all this is going on, Bishop Satterlee suggests the wise course for the Church: "The attitude of the Church in all these matters is to bear fearless and persistent witness to the truth as it is in Jesus, while science proclaims the truth that is in nature. Both have a work for truth to do, and this work cannot be done effectually and lastingly unless each clings to the duties of its own particular sphere. As there were days when science was paralyzed by too much theology, so the days have come in which theology is becoming paralyzed by too much science, and in either case the truth of God is retarded. Science needs theology, and theology needs science for the propagation of the whole truth. There should therefore be a co-operation, but not a commingling between the two. The Church will gain nothing if she yields to science to-day, only to retrace her steps and confess her mistake to-morrow.

"The only wise position for her to assume, and the only one she can assume without danger of error, is to let science work out its own problems in its own way, cheerfully resigning to it all those questions which, while they have a bearing upon religion, really belong to the other domain. Whether the natural world came into existence through special creation or

* *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, p. 34.

† Prof. Cheyne, of Oxford, in *The Expositor*, May, 1901, p. 267.

evolution; whether life comes through spontaneous generation or only from previous life; whether the chronology of the human race is according to Usher or according to Haeckel; whether other religions bear a near or a distant resemblance to Christianity; whether the history of the outer world accords or disagrees with Jewish historians, and whether Higher Criticism, on the one hand, or Archaeology on the other, is right in its diagnosis and arrangement of Biblical documents, are purely and simply questions for experts in the sciences of biology, ethnology, philology, comparative religions, archaeology, and literary criticism to settle.”*

Thus can the Church meet present demands and meet them safely. That this is the correct and safe view of the matter may be shown by an illustration or two, drawn, if you will permit, from our political history. Within the memory of probably all of us, our country was agitated by the “Greenback” craze. Not only political reformers and enthusiasts, but many otherwise sensible men, thought that the only salvation for our country financially lay in the unlimited and unsecured issuance of “Greenbacks.” Yet in the short space of two years after this craze had reached its height, the government demonstrated to these enthusiasts and doubters the folly of their fears by the resumption of specie payment.

A decade or so ago the country was again disturbed by practically the same classes. This time “Free Silver” was to be the savior. You know the result. When, in all her history, has our country been more prosperous than to-day? Yet it was not brought about by the adoption of either unlimited “Greenbacks” or “Free Silver.”

If an application is necessary, the Church’s true course, in the face of visionary enthusiasts, misguided reformers, and hostile critics as well, is to adhere to the golden standard of truth as it is in Jesus through the Bible. And though by this course the Church’s vindication be slow, yet the gates of hell shall

* *A Creedless Gospel and the Gospel Creed*, p. 34 f.

not prevail. For the Church's encouragement in the meantime we may again hear Dr. Barton:

"If the Church does not always realize fully its opportunity; if it fails adequately to interpret the meaning of its transitions—it does not yet become reprobate. Yet enlargement comes through another place—God raises from the stones children unto Abraham—and the thing for which the Church has come to the Kingdom is delayed, or is poorly done, or if well done, is done by another agency, which for the time more truly interprets the spirit of the Christ. And if the goal is far off, and the progress towards it in the Church is slow, still the Kingdom is coming, and he that believeth shall not make haste. The holy city, whose pattern and ideal is coming down out of heaven, is being builded slowly but stably in brick and stone and human institutions, and the tabernacle of God is with men in the Church. Thus shall be 'gathered together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are in earth.'"*

* Essay: *The Church and Ethical Leadership*, pp. 409-410.

NOTE.—The "Essays," by different writers, cited in this paper are found in a recent work, *Theology at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century*, Essays on the Present Status of Christianity and its Doctrines, edited with an introduction by J. Vyrnwy Morgan, D.D.

ARTICLE V.

THE FIRST CONFUTATION OF THE AUGSBURG
CONFESSION.

BY PROFESSOR W. A. LAMBERT, A.M.

That the Roman Catholic Confutation had been at least five times revised before being read on August 3, 1530, and that the first form presented had been rejected because it was "so confused, crude, violent, hostile and cruel that the Emperor was ashamed to have it read in the Imperial Senate" (Brenz to Isenmann, July 15, quoted in Ficker, p. 52), was known to the Protestants before they left Augsburg. But even of the form in which the confutation was read they could not obtain a copy, and it was left to the speculation of investigators* to determine the development of the confutation and its first forms, as they discovered MSS. connected with it. Not until 1891, however, was the real *First Confutation* published, with abundant apparatus for its study by Johannes Ficker.† Unfortunately Ficker has done the work so thoroughly, that the present article can do little more than translate and synopsise his result.

The preparation of a confutation was necessary. The Roman Catholic theologians had refused to prepare a confession which could be compared with the Protestant Confession, and enable the Emperor to act as judge between the two sets of teachings. But they could not allow the Protestants to claim

* An account of these speculations and investigations forms an introduction to *Ficker's Prolegomena*.

† "Die Konfutation des Augsburgische Bekenntnisses Ihre erste Gestalt und ihre Geschichte von Johannes Ficker, Leipzig. Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Bartle, 1891." Ficker gives in "Prolegomena," pp. 1-109, the history of the Confutation as read August 3, and the efforts made to have it published; in an Anhang, pp. 110-134, an account of the MSS. The body of the book contains the text of the *First Confutation*, with critical apparatus, pp. 1-140, and six Beilagen give illustrative documents, pp. 143-190. For the use of a copy of Ficker I am indebted to the Rev. J. W. Richard, D.D., of Gettysburg.

a victory by remaining silent now. The Roman Catholic theologians therefore immediately began to gather materials for a refutation, and to arrange them according to the articles of the Confession. But the theologians after all could do little in their own name. The Emperor had attempted to act as judge, and decisions ought therefore to come from him. The Confession also, although the work of Protestant theologians, was not made in their name, but in that of the Protestant princes. A reply should therefore come from the princes, through their theologians.

The Emperor called a meeting of the Catholic princes on June 26, the day after the reading of the Confession, to discuss the form of a reply. On the day following the princes recommended that the Emperor have the Confession examined and answered by intelligent and fair-minded scholars, who should indicate the points agreeing with the Catholic doctrine, and refute the points which did not agree. The princes make a distinction between the two parts of the Confession: for the reformation of abuses the Emperor is to find means. They further recommend that the papal legate be consulted.

The Emperor conferred with the papal legate, who suggested that the various articles of the Confession be distributed to the theologians present at Augsburg (of whom there were about twenty), to be by them examined and answered. These suggestions were referred to the Emperor's counsellors, who, on July 5, replied to the princes, accepting the suggestions, but insisting upon fairness and moderation. The Emperor tries to retain his position as judge by giving the Catholic princes the character of accuser, retains the possibility of a general council, and accepts the suggestion of the princes concerning abuses; the legate himself is to suggest in writing the means for a reformation. But the legate's suggestions for the refutation are accepted.

These suggestions of the legate had been quite extensive. "The single articles of the confession are to be treated separately. In the first place investigation is to be made, whether the form of the articles is not suspicious, and then that which

is concealed in it is to be disclosed with moderation, care, courtesy and altogether in Christian love. That which is approved by the Fathers is to be recognized with praise but whatever departs from the pure religion is to be completely annihilated, and in this matter the first duty of the theologians will be to prove that all of this has long ago been condemned as heretical. If the Protestant princes complained of errors falsely ascribed to their theologians, this was a challenge to examine the previous utterances of these theologians, and to show their inconsistency with the statements of the Confession. It would be most effective, while criticising the proofs of the opponents, to place positive, thoroughly-proved Catholic statements against the heretical thoughts." (Ficker, 18). The refutation, so prepared, was to be, according to the legate's intention, the final word in the theological controversy. "Charles V is reminded of the example of Charlemagne, of the subjection and conquest of the Saxons, in order to bring nearer to him the use of his worldly weapons against the Protestants."

In spite of the acceptance of this program for the refutation, and the entrusting of the whole matter to him, the legate was not satisfied with the resolution of the Emperor. The task of outlining means for a reformation of abuses must have been specially distasteful to him. Charles endeavored, in personal conferences, to make clear to the legate the reasons for his resolution. Campeggi opposed him strongly, but neither by his conversation nor by his written reply could he win the Emperor to a firmer, more unequivocal acceptance of everything traditional.

Upon the task of preparing the refutation he entered eagerly. He appointed the theologians present in Augsburg (a list of whom is given by Ficker, p. 20), who were committed against the Protestants by their former writings and their actions in Augsburg, who had been so busy heaping up materials against the confession that Zwingli may well have been correct when he wrote in his confession, that the confutation was written be-

fore it was asked ;* distributed to these theologians the articles of the Confession and waited for their answers.

The activity of the Catholic theologians is remarkable. They were most hostile to Protestantism, and spared no pains to bring together all possible objections to it. Campeggi, Eck and Fabri were the leaders, Cochleus stood next to them. Cochleus had, in that year, prepared a large collection of the errors of Luther, with the references to former heretics, and a refutation from Fathers and Scripture (*Libri III de fide Christiana, de sacramentis et de cerimoniis*, see Ficker, 22). Eck had published his 404 articles, and in a copy, intended for the Emperor, had noted on the margin the exact source of all quotations. Fabri especially devoted his labors to making careful excerpts from Luther's work, showing his inconsistencies with true doctrine and with himself, until he concludes that "one book contradicts another, one sentence, one statement the other, yes, one letter the other—Luther, to say it in one word, has, from a man, become a senseless and mindless being." (Ficker, 24f. The preface to the *Antilogiae*, in "Beilage" III, pp. 156-160).

A list of "Haereses in sacris conciliis antea damnatae per Luthranos iterum ab inferis reductae" (Beilage IV, pp. 161-173) was ready at hand. A list of Luther's errors was prepared from Cochleus' *Libri III, de fide Christiana*, and this again condensed into twenty-five headings.

To show the fearful results of Lutheranism, two documents were prepared for the Emperor. One of these, "*Monstra sectarum ex Luthero et Lutheranis enata*," is given as "Beilage" V. pp. 174-181, the other, as "Beilage" VI, pp. 182-190, "*Lutherani evangelii abominabiles nimiumque perniciosi damnatissimi fructus*." Everything that is troublesome has its origin in

* Ficker, 28. But Zwingli (*Ratio, Prolog*, in Niemeyer, *Collection Conf.*, p. 16.) says the same of the Augsburg Confession: "Ut igitur aliorum deinde confessionem, imo eorundem adversariorum etiam confutationem vidimus, quae tamen praeparatae videntur, antequam quicquam ab eis postulatum sit." The *Fidei Ratio* is dated July 3—before the legate had authority from the Emperor to prepare the confutation.

Luther, "men turned to hate, pride, contumely, disobedience, contempt of all honor, freely have gone into every kind of lust, drunkenness, gluttony, blasphemies, and other like vices" (p. 182). Even the danger from the Turks is ascribed to Luther and Melanchthon, because they have admired the government of the Turks, and considered the Turkish war a divine judgment (p. 187).

Fabri, not satisfied with these materials, labored at an apology of the church doctrine in general, dedicating it to King Ferdinand.

All these works were to be used to the best advantage in the refutation. Again it is Fabri's restless activity that is most evident. More than three hundred pages he wrote, re-arranging Eck's 404 articles, altering Eck's headings to more suitable forms. Eck's articles were also used in another way. Cochleus selected from them such as were specially suited for use in the refutation, arranging them according to the articles of the Confession.

Thus the way was planned. When the legate parcelled out the Confession, materials were ready for a speedy refutation. But the plan was soon discovered to be unsatisfactory. The articles prepared by different men, were too difficult in character to form a unit when brought together. Of the rejected articles only four articles are preserved, the I and III, perhaps also the II from Cochleus' pen (in *Philippicae quatuor Johannis Cochlei in apologiam Philippi Melanchthonis*). These did not prove at all satisfactory, being too violent and too wordy. The Emperor felt the need of reminding of his order for a brief and moderate reply.

On July 2, in a general session of the theologians,* it was seen that the refutation must be, in the main, the work of one man, and Eck was unanimously chosen to prepare a draft

* That not only theologians were engaged on the work appears from a letter of Charles V to the pope, written early in July: "And already the legate, with many good and notable persons, theologians and others, has begun to draw up the reply." Lanz, *Korrespondenz Karls V*, I, 391. The apology speaks of theologians and monks.

which was to be discussed in general sessions. At the latter Fabri presided, and personally noted in Eck's MS. the changes suggested.

Eck followed the program outlined by the legate. In the sessions, little change was made, due, not entirely, to the absence of all difference of opinion.

When one suggested the possibility of communion under both forms, Eck met him with the remark: "I might almost doubt whether you are in the right place among us or not" (Ficker, 33). When the Emperor's Spanish confessor admonished the theologians to be peaceable, he was debarred from the sessions without ceremony.

As might be guessed, in the new form of the confutation, Eck's works were used to a large extent. His *Enchiridion*, his *Loci*, his articles, the whole list of writings against the Protestants are constantly used. Quotations from the Protestants are constantly used to cause them to refute themselves or to point out the seriousness of their heresies. None of Luther's important writings, before 1525, are left unquoted; of the later writings, only a few are mentioned.

Of the additions made in the sessions of the theologians, by far the larger part are additions of decidedly polemic character, stronger judgment, new proof passages from Luther, etc. (Ficker, 44) The epilog was added by Fabri and others, entirely in the spirit of the legate, with the ardor and feeling of Fabri.

The work thus prepared was to be strengthened by the addition of the exact source of quotations, a task undertaken by Cochleus. A German translation was made by Leonhard von Eck and Wolfgang Redorfer. The Latin text was again slightly revised, and finally completed on July 8. The theologians reported the substance of their investigations to the Emperor: "The Lutheran princes, in the twenty one articles, taught almost the Christian doctrine. But their theologians have taught differently from that which they present to the Emperor" (Ficker, 48).

On July 12, the text was ready in clean copies of both the

Latin and the German confutation, delivered to the legate, and by him, because he himself was sick, sent to the Emperor, through his brother, Tommaso Campeggi, Bishop of Feltre. Together with the other documents intended for the emperor (a list is given in Ficker, 49), there were 351 pages.

But the authors of the First Confutation were doomed to a great disappointment. It greatly displeased the Emperor, who saw that his urgent demand for fairness and moderation had been little regarded, and that the document, as now handed to him, was politically impossible as a reply from him or from the Catholic princes. He left only twelve (or sixteen) pages uncorrected. On July 16, he laid it before the Catholic princes, who had it read (the reading occupied nine or ten hours), and then discussed it. The prolog and epilog they rejected, thinking that these belonged not to theologians, but to the princes, and declared a thorough alteration of the entire work necessary, recommending to the Emperor that he hand the document to some men who should simply approve what accorded with the Gospel and Scriptures, but should remove everything hateful and superfluous. This recommendation was handed to the Emperor July 19.

Thus ends the history of the First Confutation. The various revisions and alterations between this and the final form as read on August 3, belong rather to the history of that final form. The First Confutation was a failure, even from a reasonable Roman Catholic standpoint.

The character of this confutation is well summarized by Moeller (*Ch. Hist., Eng. Trans.* 3, p. 110): "It is a voluminous, violently worded indictment, dominated by the idea that the A. C. persistently concealed and kept silence upon the real teaching of the evangelicals and its pernicious results."

The principles of its criticism are given in the prolog.

1. Many doctrines stated are correct, but derived from the Church; therefore the Protestants receive no credit for them. By these doctrines the princes ought to stand.

2. Certain doctrines of the Confession are contradicted by the former writings of the Reformers. These former writings,

therefore, thus repudiated by their authors, ought to be destroyed.

3. Many teachings of the Confession have already been condemned by the Church as heretical. These the princes should be urged to give up, and so heal the schism in the Church.

4. The writings of the Protestant theologians contain many heresies and dangerous teachings not mentioned in the Confession. The Emperor ought, therefore, to discover how far these have been rejected by the princes. "For it is a small thing to have peace in a few matters, when in other most important matters there is no peace."

4. Besides the errors held and taught by the Protestants, many sects and unbearable heresies have sprung up, for which the Protestants are responsible. The Emperor is advised to root these out, and to force the princes to return to the Catholic faith.

These principles are thoroughly applied. The effort is made throughout to approve of the Confession of the princes, but to lay the blame for everything which they consider blameworthy upon the theologians. It must be shown, therefore, that the Protestant theologians have deceived their princes, no less than they have endeavored to deceive the Catholics. If an article is so stated as to be unassailable, it must be shown to be contrary to the position of the Protestants, if not in substance, at least in principle. So the first article, which must be approved, is accepted from the Church, against the principle of receiving nothing without clear Scripture warrant; similarly the third article. In the appendix to the ninth article, the Protestants are charged with giving a handle to the Anabaptists by their principle of requiring Scripture proof, since Scripture nowhere states or commands infant baptism.

More frequently the contradictions are material. In the first article, Luther is called upon to account for his sentence: "My soul hates this term *homousion*," Melanchthon for his disparaging remarks concerning the Nicene Council. The damnable clauses are inconsistent, because they condemn the Reformers no less than the heretics mentioned in them.

The purpose of making the confutation the final word in the controversy, led to the attempt to answer all Protestant teaching whether mentioned in the confutation or not. Some things were therefore brought in where the least opportunity presented itself, so, in the first article, these references to statements by Luther and Melanchthon, in article V: "Besides we cannot understand why Luther and Melanchthon have been so hostile to the universities, unless because they have desired to have the Holy Ghost as their teacher."

The same purpose results in the accumulation of Scripture texts, to show that the Catholics, besides having the Church and the Fathers on their side, do not lack in Scripture warrant. Articles 4, 6 and 20 consist almost entirely of Scripture texts and connecting clauses. But these texts are intended to overwhelm by their number, not by their weight. Generally, no effort at all is made to discuss a text; it is shown to be incorrectly interpreted by being contrasted with others. Luther is taken to task for inserting the "alone" in Rom. 3 : 28, but the *faith* of Gal. 3 is asserted to be the *fides formata* of Gal. 5. Without any further effort at proof Luke 17 : 10 is said to be greatly misunderstood when adduced in an argument for faith against works, "because that verse according to the context treats of faith"—a reason which seems almost unintelligible, except from the standpoint of sophistry. Rom. 8 : 18 is quoted to show that our works, compared with the divine rewards, are as nothing. Against the statement that God does not regard man's works, are quoted the instances of Cornelius' alms, of Hagar's affliction, of Abraham, Gen. 18 : 19, of Abel's sacrifice, Noah's righteousness, the fasting of the Ninevites, the weeping of Ezekiel.

The matter of abuses receives curt treatment, although the discussion of the articles on abuses occupies almost half of the confutation. It is summed up in the preface to the second part: "From our answers, given below, the Emperor will see that those things, which they mention, are neither abuses nor new, but most ancient and most sacred rites of the Church, coming down to us from the times of the apostles, nor received

contrary to the intention of the Canons, but that they have, against the most accepted Canons of the Church, the popes and the councils, nay, even against the Gospel and against Paul, made many innovations in the Church, not without great offence to the Christian people.

But the crowning weakness of the document is the inability of the authors to see the point of the Protestant arguments, and to distinguish between careful dogmatic statement and popular presentation. This has led them to underestimate the Reformation movement, which to them was the "Lutheran tragedy," and to rely upon sophistry in their reply, so that the confutation merited the name given it: "*Ilias sophistarum*." But while we are amazed at their views and methods, we remember that even nineteenth century Roman Catholics have more or less fallen into them, and that Moehler's *Symbolik* suffers from the same inability to distinguish between official and private statements.

More surprising may appear their inability to see the importance of the movement for the empire. The Emperor desired reconciliation, and his hopes had been greatly encouraged by the tone of the Confession and by the preliminary judgment upon it by the theologians, that "in the twenty-one articles the princes taught almost correct Christian doctrine. But their teachers have taught otherwise than they present to the Emperor." But the theologians knew of only one reconciliation—absolute submission to the Catholic Church as it existed. They would seem to have been both theologically and politically blind. There is little wonder that Brenz wrote to Isenmann on July 15: "Nothing new has happened here, except that I have learned that the confession of the sophists has again been returned to its sophist authors because it was so confused, crude, violent, offensive and harsh that the Emperor was ashamed to have it read in the Imperial Senate" (Ficker, 52).

On one point this First Confutation might reasonably be expected to be of great value, namely, as a help in determining the text of the Augsburg Confession as read and handed to the

Emperor. But even here it is disappointing. It seems that for several days the authentic copy of the Latin Confession was in the hands of scribes, who were preparing a translation into Spanish for the Emperor, and transcripts for his counselors and the Catholic members of the committee. Campeggi then received the Confession, and had copies made for the theologians. But, strange to say, the text of the Confession as quoted in the First Confutation agrees with none of the MSS. of the Confession which are critically judged most accurate.* Besides the transpositions, of which I have noted five in Arts. I, and one in XX, and the omissions which might be intentional, the following variations occur:

Art. I, *vere* for *verum*.

Art. II, *renascantur* for *renascuntur*.

Art. VII, *pure docetur* for *recte docetur*.

Art. IX, *recipiuntur* for *recipiantur*.

Art. XVI, omits *haec*.

Art. XVII, *suscitabit* for *resuscitabit*.

Art. XIX, *esti* for *tamesti*, *ex propriis* (according to Vulgate) for *ex seipso*.

In three places the Confutation agrees with the best MSS. against the Textus Receptus:

Art. XV, App., *ad satisfaciendum* for *satisfaciendum*.

Art. XVI, *etiam* for *et*.

Art. XX, has the *title*.

The original German text has not been used, but a new translation has been made from the Latin, except in Art. VIII, where a text is given, differing from all the MSS. in the readings: *Sollichs angezaigt* for *selbs anzeigt*; *christenlich* for *christlich*; *sein* for *sind*.

The spelling in the Confutation is greatly changed throughout, e.g.: *Dweil* for *dieweil*; *werdent* for *werden*; *sitzent* for *sitzen*.

It retains the *so* before *sind die sacrament*, agreeing in this

* See "Die unveränderte Augsbургische Konfession—Kritische Ausgabe—von Paul Tschackert, Leipzig, 1901."

with the TR. and the MSS, excepting only the last correction in *Ansb.* 2. It reads *aigentlich nit* with *Niirn.*, where four MSS. read *nicht*, and one *nichts*, as TR.

Any hope for help from the First Confutation in determining the true text of the Augsburg Confession as read in the Diet and handed to the Emperor is thus disappointed. We only learn either that the copyists were careless, or, what is more probable, that the transcripts for the use of the theologians were not made from the authoritative copy of the Confession, but from such MSS. as were obtainable. This is also probable, in view of the fact stated above: that the original copy was used for several days by the scribes of the Emperor, before it came into Campegi's hands. Yet the theologians began work on the refutation almost immediately, and the First Confutation was completed two weeks after the reading of the Confession. Had they waited for transcripts of the original document, the theologians could have had little more than one week for their work. But it was evidently carelessness on their part, that they did not revise the quotations according to the correct text before having it copied in final form.

ARTICLE VI.

THE FORMATIVE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D.D.,

[CONTINUED FROM PAGE 32.]

Our study of the subject in hand would be very incomplete, did we stop with Luther, for Luther was not the only Reformer, neither was he the Reformation. There were other great and good men connected with that mighty movement, whose labors the Protestant Church will never cease to honor. These men did not always see eye to eye in their work, neither did they fully understand each other's position. Their differences of view and position were due, in part, to difference in psychological organization; in part, to education; in part, to personal experience; in part, to environment. We may safely say that had each been placed in the position of the other, he would have acted differently from what he did. We may even go further, and say that Luther at Zurich or Geneva, would have been a misfit, and that Zwingli and Calvin at Wittenberg would have been failures. The types of the Reformation—German, Swiss—are what they are largely because of the men who stood at the helm in Wittenberg, Zurich, Geneva.

But, notwithstanding their differences at many points, the one point on which the labors of all the Reformers focalized, was the *salvation of the individual*; that is, personal religion rather than ecclesiastical piety was the common subject of supreme interest. To the question, What is the source of salvation for the individual, the Wittenberg theologians would have given answer: The grace of God *propter Christum*, for Christ in his person and work is the immediate presupposition and foundation of their cardinal principle, JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH. To the same question Zwingli and Calvin would doubtless have given the answer: The most free eternal election of God, of which Christ is the mirror and pledge, and which is executed and applied *per Christum*, for Christ in his person and

work is an instrument by which God executes his eternal decree, predestinating a certain number of individuals to salvation.*

However, in making this distinction we do not by any means wish to be understood as intimating that there was no Predestination in the Wittenberg teaching, and no *Justification* in the Zurich-Geneva teaching. By such distinction we mean that the line of cleavage between the Lutheran and Reformed teaching begins with the difference in the conception of the *ordo salutis* of the individual at the initial point. With the one, faith (*fiducia*) in the grace of God *on account of Christ* determines the salvation of the individual, while Predestination—following a dictum of Augustine—is the most excellent preparation for grace. With the other, Predestination, *in specie Electionis*, determines absolutely the salvation of the individual, while faith is expressly made to occupy a *secondary* place.†

* Strassburg C. R. 1 : 70, 74 ; Ibid. 8 : 307, 318. Calvin's *Tracts*, II, 142-3. Zwingli's *Werke*, IV, 121-127 ; VI, 340-1 ; VI, 2 : 106 ; IV, 2 : 6, 7. *et passim*. In gratioso autem illo Electionis divinae decreto ipse quoque Christus includitur, non ut causa meritoria, vel fundamentum ipsum electionem praecedens, sed ut ipse quoque *electus* ante iacta mundi fundamenta praecognitus, adeoque primariam eius exequendae electus mediator, et primogenitus frater noster, cuius pretioso merito, ad conferendam vobis, salva iustitia sua, salutem, uti voluit." *Form Cons. Helv.* V, Niemeyer, 731-2.

We are far from saying that the distinctions, *propter Christum* and *per Christum*, are invariable, but we do say that the former is characteristic of the Lutheran teaching, and the latter of the Reformed teaching. See the *A. C.*, Arts. V, V, XX, XXVII ; *Apology*, Art. IV ; *F. C.*, Art. III. Melancthon's *Loci*, *De Justificatione*, *passim* : C. R. 27 : 516 *et seqq.*, *passim* ; the *Confessio Wuertemb.* ; the *Confessio Saxonica* ; Vogel's *Thesaurus Theologicus*, 518 *et seqq.*, *passim* ; Musaeus *Praelectiones in Epitomen F. C.*, 158 *et seqq.*, *passim*. The Dogmaticians, *passim*. When the latter use *per Christum*, they are careful to say : Non tanquam per instrumentum, sed ut per eum, qui unus cum Patre et Spiritu sancto. Gerhard, VII, 31-2. They sometimes use *per et propter*. See for *per Christum* Calvin and the Reformed creeds generally ; though *propter Christum* is found in the Second* Helvetic, Niemeyer, 481. See Harnack's *History of Dogma*, Eng. Trans., VII, 207-8, for *propter Christum*. Thomasius : *Das Bekenntniss*, * * * *in d. Kons. Seines Principis*, 4-6.

† Strassburg C. R. 2 : 697. Zwingli, IV, 121-127.

The line of cleavage as above indicated is not always clear and well defined. But it exists, nevertheless, and a minute examination of the initial movements of the religious upheavals at Wittenberg, Zurich, Geneva, will not fail to disclose its existence. For instance, let any one read, on the one hand, Luther's *Commentary on the Psalms*, and his *Commentary on Galatians* (1519), and, on the other hand, Zwingli's *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa Religione*, and Calvin's *Institutio* (1536), and he will certainly discover the line of cleavage to be as we have indicated. The doctrine of justification by faith receives but slender attention in the treatises of Zwingli and Calvin, and their conception of God is certainly not that of Luther. In Calvin's treatise the subordination of Justification to Election is clear and emphatic.* In treating of Zwingli's Theology, Professor Foster says that the doctrine of justification by faith must be ascribed to Luther and not to Zwingli. "Luther alone gave it to the world and made it the rallying cry of the mighty movement."† And Schweizer says that "Zwingli could explain justification by faith only by means of a figure of speech."‡

That justification by faith was in a peculiar sense Luther's doctrine, the rallying cry of the German Reformation, has, we trust, been satisfactorily shown. It is proper that we should give attention to

MELANCHTHON.

The learned Preceptor of Germany was the first to attempt to arrange the Wittenberg doctrines in systematic order. In 1521 he published his *Loci Communes*. But already in 1519-20 the *Lucubrationcula* and the *Theologica Institutio* had appeared. In the former of these sketches Predestination is dismissed with the simple declaration that *it is beyond the reach of the human understanding*,§ while *Faith* and *Justification by Faith* alone, are discussed through several pages. In the *In-*

* Strassburg C. R. I, 73.

† Jackson's *Huldreich Zwingli*, p. 367.

‡ *Centraldogmen*, I, XIII.

§ C. R. 21, 12 et seqq.

stitutio,* which is an analysis and brief discussion of the epistle to the Romans, Faith and Justification by Faith alone, are treated in thirteen short chapters. Of Predestination, which the authors regarded as one of the three *Loci* of the Epistle, only this is said: *Secundus Locus Praedestinationis est de qua praeter ea, quae paucis verbis Paulus dixit, nihil potest hominis ulla ratio, ullum ingenium. Vide ad haec VI Ioannis Caput.* But what we regard as absolutely decisive in the premises, is the declaration in regard to justification: *Illa confessio est super quam ecclesia fundata est, contra hanc portae inferorum non praevalerunt* (p. 55)—which reminds one of Luther's *article of a standing and falling Church*, and which shows to a demonstration what was the center of gravity in Melanchthon's theological thinking.

In the *Loci* Melanchthon, like Luther in the *De Servo Arbitrio*, teaches an absolute determinism. We find such statements as the following: "Since all things that occur, occur necessarily according to the divine predestination, there is no freedom of our will." "The Scriptures teach that all things occur necessarily." "The Scripture takes freedom from our will by the necessity of predestination." "Neither in external nor in internal operations is there any liberty, but all things occur according to the divine determination."†

These statements occur in the chapter on Free-will, and consequently do not have an independent value. As with Luther, so with Melanchthon, Predestination had an ethico-practical interest as an instrument for overthrowing Free-will, and for establishing the doctrine of man's absolute dependence upon divine grace for salvation. That is, with Melanchthon as with Luther, Predestination, though a *Locus consolatorius*, was the necessary correlate of the bondage of the Will, and not the foundation, or the generatrix of faith. And as further evidence that Predestination did not have central, determinative, but only subsidiary value with Melanchthon, we note the fact that while the table of contents includes Predestination, in the order, *Fides*

* C. R. 21, 50 *et seqq.*

† C. R. 21, 89 *et seqq.*

Spes, Charitas, Praedestinatio, the last named *is not discussed at all* as a separate *Locus*, notwithstanding the fact that in the *Locus* on Free-will the author promised to discuss it in its proper place. But as regards Justification and Faith, they are treated with great fullness, and the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, is set forth with a clearness and a comprehensiveness that leave nothing to be desired in a hand-book of Lutheran theology.

Now, taking all the facts adduced into the account, we cannot but conclude that Melanchthon, too, even in his formative period, must be excepted from Dr. Warfield's generalization. Predestination, treated only incidentally, and for the purpose of annihilating the doctrine of Free-will, cannot be regarded as the center of gravity of this book, which, better than any other book, shows what was taught at Wittenberg at that time. The author's words in regard to Justification have no predestinarian sound in them. He says: "We are justified, when, mortified by the law, we are raised up by the Word of grace, which is promised in Christ, or in the Gospel, which forgives sins, and when we cling to Christ, nothing doubting that the righteousness of Christ is our righteousness, that his satisfaction is our expiation, his resurrection, ours. In a word, nothing doubting that God loves and cherishes us. Hence our works, however good they may seem, or be, are not our righteousness. FAITH alone in the mercy and grace of God in Christ Jesus is RIGHTEOUSNESS. This is what Paul means when he says the just shall live by faith, and that righteousness is by the faith of Jesus Christ."* Faith is not postponed to election, and the mercy and grace of God rest in Christ Jesus, and not in the eternal decree, which was made before men were created. It is exactly this difference at the center that ultimately makes the difference in type between the Lutheran and the Reformed systems of theology, and the difference in church life.

But we cannot dismiss Melanchthon at this point in his theological history—a youth of twenty-four years; though we

* C. R. 21, 159.

think we have shown that even at this early period he was not predestinarian in the sense intended by Dr. Warfield—in the sense in which Zwingli and Calvin were predestinarian; in other words, it is perfectly manifest that Predestination in the religious sense of a divine ante-natal destination of some persons to eternal life, and of others to eternal destruction,* was not Melanchthon's *central doctrine*. He does not, like Zwingli and Calvin, give it the superior place in the application of redemption *fide posthabita*. He warns against solicitude in regard to the matter of Predestination,† and declares that it can be comforting only when one has destroyed the carnal mind—all of which shows that his relation to the doctrine of Predestination in the religious sense was a qualified one. Surely this would not satisfy Dr. Warfield, and we venture to think that had Dr. Warfield not found an altogether different kind of Predestination in Calvin's *Institutio* of 1536, and more fully developed later—a Predestination that makes *Calling, Justification* and *Glorification*, only the *manifestation* of God's eternal election‡—he would hardly be the rigid predestinarian that he is, and would hardly have written: "Scarcely was the Reformation established, however, before the purity of its confession of the Predestination of God began to give way. The first serious blow to it was given by the defection of Melanchthon to a synergistic conception of the saving act" (p. 50); which as a matter of fact is correct only in so far as Melanchthon *was*, not in so far as Dr. Warfield conceives him to have been, *predestinarian*; and in the matter of chronology Dr. Warfield's statement at least conveys a wrong impression. Melanchthon, as we have shown, never held the doctrine of Predestination in "the purity of its confession" according to the Zwinglio-Calvinistic conception of the central principle of the Christian system. Hence his defection from *his* doctrine of Predestination was of the nature of a modification of his correlate of the *Servum Arbitrium*, not the abandonment of his

* See Strassburg C. R. I, 73; 9 : 113.

† C. R. 21, 15.

‡ Strassburg C. R. I, 73.

central principle, or of that doctrine upon which he had most concentrated his theological thinking. Let anyone read the *Loci de Justificatione et Fide, de Fidei Efficacia, de Caritate et Spe*, extending from p. 159 to p. 192 in the C. R., Vol. 21, and then read the predestinarian assertions in the *Locus de Libero Arbitrio*, and then familiarize himself with the defection of which Dr. Warfield speaks, and he will not be slow to discover that Melanchthon's defection is from that *Locus* which he persistently refused to discuss, and which he warned others against discussing, and which he nowhere and never called *that confession on which the Church is founded*.

And as touching Dr. Warfield's chronology, we beg to say that already in the year 1524 Melanchthon had become dissatisfied with Luther's doctrine of the Will, and showed that he strongly sympathized with Erasmus.* In 1527, when the Reformation was yet far from being established, in the *Commentary on Colossians*, he expressed himself very decidedly in favor of that kind of Free-will which he subsequently elaborated, and which in its *main* features has become the doctrine of the Lutheran Church on that subject. In the same year he set forth the same doctrine of the Will in the *Saxon Visitation Articles*, which were warmly endorsed by Luther and Bugenhagen.† In the Augsburg Confession, Article V, he presented the doctrine of the divine sovereignty in the clause, "Where and when it seems good to God," while in Article XVIII, he asserts the essential freedom of the Will in the declaration that "the human will has a certain freedom for doing civil righteousness and for choosing such things as belong to reason." In the *Commentary on Romans* (1532), to the "scruple of particularity" he "opposes the universal promises of the Gospel, which teach that God, for Christ's sake, and not of grace, offers salvation to all." He distinctly places the cause of reprobation in unwillingness to believe the Gospel.‡

* C. R. I : 675, 667. Richard's *Philip Melanchthon*, pp. 118-9.

† DeWette, III : 211.

‡ C. R. 15 : 680-386. *Philip Melanchthon*, pp. 234-5.

In the *Loci* of 1535 he has a separate *Locus de Praedestinatione*. Here he lays it down as a first principle that the cause of Predestination is identical with the cause of Justification. In judging of Predestination we must start with the Gospel. "If anyone seeks the cause of election apart from the Gospel, he cannot help falling into error." The promise of the Gospel is general. "When anyone undertakes to particularize it, he plainly renders the promise uncertain and destroys faith." "We must decide that the promise is indeed general, because it appertains to the will of God. Thus we say *a posteriori*, that in justification there is some cause in the recipient, not worthiness forsooth, but in that he lays hold on the promise by which the Holy Spirit operates, as Paul says [Rom. 10 : 17]: Faith cometh by hearing. So, also, we judge of Election *a posteriori*, viz., that those undoubtedly are elected who by faith lay hold of mercy and persevere in that confidence (*fiducia*) unto the end."

This teaching became classic at Wittenberg at a time when it can hardly be said that the Reformation was established. And what is more, it was promulgated without any opposition from Luther; and though this teaching was made more explicit in the edition of 1543, he then still did not protest, but in the year 1545 lauded Melanchthon's book almost to canonization. But, most important of all for the Lutheran theology, the proposition, that Election occurs *ex praevisa fide*, and *respectu praevisae fidei*, so prominent in the Lutheran *Dogmatic*, and, seemingly, not discovered by Dr. Warfield to have appeared until 1610, can be traced right back to this *Locus de Praedestinatione* of 1535, and has Philip Melanchthon as its author. Its well-developed germ is found in the declarations that election must be judged *a posteriori*, that those are elected who have faith and persevere in it unto the end, and that we must judge of election from the Word of God.

This so-called Synergism of Melanchthon was abused by his disciples, and was ostensibly rejected by the rigid Lutherans of the second generation; but the eleventh article of the *Form of Concord* is substantially an expansion of Melanchthon's

Locus de Praedestinatione of 1535. The two are remarkably alike in this, viz., that they insist that election must be learned from the Word of God.

So far in regard to Melanchthon. If, now, we gather up the facts, we find:

1. That at the beginning of his career Melanchthon was thoroughly deterministic in his view of the power and alone-activity of God. In such view, like Luther, he was a follower of Duns Scotus, whose fundamental principle in regard to the Divine Will was: *Nulla est causa nisi quia voluntas est voluntas*.* God's actions have their root in God's Will.

2. That his Determinism, under the name of Predestination or *Destinatio Divina*, was employed as an instrument for overthrowing the doctrine of Free-will, and for asserting the doctrine of man's absolute dependence on God's grace for salvation.

3. That in his early works Predestination receives very little independent consideration. It is either dismissed with a few words, or is treated in the *Locus de Libero Arbitrio*.

4. That very soon he modified his view of the Will, and consequently his view of Predestination, and declared that Predestination must be learned from the Word of God alone. This is of fundamental importance.

5. That Election depends upon faith persevered in to the end of life, and must be judged of *a posteriori*.

6. That "the cause of Election is to be sought in the benefit and promise of Christ."

7. That from the very beginning he placed the chief emphasis in Justification by Faith as the *foundation of the Church*; thus in principle harmonizing perfectly with Luther, who never wearied of calling men away from the secret majesty of God, and of directing their attention to the revealed Word, in which they would find Jesus Christ, and learn that God will not condemn them on account of their sins, if they will believe on Jesus Christ.†

* Thomasius-Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, II, 102.

† See the passage in the *Kirchenpostille*, Erl. Ed., 9 : 16.

THE LUTHERAN CONFESSIONS.

Neither in the Augsburg Confession nor in its Apology, nor in the Schmalkald Articles, nor in Luther's Catechisms, do we find an article on Predestination.

It is well known that Melanchthon purposely kept Predestination out of the Confession and Apology*; and likewise is it well known that though Luther desiderated three articles in the Confession,† Predestination is not one of the three. These facts show conclusively that the Wittenberg Reformers did not regard Predestination as one of the *ARTICULI FIDEI PRAECIPUI*. But in the Twentieth Article it is declared: *Doctrina de fide, quam oportet in ecclesia praecipuam*, that is, the doctrine of faith is the principal doctrine in the Church. German: *Die Lehr von Glauben, die das Hauptstück ist in Christlichem Wesen*.

This *doctrine of faith* is formally stated in Article IV of the Confession. Its position there is central. For its necessary preconceptions it has the Articles *De Deo*, *De Peccato Originali*, *De Christo*. The Confession re-affirms the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, asserts the sinfulness of man by his birth, and sets forth the merits and mediatorship of Christ. Then, in its proper logical order, comes that article which was the answer to the burning question at Wittenberg: How shall a man be just before God? "Not by his own powers, merits, or works, but gratuitously *propter Christum per fidem*." All that follows has for its object either to show how justifying faith is acquired, or to exhibit the doctrine of the life of faith in the individual, or in the Christian community, until in Article XX, it is taught that reconciliation is effected through faith alone, if we believe that *propter Christum*; German: *Um Christus willen*: we are

* Sed ego in tota Apologia fugi illam longam et inexplicabilem disputationem de praedestinatione. Ubique sic loquor, quasi praedestinatio sequatur nostram fidem et opera. Ac facio hoc certo concilio: non enim volo conscientias perturbare illis inexplicabilibus labyrinthis. Ideo ita constituo, homines acceptos esse propter Christum, fide, hoc est autem esse justos. C. R. II, 546.

† DeWette's *Luther's Briefe*, IV, 109, 110.

received into grace—in which it will be perceived that it is grace *on account of Christ*, that is, that in some sense at least Christ stands in causal relation to the grace of God, and that faith is the instrument by which the divine grace is appropriated.

2. We come now to the Apology, which, next to the Confession and the *Loci*, is Melanchthon's most important contribution to the theology of the Reformation. In the first paragraph of Article IV (*De Justificatione*) it is said: "Now since this controversy concerns the principal article of the Christian doctrine (*Locus praecipuus doctrinae Christianae*), which, correctly understood, illumines and enlarges the honor of Christ, and brings the necessary and the richest comfort to pious consciences, we beseech the Emperor to hear us clemently in regard to such important matters. For the adversaries, since they understand nothing about remission of sins, nor faith, nor grace, nor righteousness, miserably corrupt this article, obscure the glory and benefits of Christ, and take away from pious consciences the consolation set forth in Christ." Of Election and Reprobation, the Apology contains not a word.

3. The Schmalkald articles come next in order. They are the work of Luther, and received the approval of other Wittenberg theologians. At Schmalkald they were subscribed by more than forty Lutheran theologians and clergymen, representing almost the entire territory of the German Reformation. In PART II, ARTICLE I, *The First and Chief Article*, we read: "Inasmuch, then, as this must be believed (that Christ died for our sins, and was raised again for our Justification), and since it cannot be obtained or embraced by works, law, or merit, it is clear and certain, that such faith alone justifies us, as Paul, Rom. 3 : 28, says: 'Therefore, we conclude that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law.' Again, verse 26, 'That he might be just, and the justifier of him that believeth in Jesus.'

"Whatever may happen, though heaven and earth should fall, nothing in this article can be yielded or rescinded. 'For there is none other name under heaven given among men,

whereby we must be saved,' says Peter, Acts 4 : 12. 'And with his stripes we are healed,' Isa. 53 : 5. Upon this article depends all that we teach and do against the Pope, the Devil, and all the world. We must, therefore, be certain of this, and must not doubt it, otherwise all will be lost, and the Pope, and the Devil, and our opponents, will prevail and obtain the victory."

The title, *First and Chief Article*, and the affirmations in regard to it, show the place occupied by Justification by Faith in the mind of the Lutheran Church. It was the one article that could not be surrendered under any possible contingency. As *the first and chief article* of the Christian religion, it, more than any other article, distinguished the Lutherans from the Romanists.

4. Neither of the Catechisms, both written by Luther in the year 1528, contains an article on Justification by Faith. But he has read them to very little profit or purpose who does not perceive that Justification by Faith forms their underlying preconception from the beginning to the end. Attention may be specially called to the exposition of the second article of the Creed, and to the explanation of the Sacraments. Everything that appertains to our salvation is made to turn on faith. Predestination is not once hinted at. This shows that Luther could set forth the chief facts and doctrines of the Christian religion without even alluding to Predestination. And when we consider that these catechisms were written only three years after the *De Servo Arbitrio*, we are led to the conclusion that his assertions in that most vigorous of his polemics, had left very little impression on his practical mind.

5. *The Form of Concord*. This symbol, though, like several of those already cited, it has never had universal official recognition in the Lutheran Church, is, nevertheless, of great theological value as showing how certain rigid Lutherans of the second generation interpreted the Lutheran fundamental teaching. The authors say in the Eleventh Article: "Concerning the eternal election of the children of God, no public, offensive, and prolix controversy has hitherto arisen among the theologi-

ans of the Augsburg Confession." But in order to prevent discussion and dissension among their posterity, they inserted an explanation. This explanation has by no means been satisfactory to all Lutheran theologians, neither has it prevented discussion and dissension among Lutherans on the doctrine of Predestination. But our present object is neither to defend nor to criticise, but only succinctly to state this article, and by so doing to show how fundamentally different it is from the Reformed teaching on the subject, as that teaching will be exhibited later.

A. It makes a distinction between the *eternal foreknowledge* of God and the *eternal election* of the children of God. "Foreknowledge extends to all creatures, the good and the bad. But the *eternal election* or *predestination of God*, that is, the ordaining of God unto salvation, pertains only to the children of God, who were elected and ordained to eternal life, before the foundation of the world. Eph. 1 : 4, 5.

B. "This eternal election must not be contemplated only from the hidden, secret counsel of God, but we must learn of the matter as revealed in the divine word.

C. "This eternal election* of God must be considered *in Christ*, and not *apart from*, or *without Christ*."

D. Reprobation is not mentioned. "But the reason that all who hear the Word of God do not believe, and therefore meet with a deeper condemnation, is not found in God's unwillingness to bestow salvation ; but they themselves are in fault, because they so hear the Word as not to learn, but only to scorn, to blaspheme, and to profane it, and because they resisted the Holy Spirit, who desires to operate in them through the Word, as was the case with the Pharisees in the time of Christ."

It will be thus seen that Predestination, as set forth in the *Form of Concord*, must be learned chiefly from the Holy Scriptures, and is inseparably connected with Christ. It is not *absolute* and *unconditional*. Condemnation is the result of voluntary rejection of the offer of salvation contained in the Word, and of resistance of the Holy Spirit.

The article, as is plainly implied in the apologetic opening

paragraph, is clearly regarded as of secondary importance. But of the importance of Justification by Faith, the *Formula* says: "This article concerning justification by faith is, as the Apology declares, the leading article of the whole Christian doctrine; without which a disturbed conscience can have no sure consolation, or rightly conceive the riches of the grace of Christ, as Dr. Luther has written: 'If this single article remain pure, the whole Christian community will also remain pure and harmonious, and without any factions; but if it remain not pure, it is impossible to resist any error or factional spirit.' And with respect to this article in particular, Paul says: 'A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump.' For that reason he enforces in this article with so much earnestness and zeal the *particulæ exclusivæ*—namely, the words, 'without law,' 'without works,' 'by grace' (Rom. 3 : 28; 4 : 5; Eph. 2 : 8, 9), by which the works of man are excluded for the purpose of showing how highly necessary it is, in this article, not only to unfold the true doctrine, but also to set forth the contrary doctrines, that they may be discriminated, exposed and rejected."*

GENERAL SUMMARY.

Our studies have covered succinctly a period of about three quarters of a century. They include the two most important teachers of the Lutheran Church, and exhibit their private teaching, and the relation of the official teaching of the Church to Predestination and Justification by Faith. In the essential features the teaching on these subjects has been harmonious. In the early days of the Wittenberg movement nobody thought of Justification by Faith as a *doctrine* in the sense of an ecclesiastical or theological *dogma* that must be believed. Justification by Faith was treated as an *experience of salvation*. They said in those early days that a man is justified and saved when he believes on Jesus Christ as his Redeemer and Saviour. The early Wittenberg teachers were by no means ignorant of the teaching of Augustine and of the Scholastics on the sub-

* Art. III, *Sol. Declaration*.

ject of Predestination, neither were they uninfluenced by that teaching, as we have abundantly shown; but their whole attitude toward it shows that they did not regard it as the one thing needful, and that they did not call it the chief article, and that they did not give it a place of prominence in the cure of souls. Instead of tracing the whole operation of God in respect of the eternal destiny of men back to the ante-creational absolute decree, they sought God's will of salvation in the Divine Word, which they regarded as neither fallacious nor deceptive. That Word led them to believe that salvation, according to God's revealed will, is intended for every man, and that salvation is actually bestowed on every man who believes the promise of grace, and that the Holy Spirit works faith in every hearer of the Word, who does not despise the truth and resist the Holy Spirit. It was in this way that the Word of God—pre-eminently the Word of God in preaching—was regarded as a means of grace in a sense and to a degree not known among those churches that were dominated by the *praedestinatio gemina*, that is, those churches that set out with the conception, and carried it consistently through, that the salvation of the individual is determined by the unconditional eternal decree of Election, and that the damnation of the individual is determined by the unconditional eternal decree of Reprobation.

ZWINGLI.

In the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, 1891, we presented Zwingli's doctrine of Predestination, drawing our material from original sources. We now let Dr. Warfield be heard on this subject. Speaking of Zwingli's doctrine of Predestination as exhibited in several of his important works, Dr. Warfield says: "No one of these documents treats professedly of predestination and election, though of course they all rest on the convictions in these matters that characterized Zwingli's thought, and in the two more elaborate documents allusions to them naturally appear. These are more direct and full in the *Ratio Fidei*, and occur in it in connection with the treatment of the Fall,

Redemption, and especially of the Church—about which last topic the controversy with Rome especially raged. In the *Expositio Fidei Christianae* they occur most pointedly in connection with the treatment of Good Works. In the mass they are not copious, but they constitute a very clear and a tolerably full outline of the Reformed doctrine on the subject. God, we are told, has freely made appointment concerning all things, and that by a decree which is eternal and independent of all that is outside of Himself; in this decree is included the fall of man along with all else that comes to pass; and, as well, the election in Christ of some—whom he will—to eternal life; these constitute his Church, properly so-called, known certainly from all eternity by Him, but becoming known to themselves as God's elect only through the witness of the Spirit in due time in their hearts, and the testimony of their good works which are the product and not the foreseen occasion of their election, and by these only are they differentiated in the external Church from the reprobates who with them may be included in its bounds" (p. 53).

This has a very different sound from that of the Lutheran doctrine of Predestination. But we think that Dr. Warfield has stated the matter correctly, and hence we are perfectly willing that he should include the Zurich Reformer in his generalization. And in his interpretation of Zwingli he is fully sustained by Professor Frank Hugh Foster, D.D., in his *Zwingli's Theology*: "Zwingli passes by a natural transition to the discussion of election, which he defines as the free determination of the divine will concerning those who are to be made blessed. It is an act of the free will of God in distinction from his mere wisdom. In opposition to Thomas Aquinas, Zwingli makes election to be independent of all foreknowledge of faith. He had once been inclined to this opinion of Aquinas's, but rejected it because it endangers God's goodness and omnipotence, since he must have foreseen Judas's becoming bad, and must then be conceived as unable to hinder it; and also destroys his sole causality, ascribing some reason for his activity to the creature. Yet the other attributes of God—wisdom, love, etc.—are not

unconcerned in election, though it is primarily a matter of the will. And faith, which is the condition of justification, is the gift of God and follows upon election; so that election, rather than faith, may be said to be the justifying principle. 'Faith follows election as its symbol.' **

Thus according to Zwingli, as interpreted by Professor Foster, salvation does not depend primarily on *faith*, but on *election*. The individual's personal faith is only a *symbol* that he has been elected. Without doubt Zwingli was predestinarian in the sense intended by Dr. Warfield, when he speaks of the "central doctrine" and of "the formative principle."

In regard to Justification by Faith Zwingli taught it in a way that, Professor Ritschl thinks, does not differ essentially from the Lutheran teaching on the subject. Be it so, as regards words and phrases. But Professor Ritschl, who champions Zwingli against most of his critics, is forced to say, in harmony with Schneckenburger, "that the *doctrine* of justification is neither the common palladium of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions, nor the ultimate fundamental bond between them; for that doctrine, though indeed defined by both alike, is set forth in different connections—a circumstance which ought to be kept in view as not unimportant in our comparison of the two doctrinal systems." Exactly so. The Reformed Confessions, as Dr. Warfield shows (p. 52), begin with Zwingli, and as Dr. Warfield will have it—justly so, we think—start with his doctrine of Predestination as central and formative. They are what their central principle, applied with a remorseless logic, has made them. The Lutheran Confessions, as we have shown, go out from the central principle of Justification by Faith. Every other *Locus theologicus* was considered, more or less, in a peripheral relation to that center, and had to vindicate its importance according to its connection with the center. Whereas the Reformed Confessions, starting with a different principle, really placed faith, and consequently Justification by Faith, on the periphery. It is the "different relations" of the doctrine of

* Jackson's *Huldreich Zwingli*, p. 382.

justification, that really make it a different doctrine in the two systems. In the one system it is the *genetic* principle. In the other system predestination is the *genetic* principle, and justification by faith is only its symbol. Doubtless it was but the proper deduction from *his* principles as verified in experience that led Luther to connect salvation immediately with the Word of God; and it was doubtless but a legitimate deduction from *his* principles that led Zwingli to affirm his belief that the virtuous heathen will be saved. The systems are different because the vital and vitalizing principle of each is different from that of the other.

CALVIN.

Of Calvin, Theodore Beza, his friend, successor and biographer, says: "In the doctrine which he delivered at the first, he persisted steadily to the last, scarcely making any change."* This life-long consistency in doctrine is due, doubtless, to the facts, first, that when Calvin was converted, the Reformation, both in Germany and in Switzerland, was fairly well-established; and, secondly, that he possessed an extraordinarily clear and logical mind. What he conceived, he conceived in the fulness of its relations and consequences. Psychologically and ethnologically he was more in sympathy with the Swiss than with the Germans. Hence, taking up the work of the Reformation at the beginning of the second generation, he would naturally take his theological direction from Zwingli and his co-religionists† rather than from Luther and Melanchthon, though he cannot be interpreted without Luther and Melanchthon. But he so deepened, strengthened and systematized the theology of his Swiss forerunners as to establish a school of theology that will ever bear his name, and that exhibits the characteristics of his great mind and stern character.

The first outlines of this theology are contained in his *Institutio* of the year 1536. In this book Predestination receives no formal, but only incidental treatment, and yet, as Dr. War-

* *Life of Calvin, Tracts, etc.*, Vol. I, p. xcvi.

† See Kahnis, *Der Innere Gang d. Deutsch. Protestantismus*, pp. 34-6.

field says, "this incidental treatment is full enough to show that there was already present to Calvin's mind all the substance of the doctrine as elsewhere developed by him" (p. 62). In the second edition of the *Institutio* (1539) the doctrine of *Praedestinatio gemina* is presented in clear and sharp definitions: "Predestination we name the eternal decree of God by which he has determined within himself what he would have to become of every human being. For they are not all created with an equal destiny, but to some eternal life, to others eternal damnation has been foreordained. Therefore as each one has been created for one end or the other, so we say that he has been predestinated to life or to death. In accordance with prevalent use we mean by Providence that arrangement which God employs* in governing the world and all things. Let us first discuss Predestination. Because the Scriptures distinctly show it, we say that God by his eternal and immutable counsel once for all determined whom he would thereafter receive into salvation; whom on the contrary he would devote to destruction. Whom he designed to make partakers of salvation, those we say are elected by his gratuitous mercy, without regard to their own worthiness. Whom he turns over to damnation, to them, by his just and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible judgment, access to life is closed. Moreover indeed we hold that in the case of the elect vocation is the justification of election. Then that justification is the second symbol of its manifestation, until we come to the glory in which it is completed. But as by vocation and justification God signifies his elect, so either by excluding from the knowledge of his name, or from the sanctification of his Spirit, as by signs, he excludes the reprobate."*

Thus according to Calvin, Election is one species of Predestination, and Reprobation is the other species. This is what is meant by the *Praedestinatio gemina*, or *duplex*. With regard to those who are predestinated to life election is the starting point. This election, as the author contends on the follow-

* Strassburg C. R. I : 865.

ing page, took place before the creation of the world, and is according to the good-pleasure of the divine Will. Vocation is only a testifying that a person has been already elected; and justification, as with Zwingli, is a symbol of the manifestation of election. As the author expressly says, this good pleasure of God rules everywhere. Justification is plainly put on the periphery. It is in no sense a cause of election; only its symbol. Neither faith nor Christ is a cause of election. Only the *beneplacitum voluntatis suae* (Dei) is the cause.

This of course is properly named *Praedestinatio absoluta*, that is, Predetermination absolved, set free from every cause and consideration except the *Beneplacitum Dei*, which, so far as we can perceive, acts arbitrarily.

In the edition of 1559 Calvin defines Predetermination exactly as he had done in the edition of 1539, declares that it is not dependent on foreknowledge, and affirms that "gratuitous election is but half displayed till we come to particular individuals, to whom God not only offers salvation, but assigns it in such a manner that the certainty of the effect is liable to no suspense or doubt."* In this edition he also declares that *election is the mother of faith*,† and further, that "*faith is properly joined to Election, provided it hold the second place.*"‡

In *The Catechism for the Church of Geneva* (1541-5), in answer to the question, "What is the Church?" it is said: "The body and society of believers whom God hath predestinated to eternal life," and on the following page the Church is defined as "the assemblage of those whom he (God) has adopted to salvation by his secret election."§

In *The Confession of faith, in the name of the Reformed Churches of France*, published in the year 1562, he says: "We

* Strassburg C. R., 2 : 683.

† Ibid, p. 696. Adde quod si electio, teste Paulo, fidei mater est. Also in the *Consensus Genevensis* (C. R., 8 : 341 ; Niemeyer, p. 289) : Modo denique electionem fateatur matrem fidei esse. The same expression is used several times by Calvin, and has been called the *cor cordis* of his system.

‡ Ibid, p. 697.

§ Calvin's *Tracts*, II, 50, 51.

likewise hold that the goodness which he (God) displays toward us proceeds from his having elected us before the creation of the world, not seeking the cause of so doing out of himself and his good pleasure. And here is our first fundamental principle, viz., that we are pleasing to God, inasmuch as he has been pleased to adopt us as his children before we were born, and has by this means delivered us by special privilege from the general curse under which all men have fallen.”*

It is sufficient for our purpose to note the words: *First fundamental principle*. Nothing like this, we think, can be read in all the writings of Luther and Melanchthon. They indeed found the source of our salvation in the mercy of God; but they did not make the election of one portion of the race their *first fundamental principle*.

For Calvin's views on the subject of Predestination in the fullest form of their expression we would point to his *De Aeterna Praedestinatione* (Consensus Genevensis), published in the year 1552.† But for a succinct and unmistakable statement of his views on this subject, we quote in full the *Articuli De Praedestinatione*, discovered recently in Calvin's own autograph by the Strassburg editors, and published in Vol. IX, pp. 713-4, C. R. That we may abate nothing from the force of the original we allow the articles to appear in the author's own words:

ARTICULI DE PRAEDESTINATIONE.

“Ante creatum primum hominem statuerat Deus aeterno consilio quid de toto genere humano fieri vellet.

“Hoc arcano Dei consilio factum est ut Adam ab integro naturae suae statu dificeret ac sua defectione traheret omnes suos posteros in reatum aeternae mortis.

“Ab hoc eodem decreto pendet discrimen inter electos et reprobos: quia alios sibi adoptavit in salutem, alios aeterno exitio destinavit.

“Tametsi iustae Dei vindictae vasa sunt reprobi, rursum

* *Tracts*, II, 142.

† Strassburg C. R., 8 : 257 et seqq.

electi vasa misericordiae, causa tamen discriminis non alia in Deo quaerenda est quam mera eius voluntas, quae summa est iustitiae regula.

"Tametsi electi fide percipiunt adoptionis gratiam, non tamen pendet electio a fide sed tempore et ordine prior est.

"Sicut initium et perseverantia fidei a gratuita Dei electione fluit, ita non alii vere illuminantur in fidem, nec alii spiritu regenerationis donantur, nisi quos Deus elegit: reprobos vero vel in sua caecitate manere necesse est, vel excidere a parte fidei, si qua in illis fuerit.

"Tametsi in Christo eligimur, ordine tamen illud prius est ut nos Dominus in suis censeat, quam ut faciat Christi membra.

"Tametsi Dei voluntas summa et prima est rerum omnium causa, et Deus diabolum et impios omnes suo arbitrio subiectos habet, Deus tamen neque peccati causa vocari potest, neque mali autor, neque ulli culpae obnoxius est.

"Tametsi Deus peccato vere infensus est et damnat quidquid est iniustitiae in hominibus, quia illi displicet, non tamen nuda eius permissione tantum, sed nutu quoque et arcano decreto gubernantur omnia hominum facta.

"Tametsi diabolus et reprobi Dei ministri sunt et organa, et arcana eius iudicia exsequuntur, Deus tamen incomprehensibili modo sic in illis et per illos operatur ut nihil ex eorum vitio labis contrahat, quia illorum malitia iuste recteque utitur in bonum finem, licet modus saepe nobis sit absconditus.

"Inscite vel calumniose faciunt qui Deum fieri dicunt autorem peccati, si omnia eo volente et ordinante fiant: quia inter manifestam hominum pravitatem et arcana Dei iudicia non distinguunt."

Only a few words of comment are necessary :

1. These Articles must at once settle the question as to whether or not Calvin was a *supralapsarian*. The decree in regard to the destiny of the whole human race, including the fall of Adam, had been determined by God's eternal counsel before the creation of the first man. The counsel, decree of God, in the premises, is unqualifiedly *supra lapsum*.

2. The cause of the difference between the Elect and the

Reprobate is purely the will of God, which is the highest rule of righteousness.

3. "Election does not depend on faith, but precedes it in time and in order."

4. Though we are elected in Christ, yet God considers us among his own before he makes us members of Christ.

Such is Calvinism in its most characteristic feature. There can be no doubt that the *Praedestinatio gemina* is Calvin's central doctrine, the formative principle of his system of Christian belief. The point is just here: He connects the doctrine of Predestination *systematically* with the whole body of Christian doctrine, because, as he thinks, Predestination is so revealed in the Scriptures. The *beneplacitum Dei* is the *initium*. Both in time and in order faith is postponed to election. Justification by faith is discussed in the third edition of the *Institutes* (1559), III, xi–xvii, with great force, and with sufficient fulness. But the author does not give it a separate section, nor does he place it first in his discussion of the application of Redemption. He follows the redemptory work of Christ with the doctrine of regeneration, and of a holy life. Then comes the treatment of Justification by Faith. This arrangement at once shows that the position occupied by justification in the Calvinistic system is very different from that which it occupies in the Lutheran system. That we may exhibit this difference with the greater clearness we present, on the following page, Beza's diagram of the *double predestination*, found in his works, Vol. I, p. 170.

It will be seen, according to this diagram, that *the eternal and immutable purpose* of Election and Reprobation antecedes in order all causes, and antecedes the creation of man, as in Calvin's *Articuli*. Faith and Justification are placed far away from the center, and really serve only as instruments for the carrying out of the decree. Christ is in no sense a *cause* of Election, for there are no causes of Election outside the will of God—which in logic and in reality postpones Christ to the decree, and this is the expressed teaching of Calvin, viz., that the merit of Christ is subordinate to the ordination and mercy of

BEZA'S DIAGRAM.

Summa totius Christianismi, sive descriptio
et distributio causarum salutis electorum, et
exitii reproborum, ex sacris literis collecta.

Annon habet potestatem figulus, fingendi ex eadem massa aliud vas in honorem, aliud in contumeliam? Rom. 9.

Eligere in Christo servandos.

Deus cuius viae impuestigabiles.

Propositum eius aeternum et immutabile, omnes causas ordine quoque antegrediens, quo apud semetipsum decrevit certos homines.

Creatio hominis in recto statu, sed mutabili.

Corruptio hominis spontanea et contingens.

Amor gratuitus Dei erga corruptos quidem in se ipsis, sed in Christo gratis destinatos electioni et salutis.

Vocatio efficax.

Emollitio sive conversio ex mera gratia.

Fides.

Iustificatio ex imputatione, et sanctificatio inchoata.

Iudicium Dei de utrisque

Glorificatio iustificatorum in Christo.

Vita aeterna coronantis etiam in membris Christi obedientiam eius ipsis imputatam gratis.

Gloria Dei ex aeterno eius decreto, summe misericordis, et summe severi.

Deus omnia condidit propter semetipsum, etiam impium ad diem malum.

Proverb. 16.

Reiicere, et propter suam ipsorum voluntariam culpam aeternis poenis addicere.

Odium Dei iustum erga corruptos in seipsis, ex peccati per Adam propagatione.

Nulla vocatio.

Vocatio inefficax.

Induratio spontanea.

Ignoratio Evangelii.

Contemptus oblatus Evangelii.

Iniustitia et pollutio.

Damnatio iusta peccatorum.

Iustitia Dei.

Mortis aeternae iusta poena peccatores mulctantis.

O altitudo divitiarum Dei! Quis prior dedit illi et retribuet ei; Rom.

II, 35.

God.* Doubtless it was the postponement of Christ to the absolute decree that led John Gerhard, in criticism of the Calvinists, to say: "If those who are to be saved have been elected to eternal life by the absolute will of God, undoubtedly their sins also are remitted, or certainly could have been remitted, by the absolute will of God, and there would be no need of the satisfaction and merit of Christ."† He thinks that this is involved in the doctrine of the absolute decree. The chain of logic seems to be complete: God is *exlex*; his will is the supreme rule of right; the decree is absolute, that is, there is no *causa meritoria* either in man or in any other being moving him in the grace of election. He can therefore as well pardon without as with a satisfaction. The divine *ordination is the first cause*, and even "Christ was not able to merit anything except *ex Dei beneplacito*."‡ We can easily conceive that the *beneplacitum Dei* might have been such as to pardon some men and to elect them to eternal life directly as an exhibition of the divine grace, and to reprobate others directly to eternal death as an exhibition of the divine justice.

But be it as it is, it is nevertheless certain that Election in Christ, Eph. 1 : 4,§ has a meaning for Calvinists very different from what it has for Lutherans.

THE REFORMED CONFESSIONS.

In affirming and reaffirming that Predestination is the central doctrine, the formative principle, of the Reformed Confessions,

* Strassburg C. R., 2 : 386-7.

† *Loci*, Ed. Cotta, VII, 33-4.

‡ Strassburg C. R., 2 : 387.

§ Characteristic indeed is Calvin's comment on Eph. 1 : 4: "*According as he hath chosen us*. The foundation and first cause, both of our calling and of all the benefits which we receive from God, is here declared to be his eternal election. If the reason be asked, why God has called us to enjoy the Gospel, why he daily bestows upon us so many blessings, why he opens to us the gate of heaven—the answer will be constantly found in this principle, that *he hath chosen us before the foundation of the world*." He leaves out *in him* (Christ). Only at length is *in Christ* introduced as "second proof that the election is free." Calvin's *Commentaries*, pp. 197-8.

Dr. Warfield simply emphasizes, and marshalls the documentary proof of a fact that no person well-informed in the history of Protestant Doctrines, or in the science of Symbolics, would think of challenging. These Confessions *et in omnibus et in singulis* are just what the theology of Zwingli and his coadjutors in Switzerland, and the theology of Calvin and his pupils of the sixteenth century, made them. Though, as some of these Confessions were composed with the view in part to conciliate those of differing faiths, we do not always find the doctrine of Predestination presented with the sharp outlines that attach to it in the private writings of the Zurichers and of the Genevese. This is the case with the second Helvetic Confession composed by Bullinger in 1562. Nevertheless "the doctrine is here at length: and it is carefully and soundly stated" (p. 55). Even the mild and conciliatory Heidelberg Catechism—"a document meant as practical milk for babes more than theological meat for mature Christians"—"is nevertheless pervaded from beginning to end with an underlying presupposition of it (Predestination), and hints of the doctrine emerge oftener than is always recognized, and that both in its general and special aspects." The doctrine of a general Predestination "is clearly alluded to in Questions 26, 27," and the doctrine of special Predestination "is directly adduced in connection with the doctrine of the Church," Question 54, "where the facts of election are explicitly asserted" (p. 56).

In these affirmations Dr. Warfield is only a trifle more positive than is Dr. Karl Müller, Professor of Reformed Theology in Erlangen, who, in describing the Heidelberg Catechism, says: "The doctrine of Predestination is not explicitly stated, but its practical consequences and presuppositions crop out everywhere."*

But Dr. Warfield and Dr. Müller both are outdone by the chief author of the Catechism, who ought to know better than any other man whether or not, and in how far, it was intended to be interpreted in harmony with the doctrine of Predestina-

**Symbolik*, pp. 441-2.

tion. Zacharias Ursinus finished his theological education at Geneva and Zurich, and is known to have been a rigid predestinarian of the Calvinistic type.* In his *Theological Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*, he discusses *The Eternal Predestination of God* as a "common place" that "grows out of the doctrine of the Church." After defining Predestination in the usual Zwinglio-Calvinistic way, he says: "The two parts of Predestination are embraced in *election and reprobation*. *Election* is the eternal and unchangeable decree of God, by which he has graciously decreed to convert some to Christ, to preserve them in faith, and repentance, and through him to bestow upon them eternal life. *Reprobation* is the eternal and unchangeable purpose of God, whereby he has decreed in his most just judgment to leave some in their sins, to punish them with blindness, and to condemn them eternally, not being made partakers of Christ and his benefits. That both election and reprobation are the decree of God, these and similar declarations of Scripture prove: 'I know whom I have chosen.' 'According to his grace which was given us in Christ Jesus, before the world began.' 'He hath mercy on whom he will.' John 13 : 18; 2 Tim. 1 : 9; Rom. 9 : 18. Election and reprobation were, therefore, made with counsel, because there is nothing new in God, but all things are from everlasting, or before the foundation of the world. Inasmuch now as he has chosen us, he must have rejected the rest, which is still further proven by the import of the word election, or choice; for that which is chosen, is selected, while other things are rejected. * * *

The efficient and moving cause of Predestination is the good pleasure of God" (p. 297). "The merit of Christ is not to be enumerated among the causes, but among the effects of election" (p. 299).† In cataloguing the effects of Election, faith, justification and regeneration are placed in the fourth class.

It is not likely that Ursinus would draw out of the Catechism a meaning that he had not consciously implied in it.

* Schweizer, *Centraldogmen*, I, 471-5.

† *Commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism*, Williard's translation, 293 et seqq.

Hence, judged by the just and accepted principle that confessions must be interpreted by the private writings of those who composed them, it is evident that the Heidelberg Catechism must find its place among the Reformed Confessions, and must be recognized as *predestinarian* in the sense so evidently intended by Dr. Warfield.

In the French Confession, drafted by Calvin—"describes election as the eternal, immutable decree of God:" In the Belgic Confession, drawn up by Guido de Bres—"essentially an assertion of the *praedestinatio bipartita*;" in the Scotch Confession, "put together" by John Knox—"the whole Reformed doctrine of Predestination may indeed be drawn from this Confession;" in the Canons of Dort—"the definition of election emphasizes its eternity, immutability and absolute freedom;" in the Lambeth and Irish Articles and in the Westminster formularies—"the *praedestinatio bipartita* was thrown into high relief"—in these and in many other leading Reformed Confessions, Dr. Warfield finds "this constancy of the testimony of the Reformed Confessions to the *praedestinatio gemina*—that is, to the reality of a sovereign preterition by the side of and forming the foil of a sovereign election" (p. 124), so that "hard experience had made Calvin's judgment, that without preterition election itself cannot stand, the deep conviction of the whole Reformed Church; and whether at Dort or Zurich, London or Dublin, the essence of the Calvinistic contention was found in the free *discrimination* among men which was attributed to God; in the confession that he chooses not all, but some men, to life and destines the rest, therefore, to destruction" (p. 125). Finally Dr. Warfield says: "Some of the Reformed Confessions explicitly define Infralapsarianism: none assert anything which is not consonant with Infralapsarianism. On the other hand, nothing is affirmed in the majority of the Confessions inconsistent with Supralapsarianism either; and this majority includes several of the most widely accepted documents. The Westminster Confession in its careful avoidance of raising the distinction throws itself, therefore, into a class with the majority of its companion Confessions, inclusive of the

Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession, which are certainly the most widely accepted of Continental formularies, and of the entire British tradition" (p. 127-8).

To support his grand contention Dr. Warfield has quoted elaborately from no less than thirty-five creeds and confessions of the Reformed Church, covering the period from 1530 to 1675. We are forced to say that on the main point, viz., "that *the fact* of Absolute Predestination is the common pre-supposition of the whole body of the Reformed Creeds," he has not made an argument, but has furnished a demonstration. We take leave of him here with a feeling of gratitude for his splendid contribution to the science of Symbolics, and with a feeling of admiration for his courage. Dr. Warfield, demonstrating "*the fact* of Absolute Predestination," is a more heroic figure than Dr. Warfield would be, trying to conceal "*the fact*."

THE LUTHERAN AND THE REFORMED DOGMATIC.

There is a Lutheran and there is a Reformed Dogmatic. They are different because they are each the product of a different fundamental principle. The Lutheran dogmatic is developed from the manward side, that is, from the empirical fact of the sin and misery of man, and from "the proclaimed God," and has as its central *principle* the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, in the sense that every doctrine must be so constructed as to harmonize with this doctrine translated into a fact of experience.

The Reformed Dogmatic is developed in systematic order from the Godward side, from the absolute decree of God to elect some men to salvation simply because it hath pleased him to do so, and to reprobate others to damnation simply because it hath pleased him to do so. The cause in either case is his own will.

The Reformed Dogmatic includes a doctrine of Justification by Faith, but it does not place that doctrine in the center of the system; hence, and for this very reason, it is different from what that doctrine is in the Lutheran system; is indeed one.

instrument in a catalogue of means for the execution of the eternal decree. The Lutheran Dogmatic includes a doctrine of Predestination, but that doctrine is not the center of the system, and Predestination does not primarily determine the destiny of men; but each man's destiny is determined *a posteriori* by his personal relation to Christ. The Lutheran Dogmatic, because it followed the *local* method, may not have developed its system so logically and so consistently as did the Reformed, which pursued the deductive method, and strove to derive every doctrine from the fundamental preconception—from God downward, establishing the principle by the event.* To pursue the different and divergent and often bisecting lines of development, would be a pleasant and profitable exercise; but in these pages we can present only a few notes; though these will be so fully representative as to show that the lines of cleavage are as indicated, viz., that the real fundamental difference between Lutheranism and Reformedism has to do primarily with the central principle respectively of the two systems; or in other words the difference between Lutherans and Reformed on the doctrine of the Scriptures, on the doctrine of the person and work of Christ, on the doctrine of the means of grace, results from the fact that the one system sets out from the fact of Justification by Faith as an experience of salvation, and regards that as the soul and essence of Christianity; while the other places the absolute decree or the eternal Predestination of God at the beginning of its scheme. The genetic principle being different, it is impossible that the developed product should not be different.

In the seventeenth century the Reformed developed their Dogmatic with scholastic sharpness, and maintained against the Lutherans the double Predestination, the limited atonement, the exclusion of the merit of Christ as a meritorious cause of Election, and the exclusion of foreseen faith as an impelling cause of Election. The Lutherans with equal scholastic sharpness met the Reformed theses with antitheses.

* Strassburg C. R., 8 : 282-3.

THE REFORMED THEOLOGIANS.

1. *Francis Turretine*, Professor at Geneva, declares that Isaac and Ishmael, Jacob and Esau, are set forth as examples of gracious election or of just and free rejection.* "The illustration of the glory of God through the exhibition of mercy in the elect, and of justice in the reprobate, is the end of Predestination" (p. 381). "Election takes place solely from the good pleasure of God; therefore not on account of Christ, because the good pleasure excludes all causes from Election except God. * * * The effect of Election cannot be called its cause" (p. 387). "It is a doctrine common to the Reformed that Christ was destined by the mere good pleasure of God, and was given as Mediator and Head, not for all, but for a certain number, who constitute his mystic body according to the Election of God, and for those alone did Christ consent to die."† It is also denied that election takes place *ex praevisione fidei* (I, p. 391).

2. *Hermann Venema*, Professor at Franeker, discusses the double Predestination. "The word, however, refers not only to those who shall be saved, but also to those who shall perish."‡ The word Reprobation began to be used in the ninth century. "Its meaning, however, is not negative only, but positive also. God has purposed by a positive act of his will, not only to condemn unbelievers, but also to withhold from some sufficient grace, on which withholding, as we shall see when we come to treat the doctrine of reprobation, depends the final ruin of the impenitent" (p. 297-8). He defines Predestination as follows: "*General Predestination is the eternal and immutable determination of the will of God by which he has purposed to save some of the human race and to condemn others, without any regard to their persons, and with this view to offer to all without distinction grace to believe and to repent, and to inculcate this upon all as their duty*" (p. 301). He denies that faith is the foundation on

* *Institutio Theologiae*, I., 380.

† Vol. II, 497.

‡ *Institutes of Theology*, I, p. 296.

which Election rests. The cause why some are chosen and others are rejected, is God's own good pleasure (p. 321).

3. *Peter Mastricht*, Professor at Utrecht, treats of Election and Reprobation in separate chapters. Election as eternal, as *per Christum*, as unto the praise of the glory of God's grace, is maintained against Socinians, Semipelagians, Jesuits, Remonstrants and Lutherans.* In treating of Reprobation he says: "Election and Reprobation are correlates. They stand or fall together (for if there is an election, there is also a reprobation, and if there is no reprobation neither will there be an election), so that they assist in making each other understood, so that the better we know the one the better we know the other. With this in mind we descend from Election, the first species, to reprobation, the truth and nature of which we will learn from the Apostle Jude, Epistle, 5 : 4." The independence, the eternity, the absoluteness, and unchangeableness, of Reprobation are maintained against the errorists named above. Justification is intended for the elect alone, and the Lutherans are condemned because they say that Christ died for each and everyone, and that every believer has remission of sins (p. 813).

Martin F. Wenderlin, Professor in Zerbst, says: "We deny that the decree of Election results from the merit of Christ as its meritorious cause, and from faith persevered in unto the end as the impelling or instrumental cause. For though there are causes of life decreed from eternity and intended to be bestowed in time, yet they are not the causes of that decree, or of election, but rather are they its effects. For God did not elect us to life because we were yet to believe in Christ and to persevere in faith unto the end; but we believe and persevere in faith because we have been elected to eternal life."†

5. *Henry Alting*, Professor first at Heidelberg and then at

* *Theoretico-practica Theologia*, p. 290, et seqq.

† Quoted from *Heppe's Dogmatik*, p. 125. See in *Heppe's Dogmatik* extracts on the double Predestination from Heidegger of Zurich, Wallebius of Basel, Keckerman of Heidelberg, and from other German Reformed theologians, and from others outside of Germany and German Switzerland. The fact is that among the Continental Reformed Churches

Gröningen, wrote a *Synopsis of the Controversies* between the Reformed and Lutherans. On the subject now in hand he presents theses and antitheses as follows:* “*Reformed Thesis*: Election is not *ex fide praevisa*: or foreseen faith is not the impelling or instrumental cause of Election to life. The good pleasure of God alone is the cause of our election. Therefore, not foreseen faith.” (See Canons of Dort, I, IX).

“*Lutheran Antithesis*: Election is *ex fide praevisa*: or foreseen faith is the impelling and instrumental cause of Election to life.”

“*Reformed Thesis*: Christ did not die for all and for each one according to the decree of Election.”

“*Lutheran Antithesis*: Christ died for all and for each one according to the decree of Election.”

“*Reformed Thesis*: Those who are elected to life, and are regenerated by the Spirit, cannot fall from salvation and be damned.”

“*Lutheran Antithesis*: Those who are regenerated by the Spirit, may fall from salvation and be lost.”

“*Reformed Thesis*. Not sin, but the good pleasure of God is the sole and only cause of Reprobation. Or more clearly and distinctly: God by the grace of Election has not passed by and reprobated this one instead of that one because he foresaw that he would sin, or would contumaciously persevere in sin, but because it so pleased him; though he neither damns nor decreed to damn anyone except on account of sin.”

“*Lutheran Antithesis*: The sole and only cause of Reprobation is sin.”

It will be thus seen that the *Controversia de Praedestinatione* appertains to the very heart and soul of Christianity, and has immediate reference to the destiny of each individual member of the human family. The controversies about the Person of Christ, the Sacraments, and ceremonies, were peripheral and

of the latter part of the sixteenth and the greater part of the seventeenth century, there was no essential difference in the teaching on the subject of Predestination—the school of Saumur excepted.

* Pp. 127 *et seqq.* He signed the Canons of Dort.

secondary. Neither party denied the full divinity and humanity of Christ, nor the sufficiency of his satisfaction;* neither regarded the sacraments as absolutely necessary to salvation; and Lutherans have always held that ceremonies not commanded in the Scriptures are adiaphora.

THE LUTHERAN THEOLOGIANS.

1. *John Gerhard*, the greatest of the Lutheran theologians of the seventeenth century, writes: "The Calvinists err (1) in the article of Predestination, hence, also in the article of Justification, because Justification is the execution of Predestination. (2) They err in respect of the thing defined, in regard to the definition, the principal efficient instrumental cause, and the object of Justification. (a) In regard to the *thing defined*, because they in reality distinguished Justification from Salvation. (b) In regard to the definition, because implicitly they set up a *primary* and a *secondary* justification, and affirm that infants and adults are not saved in the same way—that infants are saved by the faith of others. (c) In regard to the *principal efficient* cause: (1) Because they affirm that the satisfaction of Christ is not absolutely necessary. (2) They mutilate the merit of Christ, partly in reference to the merit and partly with reference to its object. With reference to the *merit*, by teaching that Christ did not make satisfaction by a complete, that is, by an active and passive obedience. With reference to the *object*, by teaching that Christ did not die for the whole world, but for the elect only. (d) With reference to the two-fold *instrumental* cause. (1) The Word and the Sacraments. (2) Faith. They annihilate the power of the Word and the sacraments, and attribute too much to reason. They take away

* That is, both parties agreed that the atonement was sufficient to secure its end without the addition of human merits or works. Some Reformed made a distinction between sufficiency—sufficient to redeem all—and efficiency—efficient for the elect only. Some insisted that the sufficiency and efficiency of the atonement are identical. Heppe, *Dogmatik d. Ref. Kirche*, pp. 328, 345; Altling's *Syllabus Controv.*, 134-5; Dr. H. B. Smith's *System of Christ. Theol.*, p. 478; *Canons of Dort*, II, Art. III.

faith by the absolute decree. (e) With reference to the object, for they assign salvation to the heathen.”*

It will be observed that Gerhard heads the list of Calvinistic errors with Predestination. Other errors are only consequences of the first error. And it will be further observed that according to Gerhard the Reformed doctrine of Justification, in almost every form and feature of it, differs from the Lutheran doctrine of Justification. In a subsequent chapter he defends with great fulness and learning, against Calvinists and other errorists, the proposition “that Christ our Mediator and Redeemer is the meritorious cause of justification” (p. 10 *et seqq*). The merit of Christ is for all; “election is God’s eternal decree for the justification and salvation of men;” and “sinful men are not elected *sine fidei intuitu*,” because they cannot be elected in Christ except *sub fidei Christum adprehendentis intuitu*,” neither Election nor Reprobation is absolute, that is, dependent solely upon the will and absolute decree of God.†

2. *Quenstedt*, called the book-keeper of the Wittenberg orthodoxy, declares that the “in Christ,” Eph. 1 : 4, is *causal* and *motive*. “For to be elected in Christ, is to be elected *per et propter Christum*, as Paul explains it. Christ therefore enters into Election as the meritorious cause, not only *consequenter* as the executor of Election (in which respect alone the Calvinists attribute it to Christ), but also *antecedenter*, or with reference to the decree. For God in his eternal decree did not destinate salvation to man without Christ, but in Christ or *propter Christum*.”‡

In opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of a double Predestination, *Quenstedt* offers this thesis: “Predestination and Election do not differ as genus and species; but according to the style and tenor of the Scripture, they are synonymous and of the same import. Hence there is not a *Predestination to life*, which is called Election, and a *Predestination to death*, which is called Reprobation.”§

* *Loci*, Cotta, VII, 1.

† *Loci* IV, 176, 207, 215 *et seqq*.

‡ *Systema*, Part III, p. 17.

§ *Ibid.* p. 24.

And as for the central and determinative position given the Article of justification by the venerable Wittenberg book-keeper, that is shown in his opening paragraph on this subject: "*Divinissima doctrina*. The Acropolis of the entire Christian Religion, and the bond by which all the parts of the body of the Christian doctrine are held together; and if this be broken, all the other articles are put out of joint and destroyed." He then quotes Luther: "*Summus fidei articulus*"; Chemnitz: 'The citadel and chief bulwark of the whole Christian doctrine and religion;' Meisner: 'This article is, as it were, the *center of theology* to which all things are directed in a straight line; the *sacred ocean* to which all things flow; the citadel of the faith, which keeps all things safe and sound.' "*"

Hence not more certain is it that the *Reformed* doctrine of the eternal Predestination of God, the Reformed themselves being judges, is the central, determinative, all-dominating doctrine of the Reformed Church than that the *Lutheran*, the Lutherans themselves being judges, is the central, determinative, all-dominating doctrine of the Lutheran Church. As the Reformed laud and magnify their doctrine of Predestination, so do the Lutherans laud and magnify their doctrine of Justification. As the Reformed see in the *Predestinatio gemina* the *caput doctrinae evangelicae*,† so the Lutherans see in Justification by Faith *propter Christum* the acropolis of the Christian doctrine.

The Lutherans have a doctrine of Predestination, but it differs *toto coelo* from the Reformed doctrine of Predestination. The Reformed have a doctrine of Justification, but it differs, if not so much in words, and in phrases, yet in *position*, and consequently in significance, very widely from the Lutheran doctrine. The entire conception almost is different. In the Lutheran Church *justification is salvation*. In the Reformed Church *Election is salvation*. In the Lutheran Church the justified are elected. In the Reformed Church the elected are justified. In the Lutheran Church the assurance of salvation

* *Ibid.* p. 514.

† J. J. Hottinger's *Helvet. Kircheng.*, III, 794.

lies in *Justification*. In the Reformed Church the assurance of salvation lies in *Election*.* It is the position of centrality that makes the Reformed doctrine of Predestination the great distinguishing doctrine of that group of Protestant churches known historically as Reformed (though the doctrine has not been applied with the same vigor in every member of the group). It is because Justification by Faith occupies the *center* in the Lutheran system of doctrines, that it can and must be called the *distinguishing* doctrine of the Lutheran Church. Twesten, searching for the central truth, the unifying factor of the Lutheran system, discovered it in *Justification*, and called it the *material principle*, meaning by that designation "that doctrine which presents itself as the central point of the entire system;" and further: "This doctrine: *That we are justified without merit purely out of grace*, for Christ's sake, through faith, was always designated by Luther and his co-workers expressly as the ground-doctrine of Christianity. On this centered, directly or indirectly, the entire controversy of the contending parties. From it is to be understood the peculiar structure of the Dogmatic of our Church."† Thus Justification by Faith is the material principle of the Lutheran Dogmatic, while the eternal Predestination of God is the material principle of the Reformed Dogmatic. In this conclusion there is consensus of opinion among competent scholars on both sides. Luthardt says: "The material principle of the Lutheran Protestantism is the saving truth of Christianity in the ground-doctrine of justification alone through faith: the formal principle is the sole authority of Holy Scripture, by which it connects the historical witness of the Church and the Christian assurance of faith through both principles. On the contrary, the Reformed Protestantism has made the absoluteness and the alone-causality of God its ground-dogma, and isolates the sole normative Holy Scripture from the historical development of the Church."‡ The venerable Leipzig Professor goes on to

* Strassburg C. R., 2 : 683.

† *Dogmatik der Ev. Luth. Kirche*, 4th ed., 258-9.

‡ *Kompendium der Dogmatik*, 10th ed., p. 23.

say that in all the different statements made by those who have tried to define the differences, "the common fundamental pre-conception is that the difference is not merely an external one, not merely one consisting in individual doctrines (the Lord's Supper, etc.), but that it is radical and principal."

And the late Dr. Henry B. Smith, reckoned the most acute and learned Reformed theologian hitherto produced in America, has declared: "In the relation of God to man, Calvinism presents the idea of the divine sovereignty as the principle of the system—all from God, in an analytic method. This is the fundamental characteristic, which is carried out in Predestination and Reprobation. The divine plan is the great idea in theology. The Lutheran, on the contrary, goes out more from the human side, human wants, etc. Calvinism protests against all Paganism, Lutheranism against all Judaism. By this also the difference as to sacramental views is to be in part explained."*

The Meusel Handlexikon: "The doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, recognized by Luther as the kernel and star of the Scripture, is the *material principle of the Lutheran Reformation*," V, 528. "In the Reformed system the decree of Election dominates everything. Here faith, finally, is only the consciousness of Election, and Justification is that moment when it comes into consciousness" (p. 525).

Abraham Kuyper, Professor in the Free University of Amsterdam, says: "Luther as well as Calvin contended for a direct fellowship with God, but Luther took it up from its subjective, anthropological side, and not from its objective cosmological side as Calvin did. Luther's starting-point was the special-soteriological principle of justifying faith; while Calvin's, extending far wider, lay in the general cosmological principle of the sovereignty of God."†

The Reverend William Rohnert, a Silesian Lutheran author of ample learning, and of rigid orthodoxy, says: "The doctrine of Justification, the MATERIAL PRINCIPLE of the Lutheran

* *Introduction to Christ. Theology*, p. 64.

† *Lectures on Calvinism*, p. 20.

Church, is the *chief article* of the Christian faith, and stands in the center of the knowledge of Salvation won through the Reformation. For centuries the biblical (solifidian) idea of justification was obscured in the pelagianizing Church of the papacy by the doctrine of human work-righteousness, yea, was forgotten."* And again: "The Reformed Church has indeed accepted the chief Lutheran definitions concerning the righteousness of Christ imparted in faith, but has weakened them and thrust them out of the center (compare 2 Helv. Conf. II, 15; Anglican Arts. 11 and 12; Belg. Conf., 22; Heidelb. Cat., qu. 60). Here *Predestination stands in the very center*, as likewise the actual fellowship with God, and not the forgiveness of sins. 'The Reformed dogma * * * strips the doctrine of Justification of its specifically Lutheran meaning' (Schneckenburger)."[†]

Testimonies of identical import might be quoted almost *ad infinitum*. Indeed we know of no competent theologian, whether Lutheran or Reformed, who locates the real *heart-difference* between Lutherans and Reformed at any other place than here at the respective centers of the two systems. Justification by Faith is the essence of Lutheranism. Predestination is the essence of Reformedism. All other differences are attributes that inhere in the respective essence, and reveal the nature of that essence. Only superficial observation can mistake the attributes, the phenomena, for the essence.

(*To be continued.*)

* *Die Dogmatik der evang. Luth. Kirche* (1901), pp. 327-8.

[†] *Ibid.* 338.

ARTICLE VII.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

Were the three Patriarchs individuals? Professor König, of Bonn, gives an answer in the *Sunday School Times* for December 14.

The word *begat* in the table of nations does not settle the question. Mizraim is a son of Ham, but Mizraim is dual and was evidently coined to express the two land divisions, "Upper and Lower Egypt."

"And Mizraim *begat* Ludim," but Ludim, too, is plural, and signifies a nation and not an individual. And again, "Canaan *begat* the Jebusite." The ancestor of the Jebusites would be called Jebus, so the term Jebusite denotes a member of a tribe, and is not an individual name. The Hebrew historian speaks of one nation begetting another. This metaphorical use of *begat*, however, is not the customary and general, but the exceptional. The nations whose genealogical connections were not known in full to the Hebrew historian were thus described by reason of inaccessible or non-existing genealogical tables. Their particular history, too, was outside of the purpose of the sacred historian. Nations reaching far back in their origin lose the names of their ancestral founders. But Israel's history from the exodus back to Abraham was at most but six hundred years, a period of possible historic tracing of ancestry. Genealogical lists were ever carefully kept records among Semitic peoples. Israel could well name its ancestor. It is no stretch of the historic sense to declare Abraham an historic individual.

Professor Cornill puts Ishmael and Isaac in a category with

Eunomos and Eukosmos, the reputed sons of the law-giver, Lycurgus. Eunomos, "legality," or the like, and Eukosmos, "harmony" or the like, are personifications of ideas pursued in law. But how different are the names of Abraham's sons! Ishmael and Isaac are not general terms descriptive of some policy or system. The one means "God shall hear," the other, "One who laughs." The derivations indicate characteristics of individuals. The race of Israel is described in biblical history as originating in Abraham and splitting up into families having one physical origin without amalgamation with other clans or races. The allegation of critics is that this manner of intermarriage among ancestors close of kin renders impossible a sturdy race such as Israel. Such a lineage culminates quickly in physical degeneracy. Decay and extinction of the race is the result. But how did the human race in its beginning multiply? That was not simply an exception, but an original principle of possibility. But critics say, "Tribes and nations never originate through the splitting up of rapidly increasing families, but always through the amalgamation of families and races." So Stade, Holzinger, and Guthe declare. But proof has not been presented. "This," says Dr. König, "has not yet been given, and cannot be given." One instance of such amalgamation of families and races is given by supporters of this view. But this cannot establish an unvarying principle. Dr. König claims illustrations of great tribes in Arabia arising in the manner described in Israel's origin and history.

Again, Jacob and Laban are declared to be names invented to explain the separation of the Aramean and Israelite races. The covenant made in the parting at the mountains of Gilead is a mythical agreement, and the parties to the compact are individuals invented to explain the racial division. But this follows only when the premises are proved true. But, moreover the declaration to Rebecca, "Two nations are in thy womb," signifies that her sons were but tribal names coined to account for two contiguous races. But this is no argument. It is only statement. Metonymy and figure are not exceptional in Semitic minds, but habitual modes of thought and expression.

The concrete finds constant expression in figurative language. "By metonymy the descendants are mentioned for the ancestors." It is a mere matter of style. Professor König then gives independent arguments from geographical and political relations in proof of the historicity of the patriarchs. The tribes of Gad and Asher were antipodes geographically in Canaan. Their territories lay far apart. Why should Gad and Asher be represented as sons of the same mother and by the same father? Why should it be said of Reuben that he had improper relations with his father's concubine, Bilnah, whose sons, Dan and Naphtali, dwelt far away in districts distantly separate from the tribe of Reuben, and not with Zilpah, whose son Gad's territory was contiguous with the territory of Reuben's descendants? It is said that these are fictions to explain Reuben's effort to lord it over the other tribes. But Reuben is not represented as attempting lordship over the tribes. Ephraim and Judah figured in such efforts. But Reuben in the song of Deborah is shamed for keeping at a safe distance while other tribes came up to the defence of their land against the common enemy. Reuben is the first-born, the vacillating, incompetent one. But fictitious primogeniture would have made Judah, or Joseph, the first-born, whose descendants were the vivid characters of Israel's history.

And nations do not invent history to account for significant monuments. Memorials and "heaps of witness" are expressions of historic events. Events are not wont to be created to account for monuments. There are the stones of the forded Jordan, the pot of manna, the tables of the law, the budded rod, the Ebenezer, the sword of Goliath in the tabernacle at Nob, the pillar which Absalom reared, and others not a few. And another final fact demands recognition. Why should not Israel be discrete to date her history from the period of Moses? Then the foundations of her political independence were laid. The character and works of Moses were glorious. But the pre-mosaic period was a long age of servile bondage to a foreign and despised people, an age of humiliation not to be desired or claimed by a proud nation in recording its history. Fiction is

the expression of policy and is proud; but Israel's primitive humiliation is portrayed hand in hand with her subsequently conquering career.

Professor Nestle thinks that the *semicinctium* which Paul wore and which the sick and diseased were so eager to touch for their healing was not a mere craftsman's apron. Hastings *Bible Dictionary* says the Apron of Acts 19 : 12 "was a wrapper of colored cotton, in shape and size resembling a bath-towel, worn by fishermen, potters, water-carriers, sawyers, etc., as a loin-cloth; worn also by grocers, bakers, carpenters, and craftsmen generally, as a protection for their clothes from dust and stains, and as something to wipe their perspiring and soiled hands upon. St. Paul would wear an apron when making tent-cloth." In Professor Nestle's opinion this is an inadequate explanation, and fails to do "full justice to the context." "The people of Ephesus wished to have pieces of clothing which were in immediate contact with the very body or skin of St. Paul, and not an apron worn over the regular clothes." Professor Nestle cites a passage from the *Martyrium Polycarpi* where the martyr, after having removed his girdle and garments, and stooping down to unshoe himself, is pressed upon by every one of the faithful in eagerness to be the first to touch his body or skin. A further indication of this being the necessary idea is the custom ever in vogue in Roman Catholic circles of considering the stockings worn by the holy Father as especially helpful against gout and every kind of disease. From these and other evidences it seems to Professor Nestle "that *semicinctium* must mean an underwearing, and not an apron worn above the regular clothing."—*The Expository Times* for March.

The genuineness of the command of Jesus recorded at the close of Matthew's Gospel, "Make disciples of all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost," has been declared doubtful by many recent writers. This formula of baptism does not appear again in the

New Testament. The formula given in the Acts is the simple and brief statement "in the Name of Jesus Christ," or "into the Name of the Lord Jesus." The trinitarian formula is deemed an aftergrowth, and its inclusion in Matthew an insertion into the Gospel as the result of subsequent practice.

An unsatisfactory explanation is furnished by Cyprian who suggests that it was sufficient to baptize a Jew "in the Name of Jesus Christ," since he already believed in God, but in the case of Gentiles the full formula, into the three-fold Name, was necessary. But Cornelius and his companions were Gentiles, and baptism "in the Name of Jesus Christ" was the formula of administration to them employed by Peter. Another and better solution is suggested by Dr. Plummer in his article "Baptism" in Hastings *Bible Dictionary*.

When people were baptized "in the Name of the Lord Jesus," the saying is not a formula of administration, but a statement that they were baptized acknowledging Jesus to be Lord and Christ. The longer formula may have been used, but not rehearsed formally in the record of the Acts by Luke.

Professor Bernard reverts to an explanation long ago given by Gerhard Voss that if the Lord had intended to prescribe a definite and invariable formula he would have put it in this wise: "Make disciples of all nations, saying, *I baptize thee* in the Name," etc. But when he merely said, "Make disciples," "baptizing them," no form of words was prescribed. "The result of the whole investigation," says Dr. Bernard, "is that the words, 'baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, do not necessarily enjoin the use of a formula for recital. They set forth the purpose and effect of Christian baptism.'" But "it was inevitable that the words should come in time to be used as a formula expressive of the intention of the Church in ministering baptism; but there is no evidence that they were so used when St. Luke wrote the Acts."

But this argument consistently used in respect of the sacraments, and enjoined religious observances, would invalidate the established form of the Lord's Supper, and render preca-

rious all acts of worship other than that prescribed in the formula of the Lord's Prayer. *The Expositor* for February.

Bishop Blyth of Jerusalem gives a reason in the *Church and Synagogue Quarterly* why so few modern Jews become Christians. It is because Christians insist on Jews becoming Gentiles as the way of acceptance of Jesus as Messiah. It was not so demanded in apostolic times. Gentiles might become Christians without becoming Jews. Must Jews be denationalized to become Christians? Must they be compelled to sacrifice their distinctive ethnic notes to accept Christ? We teach the Old Testament, and practice it in part. May not Jews be allowed to practice national religious customs in keeping with ethical truth in association with an accepted Messiah? They need not become Gentiles to grow into Christ. The hindrance may well be removed, and let there be a "Hebrew Church."

The taxation imposed on the Jews in New Testament times was excessive and made agricultural and business life extremely burdensome. The full tithing system under regulation of the Mosaic institutions was no doubt to some extent theoretical, and was probably never universally observed. But the devout, orthodox Jew conscientiously fulfilled the law. The more sanctimonious even exceeded the requirements of law and paid "tithe of mint, anise and cummin."

According to Josephus tribute was extortionate in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes. Demetrius seeking the favor of Jonathan makes these promises: "I will free you from the greatest part of the tributes and taxes which you formerly paid to the kings my predecessors, and to myself; and I do now set you free from those tributes which you have ever paid; and besides, I forgive you the tax upon salt, and the value of the crowns which you used to offer me; and instead of the third part of the fruits (of the field), and the half of the fruits of the trees, I relinquish my part of them from this day; and as to the poll money, which ought to be given me for every head of the inhabitants of Judea, and of the three toparchies that

adjoin Judea, Samaria, and Galilee, and Perea, that I relinquish to you for this time, and for all time to come. I will also, that the city of Jerusalem be holy and inviolable, and free from the tithes, and from the taxes, unto its utmost bounds."

In the time of Christ an annual temple tax of a half shekel was paid universally by Jew and proselyte, whether living in Palestine, or in distant dominions. This was, per capita, about thirty cents, to which was added the cost of exchange for the proper coin of the sanctuary. The offerer who brought an animal with him for sacrifice at the feast was obliged to pay a fee for its examination. If he made his purchase of the animal in the temple market, he must pay a discount on the exchange of his foreign coin.

There was a direct tax paid to the Roman government consisting of a ground tenth, and also certain duties assessed on exports amounting in the Asiatic Provinces to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The collection of these duties was farmed out by Roman Knights to sub-officials who frequently more than doubled them for personal aggrandizement. When we look at the civic and industrial burdens of the Jews during the age of the Cæsars we feel sympathetic with them in their desire for a political Messiah. The tithing of their substance for temple services and priestly maintenance was becoming a burden, especially through the extortions of the high priestly officers. Tithes for the support of Jewish institutions, and for the honor of Jehovah, their sole-admitted King, they would sacrificingly pay; but tribute to Cæsar, a second Lord, outraged religious feelings, and civic justice. The priestly emissaries of Annas exploited the beneficence of the people by their excessive charges and exchange dues. The Jews of the Dispersion, and the distant dwellers in Palestine carried a great variety of alien coins, all of which must be exchanged with heavy discount for money current in the sanctuary. Animals must be purchased for sacrificing, and the market was under the monopoly of the high priests. The commercializing of religion and of the temple was rebuked and checked by Jesus. His cleansing of the temple court by driving out the traffickers aroused the bitterest animosity of the

high priestly family. The profits of exchanges and sales conducted by the officers of the temple were rich and munificent, and these found their way into the purse of Annas and his family of priests. The traffic in the temple market was known as "The Bazaars of the Sons of Annas." When Jesus cleansed the temple court he committed the most unpardonable public act. He curtailed the *qolbon* and touched the purse of Annas and his retainers. The whole world gone after Jesus was not so painful as an injunction on the treasury. The curtailment of *qolbon* could be expiated only by the offender crucified.

Mr. Aaron M. Crane, in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* for January, finds some insuperable difficulties in this incident of Christ's cleansing the temple. The Synoptic Gospels place the event just at the beginning of the last week of Christ's public ministry, while John places it at the very beginning of his ministry in Judea. The conduct of Jesus, too, seems in utter contradiction of the principles of meekness and non-resistance. The anger displayed in driving out the traders, and overturning money-tables, is in violation of his ethical principles. His own character is at stake in the conduct he displays. But the "incongruity and contradiction" involved in the literalness of this event arise chiefly by imputing human passion to Jesus. This action, however, of Jesus, as reformer of temple abuses, does not necessarily involve human anger and loss of perfect self-control. The complete embodiment of the ethical principles taught by Jesus empowered him to act with absolute self-respect in defence of righteousness. The violence partially implied may well be but the necessary force of a calm self-collected rebuker of public religious scandal. The Son of man was not an emotional enthusiast. The man who could stand before the Sanhedrin and calmly assert his prerogatives; who could confront Pilate and impress the Procurator with his marvellous self-control, could surely assert the rights of the sanctuary without flying into a passion. But again Mr. Crane finds difficulty in the silence which follows this outburst of reforma-

tion. If the incident occurred at the close of Jesus' public ministry, on the Monday preceding his arrest and trial, it surely would have furnished occasion for indictment and evidence for conviction. It was a "cyclone" of reform followed by "perfect peace." When a telling indictment was needed, and witnesses for conviction were in demand, not a whisper is heard about this crushing rebuke of temple-traffickers. And on the cross not a taunt is heard from the injured *golbon* collectors.

Jesus comes and goes for several days previous to his arrest without an effort being made to bring him to account. When he poured out the money of the changers "how much was this short of stealing?" But Mr. Crane overlooks the illegitimacy and indecorousness of the temple traffic, as well as the public approval which must have been created by this act of reform. The deed met with the conscientious acquiescence of the violators, and awakened and confirmed the nobler convictions of the people. The officers of the temple feared Jesus because of the multitude, and they were slow to act, and when they did act it was with subterfuge. The public rebuke of their temple-violation stirred their conscience, and compelled silence in the face of hearty popular approval. The temple had become a "bazaar," which the people hated, but the profits of which urged the officers to outrage the public conscience by their assertive power. They were not likely to bring an indictment for an action in which their own conduct found impeachment, nor to wag their heads at a crucified Christ with taunts which might awaken retorts from the general crowd. Their reticence was a necessary factor in the circumstances.

Mr. Crane finds his solution of the unnecessary difficulties in the belief that the event occurred at the beginning of Christ's ministry, as recorded by John, and was not a literal occurrence, but a cleansing of the temple of Christ's own body. It was a parable of self-cleansing. "He literally drove the money-changers out of the temple of himself, the traffic thoughts out of his own mind, as with a whip of small cords." It was the temple of God which was within himself that he reformed. It requires considerable stretch of the sense of the historic to

transpose the language of the record into poetry and parable. An acute ethical conception of the whole occurrence creates no difficulties in the record. A keen psychological penetration into the action of men's minds; an adequate comprehension of the fulness of moral and spiritual manhood in Jesus; and a sober ethical sympathy for all the factors involved in the incident, must satisfy the candid critic that the record may well be genuine history.

In the same number of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* Professor G. Frederick Wright discusses some physical conditions of central Africa which explain certain facts of biblical record. He shows us how the physical forces so delicately balanced at the sources of the Nile determine the agricultural plenty or famine of Egypt. In the broad swamp-lakes which give rise to the Nile is a growth of vegetable matter called *sudd*, which restricts the opening of the lakes and the channel of the river. In some localities the *sudd* has the consistency of peat and extends from twenty-five to fifty miles. A stoppage of the river channel for seven years was the probable cause of the famine recorded in biblical history. Not only physical causes at the source of the Nile were important factors in Egypt's prosperity, but imperfect knowledge of exact periods for sowing seed made agriculture dependent upon a more perfect astronomical science. By rotation of agricultural products two or three crops could be raised in a year. But the error of but several days in the sowing of seed would imperil a second crop, and render a third impossible. The summer and winter solstices must be accurately determined. A slight mistake in astronomical observations might cause a series of disastrous years. Hence the pyramids were built for an astronomic purpose. They were great sun dials whose shadow might register the exact day of the solstice. The solstitial period was attained in the great pyramid of Cheops.

Professor Wright promises us a book soon to be published by a friend in advocacy of this theory.

Dr. Harnack in his *Essence of Christianity* distinguishes between the *Easter Message* and the *Easter Faith*. The Easter message of an empty grave was an hallucination. It arose because several women and two men "glanced into" (*hineingeblickt*) the grave, and in the gloom seeing nothing supposed it empty. Thence arose the *message* of a bodily resurrection. Jesus did experience a resurrection, which is the true *Easter faith*, but his body did not partake in the revival. The *message* is the *husk*, the *faith* is the *kernel*. The conviction of the disciples that Jesus rose is valid; but their message, their form of testimony, is invalid. Let us take a glance at the testimony and see the quality of the message.

The first Easter day was more a day of surprises than of real positive joy. There were more doubts than beliefs among the disciples until night fell upon that day and Jesus himself appeared to his assembled friends in that upper room. The excitement of the arrest and crucifixion had been calmed by the Sabbath stillness, and to the minds of the now quieted disciples was left the stern stubborn fact that Jesus was dead. They had lived some months in rich anticipative hopes, but all they hoped for was now scattered to the winds. Jesus was dead; and with barred doors the little band needed not even in whisper to tell what their sullen faces told of dread and fearful disappointment. They had fled from Calvary with the shrieking crowd when sudden darkness shrouded the landscape. All of what the past had promised had fled; not even hope was left; naught remained but memory. In that same upper room where now they sat in deep dejection, three nights before they vied with each other in securing distinguished places near the Master at the Paschal table, positions significant to them of what their place should be in the joyous kingdom just before them in their anticipations. Who now cares where the other sits since Jesus lies in a sepulcher! The man who could the most unfeelingly renounce his once fervid hopes is now the hero among them. The man who could easily forget, and suffer least in his disappointment, is considered the greatest. To crowd out even memory and leave nothing to suffer from was

the thing supremely to be wished. That morning strange stories had been reported by some women of their company, but these were deemed mere idle tales. In the evening Peter bursts into the company and tells of his meeting with the Master that afternoon. And scarcely has this fact been told till in come other two disciples telling of their strange walk to Emmaus, and the appearance of their Lord. And right upon this additional report a sudden light pervades the room, and Jesus himself stands in their midst. There is no sudden rapture of delight, no declarations of conviction. These disappointed men are not going to believe very readily. The sting of their too hopeful belief has not left them yet, and they will not believe even now upon these sudden evidences. It is only his Ghost. It is but the spiritual appearance of their departed Master. The thought of it makes them crouch in deeper fear. And Jesus seeing their terror at his presence seeks to encourage them: "See my hands and my feet," he says. "It is I myself: handle me and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye behold me having." But they cannot believe. "Have ye here anything to eat?" he asks. And still trembling with fear they give him a piece of broiled fish; and he takes it and eats before them. They are now forced to believe what they sincerely and strenuously doubted, what they persistently disbelieved.

A man can very easily believe what he wants to. And if he perseveringly desires to see he will finally come to see what he wishes. Something will occur that can be interpreted to be just what he is expecting, and he will see what he desires. Such is the characteristic of too fervid expectations. In his mental proclivities what he wants to believe will come finally to be an assured fact, a happy certainty.

But what a strange testimony we have here in the conduct of these disciples! Had they been waiting and expecting to see Jesus their assurance of his resurrection might have come as the result of an hallucination. Any peculiar vision or phantasm might then have been interpreted as the appearance of their Lord. But they did not expect, and would not believe, his res-

urrection. Only by infallible proofs could their stubborn disbelief be broken.

We come to the consciousness and knowledge of things through our senses. The more of our senses that are called into action, the more parts of our sensorium that are touched and become avenues to sensibility and cognition, the more certain is the evidence furnished.

In the answer to Jesus' prayer in the temple some thought they heard thunder, others said an angel had spoken to him. Only one sense, that of hearing, was the avenue of perception, and there was liability of misconception. Isaac could both hear and feel, and yet was deceived. The voice was the voice of Jacob, but the hand was the hand of Esau. Two sense faculties failed to agree, and there was mental confusion. Saul's vision on the way to Damascus was variously perceived by his attendants. Some saw the flash of light, but saw no man. Others heard a sound, but distinguished no voice. There were two senses called into hurried action, sight and hearing, and yet no clear, unmistakable impression came to any save Saul. But Jesus satisfied four of the five avenues of the sensorium, not by hurried manifestations, but by calm, deliberate, and lengthy periods for perception. He was heard in lengthy conversation, even in deliberative debate and argument on the way to Emmaus. He was seen by one, two, three, ten, by above five hundred at once for a period of forty days. He allowed handling to convince that he had flesh and bones. And he ate to prove actual, tangible personality. The senses all agreed in furnishing their evidence. By infallible proofs, by the action of all the common sense perceptions, he convinced unbelieving men of his return in bodily form from the grave. The Easter message was not an hallucination. It was a *truth* compelled by incontrovertible evidences. It was a *faith* based on the same grounds on which we come to know all material facts of life and nature. The disciples' conviction was valid, because the testimony was valid. If we cannot believe the consensus of all the powers of the sensorium, we may as well deny the existence of all materiality at once, and declare ourselves purely idealists.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

Since the "Higher Criticism" of the Old Testament has satisfied so many theologians that the first chapters of the Bible are but a collection of early legends, the question naturally suggests itself, If this be true, dare we still preach from these passages, and, if so, how are we to handle them? Several years ago Prof. Loofs, of Halle, in academic divine services, preached on "*The Account of Creation*," "*The Fall*" and "*The Tower of Babel*," in order to make the old Bible accounts useful to his hearers, without denying the certain results of science. We condense from the sermon on creation.

I. What it meant for the people of Israel in their day.

The author did not create this story, for it is found among other peoples; nor is it of revelation, for revelation deals with man's salvation, nor with natural science; and then, too, the one account contradicts the other. Hence it must be only a report that lays hold of already existing traditions, which could not have been handed down from the primitive ages, and contains also the reflections of the writer. But Israel's account differs from all other accounts, in that God is represented as over all and independent of all, alone creating, not created, nor in creation using pre-existent material. This was the all-important fact for Israel, and it was known to them through revelation.

II. What this account of creation means for us as a part of our Bible.

True, science has taught us many things which we dare not reject because of old Bible stories, but we dare not forget that all our modern learning means nothing more for religious aspirations than these traditions meant to the Israelite of old. Just as he "first found the real truth of creation in that which he as a *believing* Israelite knew, not in those old stories, likewise, in spite of all learning, the existence of the world remains a mystery to all our modern science." If the telescope

could locate God's throne He would not be God. This story of the creation has the same meaning for us that it had for the pious Jew, and nothing more. Our God is the Creator and Sustainer of all.

We notice that in using this passage of Scripture, Loofs interprets it in the most literal way possible. In the preface he says: "I am convinced that a person dare not preach in this way from every pulpit, yet it is possible to speak in the same spirit even to plain people." It is the duty of the Christian pulpit to take up the problems that arise among the people, of course in a prudent way, and not keep the sermon an archaic bit of cult, closing it with liturgical impressiveness to the problems that force themselves upon modern life and the religious thinking of the lay world.

In spite of assertions to the contrary, on the part of negative theologians, Erlangen theology still lives. Only a few years ago, Seeberg, Frank's successor, was considered worthy of a chair in Berlin, Germany's greatest University; and he was chosen for this important position, not merely because of his excellent scholarship, that a strong man might be added to the faculty, but rather that there might be a counter-influence to that of Kaftan, Harnack and Pfleiderer. And now Ihmels, a student of Frank, and Seeberg's successor in the chair of Thomasius and Frank, comes to Leipzig. For several years the magazine articles and pamphlets that he gave to the public showed plainly that he was a true theologian and probably "a coming man"; and the expectations that he had aroused, in the minds of the more conservative theologians at least, were fully realized last fall, when his first work of importance appeared. It is likely that this had much to do with his being called to Leipzig. We report on the basis of the critique of his "*Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit, ihr letzter Grund und ihre Entstehung*" (Christian Certainty of Truth, Its Ultimate Ground and Genesis), which appeared in the "*Theologisches Literaturblatt*."

The book does not aim to be a work on apologetics for over-

coming unbelief; it will rather enable the Christian, by self-observation, to give himself a reason for the faith that is in him. The question is: Is there for the Christian an immediate, independent certainty, that his fellowship with God is real, and that it is based on realities? Though certainty of salvation and certainty of truth are closely related for the Christian, it is rather the latter that is considered, and the question, in the first place, is not as to the ultimate objective but as to the ultimate subjective grounds for a Christian's certainty of the truths of his religion.

One half of the entire book is devoted to a history of the problem, which serves to introduce the reader, with quickened interest, to the discussions of to-day. For Luther Christian certainty of truth rested, not on external authority, but in a trustful reliance on God's revelation, which effected fellowship with God in man. If we go out from the personal experience of the individual, the objective authority of Scripture is not clear; and if we start from the authority of Scripture, historical investigation of its authority seems necessary. Luther left this problem unanswered. The old Lutheran dogmatists sought to establish the authority of the Scripture by the testimony of the Holy Spirit. Pietism based it on rational grounds and an inner experience or perception of the agreement of biblical truth with personal feelings or perceptions of the way of salvation, which was a recognition of the capacity of Scripture to effect a change in man that was otherwise impossible. This expresses the important fact, that only he can know the truth of Scripture who has lived it, but it failed to reach the facts of salvation which support faith, and eventually led to Rationalism. Hence Supranaturalism paid more attention to the historical establishment of the authority of Scripture. But natural means are not sufficient. There can be no certainty of truth without certainty of salvation. The question is, How do we become certain of the content of Scripture? Since Christian certainty does not rest on natural (historical) certainty, and yet dare not be indifferent to it, what relation is to be recognized between them? Since Schleiermacher defined religion as an

experience of the Divine, and Kant emphasized the meaning of moral experience for Christian certainty, it was natural to attempt to derive Christian certainty from immediate contact with the divine objects, and then to view the attained certainty as resting on Scripture. In this two methods of procedure were possible. Frank started from the subjective impressions of the Christian, and attempted to arrive at certainty concerning objective realities. Regeneration and conversion are the basis of Christian certainty. The new ego is in a position to know the objective divine realities from its own inner experience of their working upon it. We can read in the spectrum of the regenerate personality the rays of truth concerning the Sun of Righteousness. This does not satisfy Ihmels because there are some constitutive elements of Christianity that do not present themselves to the Christian as directly operative, and hence this certainty is only the certainty of faith; and further, because this certainty of faith must be regarded as being perfected already in the process of regeneration. Christian certainty of truth is not got from certainty of the new birth, but attained regeneration is also already attained certainty. Accordingly the task is to bring to the believer, through analysis of Christian experiences, how, through the working of the word upon him, certainty of the word arose within him. Herrmann chose the other method of procedure and makes revelation the guarantee of our faith. The historical Christ is the basis of our faith. His inner life becomes God's revelation to us when we come in touch with him. This contact is mediated to us through an historical revelation, but is perceived by an inner experience, and is thus present for us. We get confidence in his person and his cause, perceive the infinite distance between us and him and learn that Jesus makes us free. Herrmann distinguishes between the basis of our faith—the inner life of Jesus—and the content of our faith—the thoughts of faith that we have under the guidance of the New Testament. Ihmels rejects this distinction, and declares Herrmann's basis of faith incapable of sustaining faith. Only a fact can be the ground of our certainty of salvation. According to Herrmann this fact proves itself to

be fact by the impression of the life of Jesus. Consequently he places the decision as to whether he can have certainty concerning the facts that sustain his faith within man, and this is as subjective as Frank or Luther. The analysis of experience must show that this decision was necessary, that the impressions were overwhelming. Thus we are led to the objectively decisive content of the message that comes to us, and conclude that we have come into contact with the revelation of God in the tradition of Jesus. We cannot artificially do away with the word between God's revelation and us. Scripture is really an organ of revelation. To show how we become really certain of this and learn to base our faith on it is the task of the second half of the book. This historical review has placed the question before us in the light of the present. We are now ready for the positive, constructive part. We can give only the titles of the chapters and a few of the leading thoughts.

I. *Christian certainty of truth is the certainty of experience and faith concerning the historical revelation of God.* Christian certainty is concerning fellowship with God, not dogma, certainty that I am Thine and Thou art mine, and is known to us only through the certainty of the experience of God. This certainty of experience must be characterized as the certainty of faith, faith being regarded as an act, not a state, of the inner perception of the Divine. The self-revelation of God is experienced inwardly by man, but faith alone can answer to this self-revelation of God, which cannot rest on an external or on an internal activity of man, but only on the gracious revelation of God, culminating in the person of Jesus Christ. But how can a fact of the past be an object of present experience?

II. *Christian certainty of truth is certainty concerning the Word of God.* This cannot be satisfactorily demonstrated by scientific investigation. The Word overcomes the hearers by the strength of its witness in the power of the Holy Spirit, who works out from the content of the Word, effecting a supernatural knowledge of God's wrath against sin, and, finally, convincing that He saves from sin. Strictly speaking, in a certain important sense the Gospel itself makes us certain concerning

the Gospel, and the certainty of faith is a miracle. How the triumphant certainty of the Gospel comes into being is the incommunicable mystery of every Christian. But dare we identify this working Word with Holy Scripture?

III. *Christian certainty of truth is certainty concerning the Scripture.* All preaching in the Church goes back to the Scripture. Hence affirmation of the central Christian truth is also affirmation of the central content of Scripture. The Christian learns from experience the connection of his religious life with historical revelation, and with the activity of the Holy Spirit, which is carried into effect by the Word of revelation. He is thus in position to understand that the historical revelation came to a complete close in the primary testimonials of revelation and in them is mediated to succeeding generations. The content of the canon is a question of only secondary importance for faith. The question as to what experience the Church has made with this canon in its course through the ages is a matter for continually renewed investigation. Certainty concerning the Scripture may precede the personal experience in the individual, but the full certainty concerning the truth is first there, when the meaning of the individual parts for the understanding of the whole dawns upon the life of faith. Then the Christian learns to rest on Scripture as the unconditional divine authority.

IV. *The relation of Christian certainty of truth to natural certainty of truth.* The Christian dare not be indifferent to the results of theoretical knowledge, because the objects of his religious knowledge are also, to a certain extent, within the realm of science; and yet science cannot contest the objective authority of religious knowledge. The normal condition is the combination of the two. A really healthful religious knowledge must have in it from the very beginning a tendency toward a unified system of the universe. Yet Christian certainty of truth does not need to establish its legitimacy before the courts of natural certainty, and hence cannot receive from it its ultimate guarantee. Christian experience is the decisive factor. Can this experience rest on deception?

V. *Christian certainty of truth and the possibility of self-deception.* In a certain sense all certainty must be subjective. Even Wundt's criterion of "the coercion of external perception," is not wholly objective, for perceptions are adjudged coercive or weak by the perceiving subject. All certainty must also have objective authority. I must change the "I am certain," into "it is certain," else my subjective certainty sinks to mere opinion. Things are either objectively certain or they rest on self-deception. How can the alternative be decided? Ihmels considers universal validity a sufficient criterion, and this is seen in the experience of others (the Church), and in the repeated experience of the individual Christian (daily providences). The sure guarantee of the Christian's certainty of his faith lies in the calm assurance of continual experience of that which gives his life stability. This experience is inseparable from faith. (Calculation scoffs where faith is certain.) The deciding question for the value of general validity is: How far do these experiences from their very nature attest it? Christian experience cannot be the product of the inner subjective life, for man seeks a hold outside of self. Nor is it the result of a desire for knowledge, for a system of the universe, for the Christian seeks something wholly different in religion. In a word, Christian experience guarantees its *general validity* by its content. The attaining of Christian certainty means the realization of the creational destiny of the human personality. Of course in this we do not go beyond the sphere of the life of the believer, for Christian certainty is not a quantity separable from Christian personality. Yet this subjectivism does not annul the *general validity* of Christian certainty, for every kind of certainty is subjective to some extent. We must determine subjectively what criteria shall be used in establishing this *general validity*.

VI. *The genesis of Christian certainty of truth.* This practical and valuable chapter can be put into one sentence: The experience of salvation, which is the work of the Holy Spirit, is also the way to certainty of truth, and this experience can be got only at the price of unconditional surrender to God.

Of course this will have but little influence on unbelievers. But that is not its purpose, at least that is not its chief purpose, as already noted. Ihmels agrees with Frank in conceiving of certainty not as apologetics, but as the reason which the individual Christian gives himself, rather than others, for his certainty of faith—a most important service in such an age as this, when science, secular and theological, genuine and false, is entering fields that we have hitherto considered closed against it, at least against all its negative results. In his method he departs from Frank, who went out from the consciousness of regeneration, and makes his starting point fellowship with God, which suggests v. Hofmann.

At the tenth General Lutheran Conference, held in Lund, Sweden, last September, Domprovost Eklund read a paper entitled "Some Thoughts Concerning the Heart-point of Our Lutheran Message," which is given here because it may be taken as symptomatic of the present tendency to emphasize the ethico-religious rather than the metaphysical elements of our faith, when we state its truths systematically.

If our message is to have life it must have a heart-truth, to which all others are subordinate. The expression "heart-point," or "heart-truth" is preferred to "central dogma" because the latter expresses something dead, non-ethical and academic. "Material principle" suggests at once the formal principle, and these are so often placed along side of each other in a very unevangelical way. God's Word is made to appear as a revelation imparting wisdom, and little or nothing is said about its communicating the power that works faith.

The best name for this "heart-truth" is "sonship to God," or, expressed more fully, sonship to the Heavenly Father in fellowship with his only begotten Son, as the mediating divine brother. The old name for this "heart truth," "justification by faith," has its advantages. It was used frequently by Paul and by Augustine and Luther. It excludes a naturalistic and an intellectualistic view of the work of grace by God and emphasizes faith over against works. However, it is not an expres-

sion of Christ; its meaning is not clear, since it may be a healing act, a judicial act or a paternal act; and even when the word "faith" is added, it is not proof against a Roman interpretation, *e. g.*, Council of Trent. The expression "forgiveness of sins" has some advantages as a name for this "heart-truth." It was used by Jesus; it needs little or no defining; it touches the inmost life of the soul; and when the word "faith" is added, it is most natural to give it its most evangelical meaning and regard it as a gift from God. But it emphasizes too exclusively the negative side, and does not suggest experience of forgiveness and its fruits as readily as the term "sonship to God." This conception avoids almost all these difficulties and has the greatest number of advantages. It was uttered by Jesus; it is simple and needs no explanation; it touches the inmost heart life; it is positive (like justification) rather than negative; it unifies the religious and the ethical (impossible in justification and not clear in forgiveness of sins); it is unfavorable to a monkish ideal of life, but suggests that the Christians are in the likeness of God; it leads to the thought of the Father, the only begotten Son and the Holy Ghost, and thus excludes the frequent separation of grace from its necessary prerequisites, which makes faith a mere assent; and it agrees with the spirit of the times. The only possible objections that he can see to this formula are, the thought of birth which it suggests may be interpreted naturalistically, and, if we forget the genesis of this "sonship to God," we can be led easily into unevangelical ways.

E. Pfennigsdorf, of Dessau, in the *Theologische Rundschau* of January and February of this year, discusses *Christianity and the Philosophy of To-day*. The following condensed statements will show the attitude that some of our most influential thinkers assume toward Christianity.

Wilhelm Wundt, of Leipzig, is considered by many the most important thinker of to-day. Through his numerous literary works and the large number of students who hear his lectures, he exercises a widely felt influence.

He does not have the same sense for religion that Lotze had, yet throughout his philosophy the influence of religion is plainly seen. In his *System of Philosophy* he shows that he sees and appreciates the fundamental errors of Materialism and naturalistic Pantheism. He seeks unities, and finds one in the human soul, which, according to its being, is individual will, in which there is a multiplicity of individual will unities, which have their stability and coherence in an absolute world-ground, or world-basis, which is conceived of as will. Pfennigsdorf raises the objection that indefinite willing without conceptions accompanying is a mere abstraction and not real willing, and says that Wundt is as unsuccessful as Schopenhauer in deriving conceptions from mere will.

As might be expected, Wundt, as a good Kantist, has little to say about the relation of the individual to the absolute will. The basis of the universe is the adequate basis of reality, but, per se, remains "wholly unknown," and cannot be thought of in the form of an ideal, but only as the ground of the highest moral goal, of the ideal of humanity. Such an indefinite transcendental ground of the universe cannot satisfy religious consciousness. To Wundt religion is merely "the enlarging of the moral ideal." Christianity is the most perfect of all ethical religions because it represents God as inconceivable and beyond symbols, and because the moral ideal is expressed in the supernatural form of Jesus, who was the most important witness of the Infinite. Christianity is not a religion of redemption, and religion is not recognized as the immediate inner perception of the Eternal.

Paulsen, of Berlin, is an industrious advocate of similar ideas. His *Introduction to Philosophy* is credited with having aroused a sense for philosophical thinking in large circles. With Wundt, he accepts the principles of the Kantian theory of knowledge, emphasizes the primacy of will over against intellect, rejects the ideas of the soul as a substance as well as transcendental metaphysics, and teaches a universal parallelism between the physical and the psychical, in which the latter receives the greater emphasis. Reality is a system of soul

(Fechner), a uniform spirit-life, the visible part of which is the development of the soul-life, and, above all, the development of life in the history of man on the earth. We can conceive of this pantheistic God only by picturing human existence raised to the *nth*. degree. In this symbolical anthropomorphism and religious faith greet each other." Paulsen unhesitatingly emphasizes the rights of faith over against knowledge. In fact, in forming a system he recognizes faith (will) as the deciding factor. He also has a very clear idea of the meaning of the historical and the transcendental in religion. "To put aside the transcendental means to destroy religion." He says that Comte's religion of humanity, and all similar artificial attempts, must be very tedious for any one who has even a little sense for the poesy of history. Opposition to Christianity does not come from its transcendental elements, but from the fact that "religion is made into a pseudo-scientific system, and demands unconditional recognition of its formulas." Faith flourishes only in freedom.

Not until man becomes conscious of his creative power, can he recognize spirit life as the soul of all reality, and seek his mission in struggling against a great, strange, indifferent world, to give meaning to its dead condition, to wrest from it a spirituality, and thus to expand his whole being "in a struggle for a spiritual content of life." From this standpoint Eucken of Jena seeks to secure the rights and the meaning of religion, in which he does not see merely a general view of the world, but a new institution, an historical breaking into the course of the race by freedom-bringing transforming powers, which appears in its highest form in Christianity. In his *Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*, which has just appeared in its fourth edition, and seems to be more popular than ever, he gives by far the best presentation and estimate of Christianity that it has received of late from philosophy. He shows a proper appreciation of the personality of Jesus, as well as of the Christian views of life. He asks, How is it that we, in spite of such profound changes, are not able to get away from Jesus, that we always feel ourselves forced to return to him to seek a relation

to him, and to regard this relation as the most important, the most holy, the most decisive thing in our whole life? "Because the whole life of culture, with all its brilliant ostentatious results, does not develop the deepest element in man; because an inner necessity drives him to seek in an eternal Being, in an infinite Love, an inner peace, a genuine and pure life, the salvation of the soul. Where such a longing forces its way the confession of Peter will be adopted: 'Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life.'"

Fichte's struggle toward inwardness and renewal, and his recognition of the insufficiency of the merely moral to edify the world, are plainly seen in Eucken. That which is useful for morality or the emancipation of the spirit is real, or we must believe it to be real. Religion and Christianity are, above all, means for attaining freedom in the spirit life. The problem as to whether or not we have to reckon here with relation of being to a real, not merely a postulated, God is allowed to fall into the back ground, while for that part of modern thought which is agitated by radical doubt it is most important.

ARTICLE VIII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

EATON AND MAINS, NEW YORK.

Moses and the Prophets. By Milton S. Terry, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Garrett Biblical Institute. Pp. 198. Price, \$1.00.

The author's aim in this book is to give "a reverent and well-considered statement" of the results obtained by the critical theory on the Books of Moses and the Prophets. In other words, his object is to furnish a summary of the results of the Higher Criticism in a calm, unprejudiced manner. And we may add that he succeeds fairly well in his aim. The work is, on the whole, moderate in tone and to a large extent free from that unkind spirit which says uncharitable things of those who refuse to accept unreservedly the sweeping and destructive conclusions of some of the critics. Of course our author makes some unsupported assertions—nearly all critics do this. For example, on page 25 he says: "We find nothing to show that Moses was the author of any of the books of the Pentateuch, but because he was such a

hero and personage these writings were called from the first the Books of Moses." Dr. Terry makes this statement after explaining away the claims of Mosaic authorship made in the several books. On page 34 Dr. Terry makes use of the argument *e silentio* to disprove the early existence of the Levitical Code. The Doctor certainly knows that his argument has been largely discredited. In a footnote on page 23, he takes occasion to speak of "the persistent onesidedness of writers who seem incapable of stating fairly the main reasons which modern higher criticism has to offer for its conclusions." We question whether this is "a reverent and well-considered statement." The book is well written and is readable, but it contains nothing new. It follows the beaten path and is in the main a plea for a plurality of authorship of the various books of the Old Testament.

T. C. BILLHEIMER.

Ezekiel and Daniel. By Camden M. Cobern, D.D. Pp. 415. Price \$2.00.

This is Volume VIII in the series of Whedon's Commentary. The Book of Ezekiel is one among few in respect of which there is general unanimity as to date, authorship, and unity of composition.

But not so the Book of Daniel. Here biblical criticism finds material for great diversity of opinion. Is the book a unit from the pen of historical Daniel, or a composition from authentic materials handed down by manuscript and tradition? Is it true history of the time of Daniel, and true prophecy from the sixth century B. C.? or legend and apocalypse composed in the second century in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes for the comfort of those whom he persecuted?

Is the first part of the book historic fact, and the second part pure prophecy? or are there elements of both apocalypse and history, true prophecy and contemporary history? There are but very few that maintain the Book of Daniel to be a biography of that prophet, and pure prophecy from the sixth century B. C. Few are they also that claim the book to be an entirely legendary composition, solely contemporaneous in content with the Maccabean era.

Dr. Cobern claims to belong to the "middle school." He does not advocate the advanced critical views of Bevan and Prince, but accepts the safer critical position of Driver. But he is not altogether consistent. Theoretically he regards the book a second century apocalypse: "In its substantial entirety, an apocalyptic vision of a true, though later prophet." But in his detailed treatment he recognizes "evidences of a body of ancient historic or prophetic material" collected and set in new relations for a homiletic purpose.

As to the immediate successors of Nebuchadnezzar he deems it probable that Belshazzar, though the son of Nabonidus, was married to a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar; and that Darius the Mede may be identified as Gubaru, the general of Cyrus. And while the book is a

message of consolation to the martyrs of the time of Seleucidae, it also contains prophecy passing beyond this period into the true Messianic future.

M. COOVER.

The Great Saints of the Bible. By Louis Albert Banks, D.D. Cloth bound. 351 pages. Price, \$1.50.

This is a companion volume to *The Great Sinners of the Bible*, and is bound uniformly with it. The collection contains thirty evening sermons based on the worthy characters of Bible history. Dr. Banks does not attempt to make critical studies of these lives, but aims to set forth the one central principle which made them the men they were. As a close student of human nature, the author is able to bring out these heroes from their oriental setting and present them in the thought and language of to-day. Thus they become living personalities to the reader, and inspire him with their earnestness and realism.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Nature and Character at Granite Bay. By Daniel A. Goodsall.

The make-up of this book is sufficiently attractive to commend it to the public and to cause one to buy it, regardless of contents. But in the contents one is not disappointed. They are entirely in harmony with the appearance of the book; for in it Bishop Goodsall gives us a rather minute study of life by the sea, as he himself has observed it at Granite Bay, where for many years he has had his summer home. It is a book to be read in a leisure hour; for while it has its instructive side, it is simple, restful and pleasing, with no false notes of thoughts or style. One lays it aside filled with a keen desire also to pitch one's tent at Granite Bay for a summer and partake in reality of the calm and kindly life that the writer so pleasantly depicts.

MARIE E. RICHARD.

Loiterings in Old Fields. Pp. 244. By James B. Kenyon.

After reading this book one is not surprised to know that Mr. Kenyon has written eight books of poetry before writing this small volume of prose. It is a volume of literary sketches, of Tennyson, William Morris, John Keats, George Elliott, Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti, the correspondence of James Russell Lowell, the letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, persons written about long enough and often enough to exhaust all public interest in them if it could be exhausted. But Mr. Kenyon treats them with freshness, and leads you in these old fields through the mystical paths known only to the disciples of art and song, and treats you to visions of his own as he has seen them in these writers. The book is a treat, and we are glad that this poet-preacher has the grace to ask the weary public to leave the fever-haunted features of the present and wander in the good old literary fields.

MARIE E. RICHARD.

FLEMING H. REVELL COMPANY, NEW YORK.

Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions. By James S. Dennis, D.D.
Pp. xxii and 401. Price, \$4.00 net. Quarto.

This splendid volume of missionary statistics and information is a supplement to the author's *Christian Missions and Social Progress*, "being a conspectus of the achievements and results of evangelical missions at the close of the nineteenth century." Dr. Dennis brings to his work the ample skill and information acquired as a member of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Syria, Students' Lecturer on Missions at Princeton, prolific author of missionary literature, and Chairman of Committee on Statistics, Ecumenical Conference, New York City, 1900. The volume evinces prodigious industry and excellent judgment. While it is a book for reference rather than for reading, being made up chiefly of statistical tables, it is full of interest, and deserves the widest circulation. Here you will find the largest and most complete tabulated exhibits, classified and analyzed, of all missionary interests and operations, at home and abroad. Societies, schools, literature, hospitals, asylums, and the like, are represented in these pages, crowded with facts and figures.

The volume is beautified with about a dozen full-page photogravures of missionaries and mission buildings and scenes. There are also interspersed a number of pages of choice extracts of noble and stirring articles and addresses on missions. There are appended several maps on which all the mission stations in the great fields are marked, and named in an accompanying index.

The book is an inspiration. Its vast array of missionary forces and achievements fill one with "genial optimism and fresh courage." Missions are not a failure, and this book is a convincing proof. The make-up of the volume is worthy of the contents, and we do not doubt the statement that it cost its publishers more than the price asked.

J. A. SINGMASTER.

Joy in the Divine Government. By Luther Alexander Gotwald, D.D.
Pp. vi, 314. Price \$1.25.

These sermons of the late Dr. Gotwald are not only biblical, and replete with instructions and encouragement, but are stimulating to the Christian in making him think as well as read and enjoy. They are not philosophical, and yet have the practical philosophy of duty and religious comfort. The older style and methods of development are employed, with somewhat of a theological system of procedure.

They are more to be commended than the sermons that are preached for the day, with so little theology and so much of the fluctuating *Zeitgeist* as makes them useless for to-morrow.

M. COOVER.

LUTHERAN BOOK CONCERN, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

The Teachers' Annual. Lessons for the Sunday School. Prepared for the Publication Board of the Joint Synod of Ohio by Rev. J. Sheatley and others. Pp. 402. Board bound.

The volume contains the third series of the Saxon selection of pericopes. One-half of the lessons are arranged for use during the festival part of the church year, and are selected from the Gospels. The others are historical, and are taken from the Acts of the Apostles. Each lesson is given the threefold treatment of introduction, narrative, and lesson-teaching. Almost all of the lessons from the Acts are in close harmony with those of the International Series. For a popular presentation of these portions of Scripture, teachers will find this book a useful and suggestive commentary.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Narratives on the Catechism. Issued by the Publication Board of the Joint Synod of Ohio. In four volumes: The Ten Commandments; The Creed; The Lord's Prayer; The Sacraments and Tables of Duties. Pp. 150 each. Cloth bound.

This work is not a catechism for the class, but is intended for the use of the pastor in his preparation of the lessons. The arrangement of chapters and sections is similar to that of Luther's Larger Catechism, and the narratives are illustrative of the answers as there given. The stories cover a wide range, from historical incidents to scenes of daily life. Many of them are from the German of Caspari, Fick and Glaser. Some of the allusions made will not be applicable to every class, and the pastor will have to use his judgment in making a selection.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

Singhard: the Tale of a Centurion. By William Schmidt and Walter Schuette. Columbus, Ohio. 7½x5½ inches. Pp. 466.

This story might with equal propriety be sub-titled "A Tale of the Centurion," since it is one more of the many efforts to weave the garb of romance about that soldier of Rome whom Christendom delights to honor for his manly confession of Jesus' divinity in the darkest hour of His humanity. This time we meet him as a gigantic young German, orphaned by the invasion of Germanicus, carried off as a slave, escaping, becoming finally a soldier of Tiberius, and reaching through many adventures the foot of the cross, literally and spiritually. We meet also in the story such well-known figures as Pilate and his wife, Aquila and Priscilla, and the devout Cornelius.

Beyond a little stiffness in the dialogue, the story is very readable, though it contains perhaps a little more history than the average historical romance of to-day; particularly in the first book, which is devoted to the struggle between Roman and Teuton, beginning with the defeat of Varus. Arminius appears in person, but he is rather a

misty character, and we confess to a wish that his German comrades at least would call him plain Herrmann.

An unfortunate fact is that the book challenges comparison with the first and greatest of modern "Tales of the Christ"—the matchless "Ben Hur." Here, as there, the hero seeks mother and sister for many years, finding them and the Christian faith together. It is great temerity to call back thus to the reader that earlier tale, with its powerful character-drawing; it makes all the people in this book seem shadowy and unreal. Yet the story is better told than many similar attempts of recent years—better than "Titus," infinitely better than "Barabbas," because instinct with an earnestness of purpose and absence of the theatrical which commend it to the serious reader. It has the flavor of the dear old "Fatherland Series," and deserves more readers than the unfortunate bulk of the volume and the length of its paragraphs are likely to attract.

M. R. SEEBACH.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

The French Revolution and Religious Reform. An account of Ecclesiastical Legislation and its Influence on Affairs in France from 1789 to 1804. By William Milligan Sloane, L.H.D., LL.D. Based on the Morse Lectures for 1900 before the Union Theological Seminary. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ x5 $\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xxviii, 320. Price \$2.00.

Professor Sloane is here dealing with a period familiar to him. His studies for the Life of Napoleon must have taken him over much of the ground traversed in these lectures. But there is a unity of its own in the material and a fitness in its separate treatment. There is a lesson of its own, too, for the Church of the present and it was proper that the substance of the book should be delivered in lectures on the basis of "The Morse Foundation" before the Union Theological Seminary. It is just possible, however, that the conditions under which the lectures were delivered influenced the historian unconsciously to exaggerate somewhat the relative importance of religion in the revolutionary movement.

The first thirteen chapters give an elaborate account of conditions during the eighteenth century and especially at its close—the power and prestige of the Roman hierarchy, the obstructive force of "ecclesiastical fanaticism, positive and negative," the carnival of irreligion and ultramontane folly—down to the Concordat of 1801. After some comments on the form of the Concordat, a single chapter treats of its enforcement and considers its effects, which are found to be very important even in this day.

Professor Sloane appears closely to follow the available documents and may therefore be regarded as minutely accurate, so far as accuracy is attainable. As a treatise for scholars having already a large acquaintance with the general movements of the revolutionary period the work is likely to be instructive and satisfying; to those less in-

formed, while they cannot but see the painstaking workmanship, the treatment will seem somewhat labored. The faculty of illuminating the subject in a large way is not manifest. The secret possessed by some of the great historians of making an easy and entrancing narrative of the events does not seem to have been revealed to this historian.

In an Appendix the Concordat and other important documents are given in the French language.

J. A. HIMES.

HENRY T. COATES AND CO., PHILADELPHIA.

Poems. By Joel Swartz, D.D. 7½x5½ inches. Pp. xv, 237. Price \$1.00.

Dr. Swartz as a poet needs no introduction to the readers of this QUARTERLY. Many of his poems are already widely known through previous publication in religious papers or elsewhere. The present collection has been culled of those which his maturest judgment has approved as best, with the addition of others which, so far as we know, have not heretofore been printed. They are now classified under five heads: Poems of Nature, Poems of Meditation and Reflection, Poems of Love at Home, Poems of Temperance, and Musings for the Quiet Hour. In the main they are sober though never somber; a few teach their lesson, usual of a critical sort, in a humorous way by the use of paranomasia. They manifest skill in a great variety of versification. They express love of nature, of man, and of God. The sentiment is always genial, hopeful, pure and optimistic. Those readers who enter heartily into it cannot help being made kinder and better. The many friends of Dr. Swartz will be glad to welcome the neat volume, with its excellent portrait of the Doctor as a frontispiece, to their parlor tables.

J. A. HIMES.

LUTHERANS IN ALL LANDS CO., SUNBURY, PA.

Die Lutherische Kirche der Welt. Vol. I. By Prof. J. N. Lenker, D.D. 516 illustrations. Pp. 544. Price, \$2.25 to \$3.50, according to binding.

The purpose of the volume is a presentation of Lutheran church-life and activities in the non-German countries of Europe. Even a hasty perusal of the opening chapters reveals the author to be a man of intense love for his Church and great faith in her destiny. He brings that enthusiasm and warmth of feeling to bear upon his work which must ever be among the first prerequisites in the successful treatment of a subject like the one to which Dr. Lenker has devoted so much time and ability. In the historical section of the book, the reader is first given a vivid and comprehensive survey of the state of Lutheranism in the Scandinavian countries, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and some of the islands populated by Scandinavians. The several chapters

are written under the headings: Moral and Social Condition of the People, Parochial Peculiarities, Education, Christian Literature, Deaconess and Benevolent Work, Home and Foreign Missions, Diaspora Work, Work among Emigrants and Seamen, Jewish Missions, etc. The Scandinavian countries are shown to afford the unique spectacle of being one-church countries, the Lutheran Church being the one to which practically the entire population adheres. From these we are led into Russia, Finland, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and France, where the territory is greatly divided, and even Protestants, as a whole, are in the minority—to England, containing Lutherans by immigration—until we arrive lastly at those European countries which bear the distinctive name of the Diaspora.

A great many readers will be surprised at the large list of countries comprised in the Diaspora, and containing Lutherans in larger or smaller numbers. Bulgaria, Servia, Bosnia, Roumania, Portugal, Italy, Belgium, even Greece and Turkey, are among these. Lutherans who read German will find much valuable information on the present status of their faith in the non-German countries of Europe. To our surprise, Vol. I contains no index.

PAUL A. MENZEL.

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK—METHUEN AND CO., LONDON.

Regnum Dei. Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought. By Archibald Robertson, D.D., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Glasgow, Hon. D.D., Durham, Principal of King's College, London, Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Bristol. 1901. Price, \$2.50.

In these "Bampton Lectures for 1901, the Bampton series has received one of its most scholarly and valuable volumes. It is a work of rare merit. The subject is one of the highest importance, and the lecturer manifestly brought to its discussion ample resources and a most discriminating judgment. Though a large factor in shaping the discussion of the great subject is found in Augustine's well-known identification of the Kingdom of God with the Catholic Church—possibly with the Church as *visibly organized*—that gave the key-note for the development of the theocratic system of the Middle Ages, the author's treatment ranges historically from the Kingdom of God in the Old Testament, through the New, and thence through the chief periods of its extension down to the present. Though the phrase "Kingdom of God" or "Kingdom of Heaven," is not found in the Old Testament, the elements of the conception are clearly and strongly there and gradually unfolded into more inspiring visions. In the New Testament it is the central thing in the message of the Gospel; and the lecturer finely exhibits the profound spiritual nature of the Kingdom and the relation of the Church (*ἐκκλησία*) to it. As to post-apostolic times, specially excellent and interesting is his analysis of the teach-

ings of Augustine in his *Civitas Dei*, practically giving to the Visible Church the attributes and prerogatives of the Kingdom of God on earth, which at once brought into view the question of the relation between the ecclesiastical and secular authority, between the Church and empire. In the conditions then existing, this question necessarily presented the alternatives of an *Ecclesia in Imperio* or *Imperium in Ecclesia*, the Church under the supremacy and care of the empire, or the empire subjective to the Church's authority. After the passing of the "Christian Empire" of the Constantines, ecclesiastical thought turned toward a Reign of the Church, as sanctifying, controlling, and using the resources of the empire in the interests of the Kingdom. "Here, for the first time in history," says Dr. Robertson, "we are confronted with the interpretation of the Kingdom of God on earth as an omnipotent Church, which so powerfully moulded the central ecclesiastical development of the mediaeval system. Here, it is hardly too much to say, we have in germ the Counter-Reformation theory of the Church as a *Societas Perfecta*, an institution equipped with all that is necessary to a self-contained body-politic, perfect not indeed in the moral character of its members, but in organization, institutions, and the divine right to every thing necessary to the carrying out of its temporal ends. * * * That the mediaeval conception of the Kingdom of God as an omnipotent Church was consciously derived from Augustine, or was due to any conscious analysis of the idea of the Kingdom of God itself, is true only within very narrow limits. The process by which a conception of the Church, and of the Church's relation to the State and Society, grew up, was unconscious, determined not by theoretical but practical conditions. In Augustine, the organic, sub-conscious process rises for a moment into consciousness. Here is his importance. He registers for us the beginning of a process the full nature and destiny of which he could not fully realize, a process which could only be embodied in fact in conditions which Augustine neither knew nor foresaw, but which were none the less even then on their way to fulfilment."

The sixth, seventh, and eighth lectures, treating of the Kingdom of God respectively "in the Mediaeval Theocracy," "in the Divergence of Modern Ideals," and "in Modern Thought, Word, and Life," present a worthy continuation and completion of the able and suggestive discussion. Thrown, as the different aspects of the subject continually are, under historic light and illustration, and subjected to the tests of both the Scriptures and experience, the whole work is at once full of interest and of instruction. The reader finds himself continually coming upon illuminating passages, stimulating and enriching to thought. It is a work of high order, to be specially commended to the attention of the Christian ministry.

M. VALENTINE.

LUTHERAN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA.

Among the Telugoos. Illustrating Mission Work in India. By M. Julia Harpster, of the Mission of the Evangelical Lutheran Church at Guntur. Pp. 96. Price, 85 cents, net.

Intelligent acquaintance with the surroundings and characteristics of the heathen is a great help in awakening interest in mission work. This well illustrated booklet by Mrs. Harpster is not a history of missions, but contains history in a nut shell. There are seventy-five half-tone pictures accompanied by sketches. Several views of the Rajahmundry Mission are included. Photographs of the staff of mission workers, twenty-five in number, and of cöoperative conference workers, give an idea of the personnel of the field. The environment and natural characteristics of the natives in dress and employment give intelligent conceptions of the nature of the work. Views of buildings from the hut to the Vishnu Temple, and from the Prayer House to the College and Boarding School, bring home to us in a more lively sense the reality of the work. This excellent product of the printer's art cannot but disseminate a more intelligent appreciation of our work and workers in India.

M. COOVER.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

Lententide Sermonettes. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., LL.D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Communion, Philadelphia.

These twenty-five sermonettes are thoughtful, brief discourses on themes pertaining mostly to our Lord's passion and sacred mission to men. They are not intended for doctrinal treatment in consecutive development of our Lord's last ministry. They are general and devotional, and will prove spiritually stimulating to the pious reader.

M. COOVER.

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, BOSTON, MASS.

The initial number, and one likely to attract widespread interest in the April number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, is one on "The New Army of the United States." The "Play and the Gallery," "Pan-American Diplomacy," and "Our State University," are articles of exceptional merit. That always delightful writer, Agnes Repplier, contributes to this number a sketch called "Allegra."

The fiction of the issue includes the second installment of "Bylaw Hill," by G. W. Cable; "A Tale of Languedoc," by Mortimer O. Wilcox; and "A Siberian Evangeline," by Anna Northend Benjamin. A number of choice poems, some valuable book reviews, and some particularly bright contributions to the *Contributors' Club* are among the attractions of this number of a magazine that never disappoints its readers. It steadfastly devotes itself to "Literature, Science, Art and Politics," and as

a recent writer has said, has never yielded to the tendency to popularize its pages. We know of no magazine that can compare with it.

AMERICAN LUTHERAN PUBLICATION BOARD, PITTSBURG, PA.

Sunday School Hymnal. By authority of the English Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri and Other States. Pp. 464. Published 1901. The same with music. Pp. 443.

We find in the *Sunday School Hymnal* a collection of hymns, services and chants, which will most effectively serve both as a vehicle for devotion and as a potent influence in cultivating good taste, wherever used. A Sunday school song book to fulfill the requirements of worship and education must consist of good tunes and worthy sentiment. There is no place for anything trivial or vitiating in it. The music, while attractive, should be distinctively sacred, and the hymns reverent and appropriate. These qualities are eminently prominent in the *Sunday School Hymnal*. The music of many of the 528 hymns is that of the old German *Choräle*—those classics of Lutheran Church music, doubtless the noblest form of congregational song ever written; others of later date and of English or American origin, have less grandeur, but are flowing and melodious; still others are essentially children's songs, easy to grasp, yet thoroughly musical. Among the tunes we notice many old favorites, which will doubtless be readily recognized by Sunday schools, and are marked by their strength and simplicity. A few of the tunes are, however, so altered as to be scarcely recognizable; whether this is an attempt to reproduce the original forms, we are unable to say; but as examples, the new (?) rhythm of *Old Hundredth* and *Ein Feste Burg* is so different from the usual form as to interfere seriously with an audience's ease in rendition.

The general range of melody is good, neither too high nor too low; the most of the tunes have noble, expressive, sinewy melodies, such as will bring the worshiper into a proper attitude toward his Maker, and at the same time feed his mind and train his aesthetic nature. In fact, the standard maintained throughout the entire book is a very high one; the quality is of the best. It is a question, indeed, whether the adaptability of the book for general Sunday-school purposes is not somewhat impaired because of the high grade and churchly style of the music. Unless in Sunday schools where the children have been accustomed to the very best both at home and in the secular schools, the *Hymnal* could scarcely be profitably used. While the fact must be deplored, it is nevertheless generally true, that the music of Sunday schools has become largely secularized, and savors of the opera, the concert, the military band or the music hall. Hence the class of music of the *Hymnal*, while it will be heartily welcomed by every musician and lover of true art, will hardly find general acceptance outside the limits of those churches which by parochial schools or otherwise have already trained their youth to enjoy

pure churchly music. The advance is too great to be spanned at once ; education must be gradual. In many Sunday schools its contents would be deemed too much like the regular church hymnal to be used in the Sunday-school services.

The topical arrangement of the hymns is a highly commendable feature, and in this connection, too, the wide range of topics and lessons of the Church year covered, must be noted. There are thirty different topics, embracing all holidays and phases of Christian life. The placing of the lines of the first verse, properly syllabized, between the music, is another good feature ; it would have been better yet, had all the verses of each hymn been printed thus, but this is frequently precluded because of the great number of verses some of the hymns have. And this is a most serious fault. Hymns with five to ten verses of twelve lines each—as for example, numbers 460, 416, 87, 346, 142, 143, 78—are out of place in a Sunday school song book. Unless the book is intended to be a collection of poetry—and the poems in the *Sunday School Hymnal* are often of great merit and beauty—no hymn for Sunday school purposes should contain beyond four verses, and better still, less.

In a few places there is a very poor arrangement of words and music ; for example, No. 461 has the music and one verse upon one page, and the remaining two verses upon the opposite side of the *same* leaf. Nos. 417 and 467 are similarly arranged. In glancing through the book one misses the names of the composer and poet of each number. Whilst this may not be a defect from some points of view, nevertheless an important channel of imparting information to the young is neglected, and an aid to forming a proper standard of judgment left unemployed. In addition to the hymns, particular mention must be made of the splendid Order of Services, the collection of prayers and psalms, the catechism, and the musicianly chants, which the book contains. Among the latter the great church hymns of the ages, as the *Te Deum*, the *Gloria*, the *Sanctus*, the *Venite*, and others, are set to music of the most artistic type ; the Responses in the Literary deserve especial mention also.

The typographical work is neat and clean, compact without crowding, and easily read and followed. The size and shape of both books are convenient for eye and hand, and their general appearance is attractive. Surely a Sunday school using this *Hymnal* cannot fail in reaping a rich harvest in youthful minds thoroughly orthodox, youthful hearts entirely devotional, and youthful taste which will demand only the best.

WM. W. FREY.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING CO., ST. LOUIS,

Dr. Martin Luther's Sämmtliche Schriften. Siebenzehnter Band. Reformations Schriften. 2,261 columns. \$4.50.

This volume completes the Missouri revision of Walch's edition of Luther's Collective Works with the exception of Volume XXI, consisting

of Luther's Letters, to which the editors will now give their attention before proceeding with the index. This will require time, since the editors are in this line dependent on the editions published in Germany, and at present no sources are available beyond those of the Erlangen Letters, which stop with April 24, 1531.

Too much cannot be said in praise of the labor, care, and conscientiousness bestowed on this prodigious enterprise by the editors and publishers. It is a marvel that so much labor of such a quality could have been accomplished in twenty years. It attests the power of appreciation and industry characteristic of German scholars. In the revision of the Walch text and translations, as well as in the exclusion of foreign matter and the inclusion of additional material, the supreme aim has been to give the sense and import of Luther himself as accurately as possible.

The present volume contains the Reformation documents directed against the papists from 1538 to 1546, also those against the Reformed.

What a blessing it would be to the Lutheran Church of America if its pastors generally could possess and use this vast collection of the teachings of the great Reformer.

E. J. WOLF.

Entwürfe zu Katechesen über Luther's Kleiner Katechismus. Von Geo. Metzger, Professor am Concordia-Seminar zu St. Louis, Mo. 8vo. Pp. 295.

This work appears in response to a request from pastors and teachers of the Missouri Synod for an explanation of Luther's Catechism. We do not hesitate to say that in our opinion this is in *some* respects one of the very best productions of its kind. It is indeed a compend of divinity that any person acquainted with the German language might study with profit. A just proportion of space is given to each of the six parts now usually printed in the Catechism. Of course the view-point is that of Missouri. We must take occasion to express decidedly our opposition to the teaching in regard to the Third Commandment. We do not believe that the Sabbath commandment in its spirit and essence was for the Jews only, and that this command in regard to the Jewish Sabbath has no authority for us Christians, so far as the essence of the sanctification of one-seventh of the time is concerned. "God has abolished the commandment of the Jewish Sabbath and has not put *another day* in the place of the Jewish Sabbath. (That is taught by all false churches now, namely, that we must no longer hold, according to God's command, the Sabbath, but another holy day, namely Sunday)" p. 30.

Such teaching as this is helping verily, we believe, to empty our churches on Sunday, and to fill the public parks and theaters at the hours of divine service on the Lord's day. The tree must be judged by its fruits.

The following we regard as a dangerous admixture of truth and er-

ror: "Christians have power on earth to forgive sins. We have sinned against God. Thus God originally alone has the power to forgive sin. Christ through his suffering and death has acquired the forgiveness of sins for all men. God for Christ's sake is reconciled with all men. God now gives this power to his Christians to impart and to bestow upon men the acquired reconciliation and forgiveness. In the name of God they shall for Christ's sake *forgive sin*" (p. 262).

On the one hand we may charitably suppose that such teaching is capable of an evangelical explanation, but an explanation of the Catechism ought not to need an explanation. On the other hand we believe that the paragraph quoted involves logically the essence of Universalism. No man has the right even *to announce* the forgiveness of sins, except upon the scriptural condition of *repentance and faith*.

We are not surprised to find the following in this book: "*The Lord's Supper is the confession of the unity of the faith*. Hence we cannot administer the Lord's Supper to those who are not one with us in the faith, who hold another, that is, a false faith. To do so we would acknowledge their false faith as correct" (p. 294).

Who has given this Missouri theologian the right to lay down the fundamental postulate that "*the Lord's Supper is the confession of the unity of the faith*"? Paul says that it is "the communion." We wonder if the Holy Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Francis, St. Theresa, or St. Elizabeth, would be admitted to the communion with our Missouri friends. We wonder if our author believes "one holy catholic Church" and "the communion of saints."

We cannot but think that such exclusiveness, whether practiced by the Baptists or by Lutherans, is absolutely without warrant in God's Word, and does immense injury to the cause of Christ.

Parts of this book we heartily commend, and parts of it we as heartily condemn.

J. W. RICHARD.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

JULY, 1902.



ARTICLE I.

ECCLESIA GENESIS; OR, THE CHURCH OF THE EARLY DAWN.

BY PROF. W. H. WYNN, PH.D., D.D.

For the historian, duly appreciative of what was inherent in Christianity, and what grew out of it, and what is in reserve for it in the fairer ages to come, there is no more delightful task, than to dwell on that line of evolving circumstances that gave it an institutional foot-hold in the world—the time when the Church was in very truth the child of God, and was learning to walk. As in the family nursery when the little one is to be led by the hand, so we should expect the more visible reaching of providential solicitude for this transcendent movement on the religious history of the race, in that first stage of its development, than in after time—a stage in which the groping, vigorous infant was bringing into exercise the new life beating in its veins. Hence those early enthusiasms, those Pentecostal fires, the glow of miracle, all the wonders of the *charisma*, that came out in their pristine assemblies—these first disciples having the gift of tongues, and of prophecy, and of healing, and of the high ecstasy of vision, and of angelic interposition in opening prison doors. We see it all, in running over the meagre details that have come down to us; the brief story thrills us; we are satisfied; we have had the babe in our arms; our faith has had a fresh incentive, and we bound forward with a new joy that this self-same rich inheritance has accrued to us.

Let us begin just after the Pentecostal fires have lifted, and the Twelve go forth on their high mission of preaching the kingdom and healing the sick. In the little space of three months from the crucifixion, they have five thousand converts on their hands—men and women who have come to believe that Jesus, whom the Jews had slain, had risen from the dead. This rate of increase was alarming to those who were doomed, every day, to hear the awful crime of the killing of Jesus laid at their doors. They were in Moses' seat—the High Priest, the elders, the scribes, the Sanhedrim, the Sadducees conspiring—all in authority who had been implicated in the death of the Nazarene, are publicly charged with the appalling crime. On the day of Pentecost and afterward, Peter makes the charge boldly, and holds up their crime as the premise on which the stupendous fact of the resurrection from the dead was to be predicated. You killed Jesus, and kept his tomb under guard, and in spite of it all he rose again, and we are here to testify to that fact.

Of course the resurrection was the solid ground, on which this bold preacher rests his cause. If Jesus rose from the dead, that would settle the case so far as the Jews were concerned. Whatever extenuation might be made for their ignorance, and blind zeal, they were guilty of the judicial murder of this man. That was the stern alternative, and the popular mind was being opened up to it, in proportion as the preaching of Peter and his associates was crowned with success. Every day crowds were giving in. Their own official ranks were being invaded, for some of the priests were offering themselves as members of the commune. Something must be done. These men must be silenced, or the ancient dignity and authority of the temple service must come to an end. How to silence them, that was the problem that these troubled rulers had before them night and day. If they could triumphantly deny the resurrection, that would be the speediest way of blowing the whole thing to the winds. But this they could not do. The body of Jesus was not to be found. Against its possible abduction, they had made provision as thoroughly watchful as they could. They

had rolled a great stone against the sepulchre, and fixed it with clay seals. They had put sentinels around it, who were to keep strict guard over it, night and day, at the peril of their lives. In spite of it all the body had disappeared. They had made search for it everywhere. No news of it, no clue to its whereabouts had reached them—nothing but this cumulative report of his disciples, that they had actually seen him risen from the dead.

Now if the High Priest could have gone out on Solomon's Porch, and stopped Peter right in the midst of his discourse, with the challenge that the dead body of Jesus could be produced and identified; that it lay yonder in the morgue; that the abductor himself had been caught, and that his confession was such as to put the whole matter beyond the pale of doubt—then, of course, this great preacher of Pentecost must have been stricken dumb, dropped his miracle, and stood confounded before his accuser as an impostor, or the duped victim of an ingeniously contrived fraud. Indeed these rulers could have parried the attack of Peter, without producing the body of Jesus, if they had a mind to proceed legally in resenting the charge—by an array of strong circumstantial evidence, going to prove that somehow the body had been spirited away. Often in our courts of justice this is done. Some deeply concealed matter is brought to light, by tying together this and that circumstance known to be hanging on the outskirts of some invisible deed, which by closer and closer approaches at last gives itself up. But this kind of evidence—the cumulative testimony of hints, let us call it—was not forthcoming for these men. Not one of their number—and they were learned men—was able to stand up before Peter, and engage him in a calm, patient, and dispassionate discussion of the event, calling in witnesses, if need be, and canvassing the case with judicial wisdom and tact.

The only thing left them was to resort to force. The temple police was summoned, and Peter and his companions were thrown into jail. When the excitement was abroad respecting the healing of the lame man at the gate Beautiful, these men had been enjoined to stop their preaching, and had gone on with

greater zeal than before. They were setting the whole city on fire. "Did we not straitly command you, that you should not teach in this name; and, behold, ye have filled Jerusalem with your doctrine, and intend to bring this man's blood upon us." Exactly that was the situation, and Peter before the Sanhedrim turns advocate, and reiterates his defence. He appeals to facts—they were momentous facts, and stood out plainly before the eyes of all men. They meant the fulfilment of prophecy, and the strong interposition of the hand of God. Last night—he would say—you had us in prison, and under close watch of your faithful police and, despite their vigilance, we were found this morning at our old quarters on Solomon's Porch, not sparing to speak boldly as we spoke before. We have seen the risen Jesus; talked with him; handled him; sat with him at meat; seen him flash out and in upon us, through closed doors, and this for forty days subsequent to his lying in the tomb. On the other hand, you who deny this, have nothing wherewith to make your assertion good, you cannot produce the dead body, and you have had to suborn witnesses to testify under oath to that which is manifestly not true. Our plea is now as always, that we must obey God rather than men.

At this point in the proceedings, we are given to understand, that the grave seniors in council were at their wit's end. They must have a little secret parley among themselves about it—the mysterious prisoners in the meantime kept in the ante-room strictly under guard. One can almost see the captain of the guard moving reluctantly to his task—getting the great Peter and his shrinking companion away from the conclave, who will have a whispering conference as to what is best to be done. He does not like the business. He has an unsavory recollection of what befell these men last night—an angel, or some other mysterious agency, getting them out of custody from behind securely barred doors. It was a dangerous thing to handle prisoners of this sort, even with the mailed arm of official authority—the fires of miracle might leap out from their persons, and burn the intruder up.

Luke has somehow learned what went on in the inside. The great Gamaliel was there, and he made a speech. It is to

be regretted that we have not that memorable irenic in detail. He warned the council that they should proceed cautiously in dealing with these men. He was a historian and appealed to the past. Such great fanatical uprisings, he would say, were best dealt with by letting them run their course. He adduced the cases of Theudas, and Judas the Gaulonite—how they ran a brief career of apparent success, and then suddenly collapsed. His contention was that God was in the world, and the merits of every movement involving the religious interests of a people, especially a chosen people, were jealously supervised by him. Here was an excitement spreading like wild fire among the masses; it might become formidable, indeed, but ought to be carefully considered before resorting to coercion in putting it down. It was the outgrowth of the tragic end, a few months ago, of a very remarkable young man—one whose public life as a Rabbi was at least so anomalous, so marked by mystery and marvel, as to lead many of his countrymen, of high and unblemished character, to believe that he was, in very deed, the Messiah, whom the prophets foretold, and for whom all the people, in these latter days, were anxiously looking.

These prisoners—he may have gone on to say—allege, that this strange young man, having been crucified by us as a malefactor, has come up from the dead. They say they are eyewitnesses of the event. They charge that we cannot find the body, and that we have no incontestable evidence that his disciples came by night, and carried it away. They are simple-minded, ignorant men, and it is altogether proper that this council should regard them as sincere, although in all probability the victims of some ingeniously devised fraud. In any event, the general principle he thought it would be safe to adopt, to wit: If this excitement here be of men, it will come to naught; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, and all opposition to it must be construed as fighting against God.

This, we may imagine, was the substance of Gamaliel's speech. It carried the day. They all nodded their reverend heads by way of assent. It is curious, however, to note, that the council could not refrain from overstepping materially

the terms of this liberal man's advice. Word is sent to the guard to bring the prisoners in—escaped convicts, so to speak—to hear the council's decree. One can almost see the fretting Peter casting about with his eagle eye. The old vacillating spirit, that so long troubled his Master, has gone out of him now. The fires of Pentecost are burning in his brain. Clearly, since last night's interposition, he is ready for anything that may befall. Thereupon the president of the council goes over the formalities of their decree. They had concluded to reprimand them, and order them, over again, peremptorily and finally, to speak no more in Jesus' name.

But why not end it at that? The narrative goes on to say, that they "beat them," gave them the inhibition, and let them go. We are curious to know what kind of punishment "beating them" was, and to what phase of their offense it was meant to apply. The advice of Gamaliel had been specific, "to refrain from these men, and let them alone." It was a queer kind of refraining to bare their backs, and lay on with the lash. Or was it the bastinado, beating with a cudgel on the soles of the feet? Could it have been flagellation, the prisoner bound fast to a low pillar, his body stript of its clothing, and a cat-o-nine tails applied by merciless sinews to the shrinking flesh?—a kind of a torture freely resorted to in Jewish courts. Whatever it was, the proceeding was irregular, and spiteful, and malign, for the offense of the prisoners had not been defined, and the advice of Gamaliel, which they had voted to accept, had not the faintest reservation of suggestion that way. It was probably an outburst of mobbish madness at the sight of the meek prisoners, sitting there with the air of silent persistence hovering over their brows, as if to say, We will go on all the same. It was religious bigotry, forgetting the bounds of toleration, and clutching with infuriate fingers at the throat of religious zeal—a sad phenomenon, which we are compelled to witness a thousand times repeated in more enlightened ages than that. It was the religious sentiment—as far, always, as the ice-poles from religion itself—which says: "Choke your opponent, if you cannot get him to think your way." We

have, here, the spectacle of the great Sanhedrim—men of venerable dignity and years—rushing, mayhap, upon their prisoners with their fists, determined, like bullies, to gratify their spleen, if they could not otherwise get the vengeance they desired. The prisoners, meanwhile, can endure it all, for they have the solace, that the Master had suffered all these indignities before them, and in the presence of these same mad tribunals, being spit upon, and mocked, and buffeted, and on his bare body the scourge had fallen, and the blood had run in crimson streams down his back. All this the apostles must have recalled while their “beating” was going on. We are told that they came back to their companions glorying in their scars. They bore the marks of personal violence on their faces and their limbs, bruised and bleeding, no doubt, but rejoicing, as they said, that “they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name.”

“To suffer shame for his name!” There is the clear ring of the new grace of martyrdom in these words. Indeed the next step in the narrative is, the arraignment of Stephen before this same ill-starred council, and the loud cry of the proto-martyr, as he commends his spirit to the Lord Jesus under a shower of stones.

But what of the inhibition laid upon Peter and John, that they should preach no more in Jesus’ name? Of course they ignored it, as they said they must. Their high mission to preach the risen Jesus could no more be given up, than the sun could leave its place in the skies. The narrative goes on to say, that on retiring from the council, “they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus, the Christ, daily, in the temple and at home”—that is to say, in public and in private, the interdicted business went bravely on. What an appalling gap of blank emptiness there must have been, in the spiritual history of the race, if this injunction, silencing these first preachers of Jesus, had been successfully carried out—what historical wreckage there must have been, for God’s largest and fullest redemptive movement on the world, lying stark and voiceless on the shores of time!

After this for two years, possibly, their preaching was comparatively undisturbed. The counsel of Gamaliel, about letting such things run their course, was admitted to trial to see how it would work—to which there was added the creeping consciousness, perhaps, that the high ecclesiastical court of the nation might, after all, have been in the wrong. At all events, for these Nazarenes there was a season of repose. And, as was inevitable, their new and peculiar attitude in the city, throwing considerable numbers of them together, would give rise to a throng of business cares, and the great Apostles would have to come down, betimes, from their delectable mountains, and face the commonplace. There was, we suspect, a subtle and beneficent providence in this. The intense commercialism of the Jews had separated the sacred and secular by an impassable gulf, and the supreme blight of hypocrisy was the ruinous result. The devout Jew thought nothing of robbing widows' houses, and for a pretense making long prayers. The religion of Jesus could not have things in that way. His disciples were to be the light of the world, not set aloof as a candle under a bed, but as a city set upon a hill—a city, with the tide of trade and bustle surging through its streets. Therefore, with this end in view, to have an initial training in the lofty social ideas of the new way they were heralding to men, they found themselves together in a modified commune, addressing themselves to the same detail of neighborly sacrifice, as their risen Master had illustrated and enjoined.

But cares are cares, and among the most amiable and spiritually endowed brethren troubles will arise. It was so here. With the *charisma* hovering over their assemblies, they could not prevent sectional differences from creeping in, and, considering what was in reserve for them, it was not best they should. There were Hellenizing Jews and Hebrew Jews in this first aggregation of Christians—all holding alike to the Messiahship of their risen Lord. Some kind of foreignism had always adhered to the Hellenizing Jew, and in the new enthusiasm this factional feeling did not altogether disappear. Here was ground for the first difficulty springing up in the commune. They

were, in large part, a band of poor people, under the management of the Apostles, voluntarily sharing their little all in the accumulation of a relief fund, which should go equitably to the necessities of the widows and orphans who might be in want. The Greek brethren complained that their widows were overlooked. Whether the murmur had any foundation in fact we do not know, but this we know, that jealousy, for the most part, is "diseased opinion," and partizan rancor always a mistake. To the Apostles belonged the responsibility, and the unhappy feud had the effect to open their eyes to a serious shortcoming in their organization as it then was. Their business interests had been running loose, and among five thousand, or more, these interests must have been growing more and more complex. There was a pressing demand for a division of toil.

The Apostles, while not exonerating themselves, rightly reason that they must keep to their own proper work, which they define to be prayer, and the ministry of the word. The other thing—the business complication which has come in to disturb their peace, they call "serving tables" which we will not misconstrue if we clearly understand the nature of their commune.

It was not an absolute commune. It was no phalanstery after the order of our modern socialistic dream. They are not yet consciously separate from the corporate or religious life of the city in which they live. They consider themselves Jews—the true Israel, devoted to the law and the prophets as always, only they hold that the Jewish polity has come to its consummation in the risen Christ. It was the nation that was in revolt—a habit that had grown chronic with them through all the years. And now their refractory spirit had plunged them into the commission of an unprecedented crime. They had killed the Messiah, and were intent on killing all those who had espoused his name—driving those who held to his name to a separateness of life and interest, in so far as would maintain them in the free exercise of their belief.

It is not even in the minds of these first disciples to be a new sect—a new Church, which they propose building on the debris of the old. They still go up to the temple to pray, and

although foreboding a heavy judgment in reserve for it, because its chief cornerstone had been rejected, they as yet have no thought of abandoning its courts. The Pauline idea was not yet conceived—the idea that a new dispensation was to supersede the old—that in Jesus the fruit of the providential history of the Jews had ripened, and the husk of Mosaism was to be sloughed off—though the young man, who is to lead off in this movement, is there in the city at this time, and will soon distinguish himself as the unenviable accomplice in Stephen's death.

From all this we see that this first community of disciples were a picked up, voluntary organization, and not strictly speaking a commune. Indeed the first movement they make toward formal organization, is this arrangement they consummate for the more equitable distribution of their benevolent fund. The Apostles, having the spiritual interests of thousands to look after, cannot well shoulder the financial troubles involved in this task. The disaffection among the Greek brethren could be obviated in this way—by shifting all matters of finance into other hands. The “serving of tables,” so called, has no reference to the serving of meals in a common refectory, after the manner of the Spartan state. The “tables” were the tables of the money changers, and the seven men selected, under the direction of the Apostles, to take charge of these, were a kind of banking establishment in the interests of the poor. As an isolated and persecuted community, this business expedient was an imperative need. It would have oversight of the whole matter of finance. The result of sales would go on deposit with them, and they would look carefully after the wants of the poor.

Now it happened that the chairman of the Board had the apostolic fire in his soul—was, indeed, a business man with the added qualifications of Pentecostal zeal. He had much unction in public speech. He was irresistible in argument, and bold in charging home upon the Jews the killing of the Christ. He was a Greek disciple, and it was probably in a synagogue of Hellenizing Jews where the disputes arose, which resulted in his arraignment before the Sanhedrim, as a blasphemer of the sacred things of God. The synagogue was a kind of school.

Prayers were said there, it is true, but people did not gather there primarily for worship—there must be but one temple, and one solemn ritual for all that chosen land. Men went to the synagogue to read the Scriptures, and give expression to their views. In rendering this service any one might be selected who had exhibited special fitness for the task. We may imagine Stephen in one of these assemblies, taking up the prophetic scroll as the reader of the day, and attempting to show, with much discernment and power, as was his wont, that in the crucified and risen Jesus the prophecy he was reading had been fulfilled. But his audience were of an unfriendly mind, or some of them at least, who were of the stiff-necked, unyielding kind of Jew to whom any disturbance of the old order of things was an innovation and an offense. They were not interested in the tragedy of two years ago. They may not have been on the ground at the time. Other considerations of a grosser nature, as might easily happen, may have influenced them to stand on the side of the rulers, and against this new sect who were proclaiming, with considerable freedom, the Messiahship of the Nazarene. They were a motley body of Greek Jews, of the synagogue of Freedmen, and Cyrenians, and Alexandrians, and of them of Cilicia and Asia—the air of foreignism breathing in their hate. They take up the challenge of Stephen, and there are heated controversies on the synagogue floor. From week to week the topic is resumed. But we infer from the narrative that Stephen had always the better of the debate.

We are fascinated with the image of this young business man, fighting for Jesus against such formidable odds. The secret we know—alas! that we knew it more profoundly and more practically in this our own day. He was full of grace and power. He was full of the Spirit, and of wisdom—full, not in the sense of fanatical ebullition, for wisdom presupposes a level head. He was ardent—how could he help being?—in the distinctive belief of the community to which he belonged, that the Nazarene had risen from the dead. This precipitated him, with swift and unyielding affirmation, against those who disputed that event, and who insisted that, in the crucifixion of

Jesus, the authorities had meted out to a malefactor only his merited doom. The history is all too brief, but through it all we see that this young man was of the prophetic temperament, and had larger measures of spiritual susceptibility and resources than his associates had. He was of that peculiar psychological habit that brought him into easy communication with the eternal powers, and made his very person and presence the occasion for certain signs and wonders which were quite beyond the range of the ordinary experience of man. It was possible then—and it is possible, now, let us not hesitate to say it—to live habitually in the higher altitudes of the spiritual life of the soul, and to have the unobstructed light of the eternal world lying familiarly on every slope of those supernal heights. We cannot help thinking that the *charisma* experience of these early disciples, in one form or another, has lasted over to us, their successors, though the dreary years—to which the saintly record of Francis of Assissi, Joan d' Arc, Martin Luther, Cromwell, and a hosts of others, has but added a continuity of illustration and proof—examples of those who have privileged access to the privacy of God.

Well, Stephen was of this kind, of rare psychology, having the high faculty of vision, and the mood of religious ecstasy as by a natural right; and in these elevated frames of spirit, his countenance would be lighted up as from the eternal world. In this particular he was on a level with the Apostles, and so far as the narrative provides material for an estimate, the eternal powers were more active in him than in the major portion of those who constituted the Twelve. Accordingly when arraigned for blasphemy his accusers were startled by the strange glory they saw kindling in his face. "And all that sat in the council, fastening their eyes on him, saw his face as it had been the face of an angel." In this mood he undertook his defense.

The charge was, that he had uttered blasphemy against the temple and the law. Witnesses had been suborned—men of infamy—to testify that they had heard him say, that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the temple, and change the customs which Moses had delivered unto the Jews. The charge was a

malicious slander, but he was there to answer it, and he sought and found the high mood of ecstasy to help him in his task. His speech was a running summary of Jewish history from the days of Abraham on down to those of David, with the design of showing that the temple, though of divine ordinance and architecture, had not from the beginning been the indispensable medium of communion between the worshipper and his God. It was not until the rescue of the children of Israel from bondage in Egypt, under the leadership of Moses, that Jehovah became the architect of the tabernacle in the wilderness, that should be at once his habitation with his people, and the palladium of their safety in moving on to the land that was promised to them as their national home.

Incidentally he mentions the strange spirit of rebellion that was in the heart of their forefathers, growing chronic with the years. When Moses was on the Mount receiving the pattern of the tabernacle, and the divine code that was to consecrate it, the murmuring hosts became weary of waiting, and turned back in their hearts unto Egypt, and compelled Aaron to put up for them the golden calf, to which they brought idolatrous homage, and rejoiced in the work of their hands. The implication was—and it was well put—that they had kept up that spirit of rebellion through all the years, and that the temple-service, which came to them in all its glory in the days of Solomon, was in danger of being swept away from them because of their inveterate habit of resisting the Holy Spirit, and thrusting aside the living oracles of God. He reminds them of two things that had been distinctly announced during this history. First, there was the prophecy of Moses of the coming of One, whom he identified with the angel of the Lord that was with him in the Mount. Second, it was a sentiment of the wise builder of the temple, that the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands. This gives the speaker occasion to charge home upon his accusers the crimes of their fathers, whose religion had degenerated into hollow ceremony and form—the infamy of having stoned the prophets and killed them that had showed them beforehand of the coming of the Righteous One. Then the young prisoner lets loose

flashes of heroic reprimand—arraigning the venerable Sanhedrim itself, as the betrayers and murderers of this Righteous One, who was none other than the Nazarene. As to the law—ah! they stood self-convicted there. They had received it, as it was ordained by angels, but they had kept it not.

This so enraged the Sanhedrim that they would not let him go on with his speech. They leaped to their feet, and with loud clamor, no doubt, drowned the speaker's voice. Evidently there was something else to say. We cannot help thinking that he was going on to conclude, that if this temple were destroyed, and the Mosaic polity, together with the whole Jewish nationality, were given over to perish, it would not be the hand of the Nazarene that would work this ruin, but their own persistent rebellion against the oracles of God. He would perhaps have repeated to them the prophecy of Jesus, that the time would come, when, as a judgment upon them for not embracing the day of their opportunity in accepting Jesus as their Messiah, there should not be left one stone upon another of the magnificent temple in which they stood. He doubtless would have added the circumstance, that in the closing days of the ministry of the Nazarene, he had paused heart-broken on the brow of Mt. Olivet, and wept over the doomed city of the angels' care, pledging that he would have gathered its people together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings, but they would not have it so; and, therefore, the door of their opportunity was closed. In any event, the Nazarene never purposed going on a crusade against the temple and its devotees, or personally executing any dire judgment upon his countrymen, as the merited punishment of their sins. They were bringing the mighty fabric of God's providential ministration in their behalf down on their own heads—the confusion and ruin, should it come, would be wholly their own.

In all this there was no blasphemy, and no inkling towards it, and no harsher tone of conscientious rebuke, than that which the ancient prophets had used. He might expect for it the prophet's reward, but right then and there cowardice were a worse crime than that with which he was charged. The glow

in his face signified to his accusers that he was ready to take the risk. The servant was not above his Lord. He could not withhold for all the murderous wrath he saw flashing in their eyes. Blasphemy or no blasphemy, these enraged judges will make short work of a young man presuming to utter curses on their venerable heads; to call them prophet-murderers, violators of the law, stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, and to charge upon them the awful crime of having killed the Righteous One, the Messiah of their hopes. They rise in mass upon him, gnashing their teeth. Despite his glowing countenance, and the high mood of vision that was on him, they seize him madly, and with loud outcry push him beyond the city gates. Untried as he was, and without the sanction of a judicial sentence regularly made out, they are going to stone him as a blasphemer, whether or no, and somewhere, possibly on the Mount of Olives, the usual scaffolding goes up. But while the carpenters are at work, we imagine, a serious question arises, as to whether in dealing thus summarily with a capital offense, they were not transcending their prerogatives as limited by Roman Law.

A significant pause, we may imagine, falls upon the maddened crowd. They cannot proceed with this bloody business, without the Procurator's consent. But they are in no temper to give it up. And so what more natural than to post a messenger off to Pilate, to ask from him a permit to administer the punishment prescribed by their law to one who had been guilty of blaspheming, and had been sentenced to be stoned. Pilate will not hesitate. That Roman officer was only too glad to get rid of the trouble of settling religious disturbances among the Jews—disturbances which were chronic with this strange people, and with which he could interfere only at the risk of his own comfort and the position he held. The messenger returns with the fatal paper authorizing the mob tribunal to go on with its work. Accordingly, on a platform high enough to be within range, this man of visions is lifted to be the target for their stones. It was a provision of their law that the witnesses should throw the stones—first a single man throwing, and if

through accuracy of aim he should bring his victim to his knees, then would come a full shower of stones that would bury the prostrate one out of sight. Alas! we catch the rattle of those dreadful missiles over the echoing boards, and their heavy, heartless thump upon the poor body there, fallen and writhing under their blows.

In a moment of lull they hear a cry, somewhat feeble but distinct: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God"—"Son of Man"—sweet title, which these early disciples are just learning to use. Immediately the stoning is resumed with more savagery than before. Another lull, and they hear the words: "Lord Jesus, receive my spirit"—then, finally, with a loud voice: "Lord, lay not this in to their charge"—then, the pathetic narrative says, "he fell asleep"—the first Christian martyr fell asleep under a counterpane of stones.

We have now to note one of the most remarkable historical coincidences the world has ever known. Not far from that platform there was a young man standing, an accomplice in this bloody business by taking charge of the garments of the witnesses, whilst they threw the stones—he heard those cries; he looked upon the beautiful body of the young martyr as it lay there under its coverlet of stones—the halo still lingering in his face—Saul saw that, and he could never thereafter shut the pitiful sight from his vision, or stop his ears against those dying cries. What wonderful issues were bound up in that circumstance for all time—the young student and Jewish zealot, looking down upon the dead body of Stephen whom he had helped to kill! Through an impulse of bravado, we are inclined to believe, an attempt to brow-beat and cow conscience for its over-sensitiveness in this affair of blood, this acolyte of Gamaliel, but hardly at his instigation, becomes the leader of a campaign of persecution, inaugurated on that black day, and continued until the new community in the city were quite swept away. Saul was the flaming torch and insatiable fire-brand of it all. He went into every house where he knew the Nazarenes were harboring, and dragged men and women to prison, with-

out, we may imagine, even the formalities of a mock trial, like that through which the proto-martyr had passed. "Sweep them away"—"sweep them away"—that was the watchword of this young inquisitor, panting for blood. He did not limit his fury to those in the city who were slow in getting away—he chased up the fugitives to hale them from their hiding places to the same doom. He put great vehemence and maddened impetuosity into his work, not neglecting, however, to give to it all the backing of the highest legal sanction he could find. "Breathing out threatenings and slaughter"—so the narrative runs—against the pestiferous sect known as the Nazarenes, he went to the High Priest, and asked of him letters to Damascus—*Damascus!* what a flood of epochal glory breaks all round that name!—letters unto the synagogues there, that if he found any that were of the Way, whether men or women, he might bring them bound to Jerusalem.

At the mention of Damascus, this thrilling narrative might be given over to the inquisitor's scholarly secretary to tell, but for certain eventful implications which we hasten to note. The arch-persecutor had heard the thumping of the stones on the body of the proto-martyr; had looked upon his young face beautiful in death—a vision of cruelty and pity which he could never dismiss from his brain. A deep wound had been made in his conscience, for which his factitious zeal was but a rankling balm. Having hob-nobbed with murder, so far, in the case of Stephen, he will soothe the fever of it in an excess of pious rage. For we must bear in mind that this Saul had a phenomenal religious sensitivity, and so must have hoped to counter-vail the shock to his conscience by doing on a large scale what he timidly abetted in Stephen's death—crushing out, wholesale, a sect he persuaded himself were undermining the ancient law of God.

Precisely how long there was a mental struggle for this man we do not know, but we may be sure there was no abatement of it from the death of Stephen, on until the gates of Damascus were reached. He tossed the commune in Jerusalem to the four winds—requiring, possibly, weeks and months of mer-

ciless and persistent persecution to bring this about. Perhaps at the suggestion of Gamaliel, he may have purposely withheld his hand from the Apostles remaining there in the city; or the prestige of defensive miracle with them may have warned him away, saying, "you touch these men at the peril of your life." Saul's vehemence, we have said, was in part bravado, welling up, none the less, from an undertow of conviction, that poured on like a flood in the direction of the eternal foundation of things—only that the flood had thrown itself incontinently upon the awful tragedy of Stephen's death. That thing was not well considered; it left a sting behind, and all his fiercest bluster would not extract that sting. He heard the martyred youth cry out, when dying, that he saw the heavens opened, and in the azure distance the Son of Man standing—the Son of Man, the Nazarene, the very one about whose resurrection from the dead there was much equivocation in the city, and much doubtful disputation in Gamaliel's school. After all the thing may have come to pass.

We cannot help imagining what was in Saul's mind, when he mounted his horse for that last inquisitorial chase. At his saddle-bow the fetters are twanging in relentless condemnation of the mean and felonious business in which he is engaged, and his companions must have noticed his somber meditative silence, as they rode on by his side. An awful colloquy with himself, in those recesses of his personality round which the eternities are crowding, is going on—incisive, fierce as the cutting of a sword; and evermore, on the horizon, is the beautiful, dead face of Stephen, peering out, cruelly bruised by the murderous stones. He is haunted by the scene. As he rides on it deepens. Now and then he bethinks himself, and, for the diversion of his companions, gets up a gleam of humor upon some happening by the way. It will not avail. Immediately the cloud pours around him again, and the throne of judgment seems rocking in the gloom.

There, now, the gates of Damascus are reached, and the religious desperado is thrown to the ground.

It is greatly to misconceive of that event, to construe it as

the instantaneous inrush, and coercive, overmastering of the Spirit of God. Saul—or Paul, as we must henceforth call him—was not the man tradition has made him out to be, with the scholastic incrustations of Gamaliel's method still clinging to him, and thrown into undue prominence by the long, dreary years of a worse scholasticism, nurtured on mediaeval dust. Paul was not Augustine, nor Thomas Aquinas, nor anything of the kind. He was Stephen's successor—a man of the psychoaptitude into which the *charisma* fitted, and which made him the towering figure of his and all subsequent time. Remember it—he was a man of visions, and to him also the heavens were opened. His lawyer-like methods, contracted from like habits of his distinguished preceptor, running his instructions into effete molds, were the outside hangings, only, of the deepest spiritual experience that the soul of man can entertain.

For let us consider the unique destiny to which this man was called. It was his, first to give to the religion of Jesus an institutional form; first to plant it in history as a distinct, self-inclusive, spiritual force. He first broke away from the slow-moving, hesitating policy of the original Apostolate, and made for Christianity a new capital at Antioch, with other capitals in prospect beyond the seas. He first grasped the inherent universality of the new religion, and opened out the highway of missionary propagandism that has since ramified into all the world. He was not only the first on this high and broad plateau of Christian insight and effort, but for a time stood in painful isolation there, even the aggressive Peter looking on with suspicion from afar. The situation suggests a moral sublimity in the man and his cause, which, considering the outcome of it in the progress of the years, has no parallel in the spiritual history of the race. He said, long before the event, and long before any other man, that the glory of the Hebrew temple was gone, that its ritual had faded, and that the religious providence of God was to move out, under the banner of the cross, from its narrow tutelary center, and have the wide circuit of the sinking horizon as its own. History has no other example of such supreme self-absorption into so mighty a cause,

at a time when the anticipative attitude of age was so far in the rear. Heroism ! where is there anything like it ?—from the young man Saul to “Paul the aged,” a protracted martyrdom haunting his footsteps in unwearied pertinacity to the end. But it all came to pass as he foresaw—from Damascus to Antioch, from Antioch to Corinth, from Corinth to Rome, from Rome all around the waiting world.

The secret of it all, O, what was that ? After due canvassing of so profound a matter, our answer must be, The falling of the *charisma* upon a man of unique temperament and of a cultivated mind. The Galileans were uneducated men, supplemented, it is true, with kindling reminiscences of years of personal companionship with the Master, to whom, also, the *charisma* had come with its special endowment, but in the nature of their intellectual range, for lack of training, could but slowly widen toward the deepening horizon of the coming time. In Paul all things were ripe. To meet the exigencies of an age of unprecedented historical import, the *charisma*, if it comes, must have the liberty of discriminating among its subjects, giving to all, indeed, but just as certainly giving to one what another cannot have. As a matter of fact, therefore, the Apostolate had practically exhausted its formation, given off to the limit of its capacity the resource that was in it, when Paul appeared on the scene. Here was a larger spirit, with adequate training for the specific world-work that was to be done—breaking down the barriers of Jewish exclusiveness, and all isolating differences in the brotherhood of man, and letting out the glories of the resurrection on all the world.

It was Paul's distinction, not that he had known Jesus after the flesh, but that he had seen him in his glorified person, and heard his voice. Before the gates of Damascus, in the deserts of Arabia, in the temple at Jerusalem, in the solitude of dungeons, in moments of great peril by land and by sea, the heavenly vision had thrown wide its portals, and Paul was privileged to look upon the ineffable splendors of the glorified Son of Man. These were not chimeras, the fatuous exhalations of an epileptic brain. They were the *charisma*, opening out upon

a choice temperament the supremest revelation it was in the religion of Jesus to give. Farther than this could no man hope to go. Paul caught from it that distinctive conception of the person of Christ as the fullness of the Godhead bodily, which he systematically set forth as the summary of the Incarnate mystery—saw this in advance of the other apostles, unless it be John. John had it potentially from the beginning, but subject, as we know, to the long and slow maturing of years, if his gospel was given to the world when he was an aged man. However this may be, it lies patent on our New Testament Scriptures, that as to the deific proportions of the glorified Jesus, Paul and John stand apart and pre-eminent among those primitive witnesses—Paul elaborating and fixing it in the learned vocabulary of the day, and in the imperishable institutions of the Church—both men standing with their feet planted on the same height. Let any one, thinking to test this matter, read Paul's undoubted epistles in connection with the gospel of John—immediately the figure of the glorified One is seen to cover the entire disc of their spiritual intuition, and the Holy Spirit is assumed to be, in the phrasing of their experience, an effluence and an afflatus from the same ineffable source.

There it is, and there it will remain—the distinctive thing wrought out by these men was, to put at the heart of the glad news they published, the radiant figure they saw in their visions, making it the imperishable dynamic of this last revelation of God to men. There it is, and there, thank God, it shall evermore stay. For Paul and John, at least, there was no more *ad valorem* divinity to be ascribed to the risen Jesus—this modern idea of the Son of Man having simply the *value of God*, as a sort of proxy concession to the blind groping of the worshipper, feeling his way up the world's dark altar-stairs to God. Nothing of this, O no, nothing of this at all—though the synoptical gospels, whence this strange idea is said to be derived, do run on, perceptibly, on a lower level than the gospel of John. Manifestly, in the minds of these towering leaders of the primitive Church, and in the theistic conceptions of all those who, since their day, have approached nearest the fountains of eter-

nal life, Jesus has been "*all and in all*," and they were compelled to say, as we are now,

"Call Christ, then, the illimitable God
Or lost!"

We drop this wondrous story just here at this point of luminous convergence for what it must mean for men in all coming time. The little first Church of Jesus is launched, girded about with a cloud of glory, borne on by *charisma* gales in its rigging, and equipped to weather the brunt of the most tempestuous seas, raging in all zones, and beaten into foam by contending winds. On those seas, through all hours of impending darkness and tempest, that same radiant figure is seen walking on the billows, and quelling our human alarm by saying, "Be not afraid, it is I"—the same that Stephen saw with his dying eyes, and that Paul saw from behind his beating eyeballs, down there in the dust before the Damascus gates—self-defined, always, as the Resurrection and the Life,

ARTICLE II.

THE FORMATIVE PRINCIPLE OF PROTESTANTISM.

BY PROF. J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 266.]

It had been our intention to conclude for the present our study of *The Formative Principle of Protestantism* with the article that appeared under that title in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, 1902, but just as we were about to hand that article to the printer we read in *The Reformed Church Review* the strictures of the editor, Dr. William Rupp, on certain articles of ours, entitled *The Distinguishing Doctrine of Lutheranism*, which appeared in the *Lutheran Observer* in June and July, 1901.

We believe it is not presumptuous to say that the facts and opinions presented already in the current volume of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, contain, by way of anticipation, a tolerably complete refutation of the objections sought to be established by Dr. Rupp. Hence we might content ourself now with silence. But good form requires that we acknowledge the courtesy of our *Hochgeehrter Herr Kollege* of *The Reformed Seminary* at Lancaster. This we can do best by pointing out a few of his misapprehensions, and by elaborating and adding to the number of the facts and opinions presented in our former articles, to which reference has been made.

I.

1. We have not intimated, and we do not intend to intimate, that the Reformed (we use the word Reformed in the generic historical sense) churches do not teach a doctrine of *Justification by Faith*. On the contrary we have affirmed again and again that they do teach a doctrine of Justification by Faith, and that in many cases and places they have taught it in a way that in *words* and in *phrases*, may be accepted by Lutherans. But the difference between the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith, and the Reformed doctrine of Justi-

fication by Faith is just here: In Lutheranism that doctrine is the logical *prius*, is the *central doctrine*, is *determinative* of the Lutheran system, in the sense that the place and significance of every other doctrine of Christianity is determined by this "eternal principle of Christianity," as Lutherans call it. As proof of this we refer the reader to the quotations given in former articles, from Luther, Melanchthon, the Lutheran Confessions, from Twisten, Luthardt, the Meusel *Handlexikon* and Rohnert. We may refresh the reader's memory by quoting further from Luther: "If this article be conceived and held with sure and steadfast faith, then the others come and follow gradually after it." Again: "Therefore the article of Justification, as I have often admonished, must be diligently learned: for in it are embraced all the other articles of our faith." And Dr. Luthardt, the venerable representative of Confessional Lutheranism in Germany, says: "*The Material Principle is the doctrine of the righteousness of faith according to the two sides: The righteousness in Jesus Christ is salvation, and faith is the way of salvation. This forms the soul of the Lutheran Confession*"* Such is the language of Lutheranism, for the phrase, "the righteousness of faith," is a confessional variant for Justification by Faith; and *Material Principle* is a philosophical definition of Justification by Faith. Indeed *Material Principle* and *Justification by Faith* are conceived of in the Lutheran system as *identical*. The terms are used interchangeably, so that standard Lutheran authors say: The *Material Principle* of Lutheranism is Justification by Faith; and Justification by Faith is the *Material Principle* of Lutheranism. Surely we ought not to be blamed for using the approved terminology of our Church, at least not until Dr. Rupp, or some other person, shall have shown that the terminology itself is false in fact, or in principle, or in both.

2. In Reformedism Justification by Faith is not the logical *prius*, is not the *central doctrine*, is not the *formative*, the *determinative* principle of the system. As proof of this we point

* *Komp. d. Dogmatik*, 10th ed., p. 24.

to our quotations from Calvin, Smith and Kuyper, to Beza's Diagram, to the article on *Calvinism* in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia*, by Drs. Hodge and Warfield, and to all the old standards in the Reformed theology, and especially to Dr. Warfield's demonstration in the *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, that Predestination is "the central doctrine," "the formative principle" of the Reformed Confessions.

Now if Dr. Rupp can demonstrate that the respective teaching of the two *isms* as set forth in the standard and recognized expounders of each, is not as we have represented it to be, we would be glad to have him do so. He doubtless knows that Calvin is universally regarded as the real father and founder of the Reformed churches, and that his influence, going out from Geneva, moulded and shaped the theology of the entire group of the Reformed churches—the German Reformed being no exception. He likewise knows that "Calvinism (like Pelagianism and Lutheranism) is a term used to designate, not the opinions of an individual, but a mode of religious thought, or system of religious doctrines, of which the person whose name it bears was an eminent expounder. It is synonymous therefore with what is technically called 'the Reformed Theology'".* More particularly does Calvinism stand for a certain kind of teaching on *Predestination*, *Election*, and *Perseverance*, with Predestination as the formative principle of the system. Calvinism must be also defined so as to include a doctrine of the sacraments that is neither Roman Catholic, nor Lutheran, but is typically peculiar to Calvin.

Now Calvinism is not an accidental congeries of individual teachings and beliefs, but is a system of parts interlinked and bound together by the most rigid logical deduction, and determined throughout by its own central principle. As to what the central principle is, there is no material difference of opinion among Calvinistic or Reformed divines. Some writers, as Drs. A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia* are disposed to make it the *divine sovereignty*, of

* Drs. A. A. Hodge and B. B. Warfield, in Johnson's *Universal Cyclopaedia*, Article, *Calvinism*.

which Predestination is the immediate consequence. But others, like Dr. Warfield in the article which we have passed under review, perhaps desiring to be more practical and intelligible, start with Predestination as the central doctrine and formative principle of the system. There can be no question that Calvin himself in the *Articuli de Praedestinatione*, quoted in the April number of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY, starts with Predestination, or the eternal decree. But, call it Divine Sovereignty, or Predestination, it is certain that the determinative Principle of Calvinism, or of "the Reformed Theology," is fundamentally different from that of Lutheranism, and consequently produces a different system. On this point we know of no difference of opinion among competent scholars. Alexander Schweizer, a Reformed authority—"than whom there is no greater"—says; "There is no question that the Protestant Central Dogmas exhibit their Reformed peculiarity in this, namely, that they rest on the idea of Predestination, while it was the Lutheran peculiarity to set forth Justification by Faith (which Zwingli could explain only by means of a figure of speech) as the kernel and central point. Back of these dogmas lies their deeper source: In the former the divinity which shapes and determines absolutely all that appertains to salvation: in the latter the close connection of all that appertains to salvation with the evangelical means of grace."* Again: "The difference of the two Protestant types is not to be conceived of as only an accidental, an incidental one, as existing merely in certain points of doctrine, but it is a thoroughgoing confessional peculiarity."† Also: "The fundamental tendency of the Reformed Church is the abolition of the creature idolatry or heathenish obscuration of the God-consciousness, by means of the restoration of primitive Christianity. Hence the deepest ground-dogma or so-called Material Principle is the principle, given in Biblical Christianity, of *sole dependence absolutely upon*

* *Die Protestantischen Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwicklung innerhalb der Reformirten Kirche*, I, p. xiii. See also I, p. 16.

† *Glaubenslehre der Ref. Kirche*, I, p. 5.

God as religious determinism carried out in the interest of the unsullied glory of God."*

Schneckenburger, a Lutheran theologian, in reviewing the introductory portion of Schweizer's *Glaubenslehre*, from which we have just quoted, says: "This fundamental principle of difference in Christian piety, feeling, interest, etc., as the theological principle of the sole dependence absolutely upon God, is defined in antithesis to the Lutheran principle of Justification by Faith."†

3. We have now exhibited the fundamental, the principal difference between the Lutheran and Reformed types of Protestantism. It is not a difference primarily in individual doctrines, but a difference in fundamental principles, a difference in the way of conceiving of God, and of Christianity itself. It is as clear as the light of day that in Lutheranism the *Material Principle* is Justification by Faith. This is also the *genetic* factor, the unifying principle that determines the entire Lutheran Confession and the type of piety in the Lutheran Church. In the Reformed Church Justification by Faith is not the *genetic* factor; it does not stand in the center of the system; it does not determine the parts of the system; it does not generate the peculiar type of Reformed piety. Hence Justification by Faith does not bear the same relation to the two systems, and consequently is not the same doctrine in content and in effect. In the Lutheran teaching Justification determines the destiny of souls. In the Reformed teaching Predestination rules everything, and determines the destiny of souls. This fundamental difference runs through the entire history of the two types. If Dr. Rupp has departed from the historic teaching of the Reformed Church, as we hope he has, he ought to have the courage to say so, and ought to renounce the historic teaching of that Church rather than seek to adapt it to his own position. It is only when he ignores this fundamental historical difference between the Lutheran and the Reformed teaching as touching the Material Principle, the central doctrine, the

* *Glaubenslehre*, I, p. 40.

† *Studien und Kritiken* (1844), p. 951-2.

determinative factor, that he is tempted to make his plausible comparison (p. 107) about Luther and Dr. Hodge. Fortunately for us Dr. Hodge has spoken on this subject in a way that takes all the point out of Dr. Rupp's comparison: "And when the Protestants were divided at the time of the Reformation, it was mainly on this point. The Lutheran and Reformed Churches are distinguished in all that characterizes their theological systems by the fact that the latter allow the supremacy and sovereignty of God in the workings of his providence and grace to determine everything for his own glory, while the former lean more or less to the error of restraining God's liberty of action by the assumed powers and prerogatives of man."* Let any person read, on the one hand, Dr. Hodge's *Commentary on Romans*, and, on the other hand, Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*, and then ask himself whether Predestination and Justification have the same significance with the two men. Unless the reader be oblivious to theological distinctions he will discover that with Dr. Hodge Predestination is a doctrine of more controlling significance, of more decisive force, than it is with Luther. Hence that it is really a different doctrine. He will discover also that with Luther Justification is broader in its conception than it is with Dr. Hodge, and that it has a more decisive force than it has with Dr. Hodge. Verily Dr. Hodge believed he was saved because he believed that he had been *elected*; and verily Luther *knew* he was saved because he *knew* that he was *justified*. Hence Dr. Hodge was a good *Calvinist*, and Luther was a good *Lutheran*. Besides, Dr. Hodge—as every consistent Calvinist is bound to do—places Regeneration before Justification,† whereas Luther—as every consistent Lutheran is bound to do—places Justification before Regeneration. The cart may be the same and the horse the same, but it makes a difference whether the cart is before the horse, or the horse is before the cart. So in the *ordo salutis*; it makes

* *Systematic Theology*, I, p. 536.

† *Systematic Theology*, III, pp. 1, 114. See Orr's *The Progress of Dogma*, p. 273.

a difference whether Justification is placed *before* Regeneration, or *vice versa*.

We thank Dr. Rupp for his comparison, and we kindly ask him to read our quotation from Gerhard on pp. 261-2 of the April number of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

II.

1. Dr. Rupp notes the fact that the controversy between Luther and Zwingli broke out over the Lord's Supper. That is true, but that fact does not prove, as Dr. Rupp would have us conclude, that the only real difference between Lutherans and Reformed appertains to the Lord's Supper, and that therefore the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper is the real distinguishing doctrine of Lutheranism. The controversy over the Lord's Supper was only the *manifestation* of a principal difference; and hence Dr. Rupp has very properly said of the Lord's Supper controversy: "*That* was the sign of division." Then if it was the "sign" of division it was not the cause of division. Dr. Rupp cannot for a moment doubt that the cause of division must be sought in Zwingli's *Alloiosis*, which brought him to a doctrine of the Lord's Supper that Calvin called "profane," and that Dr. Rupp doubtless would be slow to endorse.

In that *Alloiosis*, which the Reformed Theology has not approved, Luther saw a most dangerous error in relation to the heart and center of the Christian religion. Hence he called it "a mask of the devil, which will at length fashion a Christ according to whom I am sure I do not wish to be a Christian." This *Alloiosis*, as Luther understood it, divided the person and work of Christ, and made the atonement depend upon the human nature of Christ. This was unbearable. "The person suffers and dies, but this person is true God," said Luther. In treating of "the principal article of all Christian doctrine," viz.: Justification by Faith, Luther magnifies the deity of Christ in the Atonement, as "not the work of any creature, but of the divine power." Christ must therefore be "truly and naturally God." "Therefore when we teach that men are justified by Christ, that Christ is the conqueror of sin, death and the ever-

lasting curse, we witness that he is God by nature and in substance." The *Alloiosis* made the Christ of Zwingli a very different person from the Christ of Luther, because as Luther understood it, it destroyed the unity of the person and work of Christ, and thus removed the foundation on which Justification rests, namely, the infinite merit and satisfaction of Christ the Son of God who suffered and died. Thus it involved, as Luther thought, the most fundamental of all errors. Besides, it presented the Sacrament in a light according to which it is not conceived of as a means of grace, but rather as a badge of membership with the Church.

The "sign" was but the outcropping of a principle. "In a word," says Luther, "language cannot express what the devil designs to accomplish by means of this *Alloiosis*"

Now if Dr. Rupp will read Zwingli's discussions on the Lord's Supper, and Luther's *Greater Confession* and his comment on Galatians 3 : 13, from the last two of which we have quoted above, he cannot possibly fail to see that Zwingli's discussions are utterly incompatible in principle with Luther's conception of Christ, and of Justification by Faith. Besides, as we showed on pages 242-5 of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, Zwingli, as compared with Luther, can be scarcely said to have taught the doctrine of Justification by Faith; at least with him the doctrine of Justification by Faith has a different place and significance from what it has with Luther. Of this there can be absolutely no doubt. Dr. Rupp can find no common palladium for the two Reformers in Justification by Faith, which with the one is central, is *summus fidei articulus*, and with the other is peripheral, and is only the form which the eternal divine election assumes in man—thus subordinate, a creature, and not the creative principle. The difference therefore is profound and wide-reaching.

2. As for the fact that the division between Lutherans and Reformed *began* with the Lord's Supper, that is water on our wheel. "*That* was the sign of division." We are surprised to see that Dr. Rupp's philosophy of history did not lead him to search for the *principle* that lay behind the "sign." The War

of the Rebellion in 1861-5 was the sign of division between the States. It was begun in view of the phenomenon of Secession; but it would be just about as philosophical to say that the real *ground cause* of the War was Secession, as it would be to say that the real *ground cause* of the division between Lutherans and Reformed was Dr. Rupp's "sign." We are very superficial students of history if we do not trace this division back at least to diverse religious experience, to difference of attitude toward churchly tradition, and to the *Alloiosis*. Hence Dr. Rupp's illustration utterly fails to throw light on the point at issue. It is only a "sign" that he has not comprehended the situation. Dr. Schweizer has declared: "Luther did indeed feel that the Lord's Supper controversy was not an accidental, only an exegetical one; but it has a distinctly different religious self-consciousness as its source."* And Dr. Kahnis, who was the great Lutheran master in Reformation History and Doctrine, has declared: "We see that the Lord's Supper, which separated the two tendencies of Protestantism, was not the final ground of their difference, but only the characteristic expression of a different method of applying the fundamental principles of Protestantism."†

Dr. Rupp will have to search a little deeper, and tell us what his "sign" signifies.

And as for the fact that Luther and Zwingli did not quarrel over Predestination, that is not pertinent to the question at issue, inasmuch as neither had *developed* his doctrine of Predestination when the Sacramentarian War broke out, and during the continuance of that unhappy strife each was too much blinded by suspicion and passion to see anything but the one subject. Besides, their teaching on Predestination up until Zwingli wrote his *De Providentia* after the Marburg Colloquy, was not very different. Even then the difference on the surface was not immediately apparent. But Luther did not place his doctrine of Predestination in the center, but, as we have shown, con-

* *Glaubenslehre*, I, 22.

† *Der Innere Gang des Deutschen Protestantismus*, p. 31. Also *Dogmatik*, II, p. 364.

clusively, we think, subordinated it to his doctrine of Justification, and to his conception of "the proclaimed God." Indeed it may be safely affirmed that had Calvin not arisen, Predestination would have cut a very small figure in the History of Protestantism, since we know positively that the subject was purposely excluded from the older Lutheran Creeds. And as to how much Luther was Zwinglian, and Zwingli Lutheran, at Marburg, that is shown by the immense difference between the Schwabach Articles, written chiefly by Luther a few days after Marburg, and the *Ratio Fidei* written by Zwingli a few months later. These two series of doctrinal articles show that their authors in their real inner selves were about as much like each other at Marburg as June is like January. Indeed, it still remains an unsolved psychological problem as to how Zwingli could subscribe to the Marburg Articles, and then face about and write the *Ratio Fidei*. If Dr. Rupp will solve this problem we will pronounce him a good psychological casuist. But as a factor in the problem he must not overlook Zwingli's letter to Bucer, February 12, 1531, in which he says: "They (the Lutherans) have a Mass more Papistical than the Papists themselves," and speaks of "the eternal contumacy of those men" (the Lutherans).*

And now, finally: Does Dr. Rupp really think that he can convince the thinking portion of the theological world that Lutheranism and Reformedism have actually sprung from the same *genetic* principle? And that the principal, the cardinal difference between the two *isms* is, or springs out of, the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper? If he does, let him try his hand on Dr. Warfield.

III.

Dr. Rupp makes the somewhat surprising declaration that "it (Calvinism) is not in the Heidelberg Catechism; and those who pretend to find it there can do so only by inference and construction" (p. 107).

Now it is an uncontested principle that confessions of faith

* *Opera*, VIII, p. 579.

must be interpreted by the known theological position of their authors, by standard expositions, by the opinions of learned adherents, by ecclesiastical endorsements, and by the objections of learned opponents. Let us apply these tests:

1. *The Authors of the Heidelberg Catechism.*

Dr. Schaff says that Ursinus, the chief author of the Heidelberg Catechism, "was thoroughly initiated into the Reformed Creed," and that Olevianus "is regarded as the forerunner of the federal theology of Coccejus and Lampe."* On the 11th of September, 1573, Ursinus wrote a letter to a friend, *On Predestination*. He says: "It is not necessary for me to write, if you have read the writings of Beza and Martyr, which I think I have named to you." He then says that Predestination is not a difficult subject if we read the Scriptures free from all prejudices. "I have read the Bible from Genesis to the end of the Apocalypse. When I had done this I sometimes laughed at, and sometimes execrated, those filthy arguments and smoky sophisms, which are hurled in vain against this thunderbolt."† The letter, which is a very long one, is out and out a defense of the Calvinistic double Predestination, and that, too, in places, almost in the very words of Calvin.

Otto Thelemann, Consistorialrath in Detmold, after saying that Ursinus "accepted most ardently" the teaching of Calvin, Beza, Bullinger and Peter Martyr, continues: "Ursinus prosecuted his studies most profoundly. In order to reach a settled conviction concerning the Reformed doctrine of Predestination, he read the Bible from beginning to end, and finding this doctrine clearly and positively revealed in the Word of God, he, as well as Olevianus, adhered to it firmly as long as he lived."‡

2. *The Composition of the Catechism.*

In composing the Catechism Ursinus and Olevianus "made use of the Catechisms of Calvin, Lasky and Bullinger.§" "It is remarkable that all the materials used were Calvinistic. No-

* *Creeds of Christendom* I, pp. 533-4.

† *Ursini Opera*, Heidelberg, 1612, Tom. III, pp. 28 *et seqq.* in the *Miscellanea Catechetica*.

‡ *An Aid to the Heidelberg Catechism*. (English Translation), p. 452.

§ Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 535.

where do we read of any Melanchthonian creeds being used. The materials used were Leo Juda's and Bullinger's, Lasca's and Calvin's Catechisms, all of them Calvinistic. Olevianus declares that whatever good there is in it is due to the excellent Swiss scholars. More than thirty questions (one-fourth of the Catechism) show a direct quotation from Calvin's Catechism."*

After these statements by competent Reformed authorities no one can doubt that the Heidelberg Catechism was composed by the aid of recognized Calvinistic materials. Schweizer, after showing that Ursinus explained questions 7, 21, 27, 53, 54 in the most rigidly Calvinistic sense, says: "One could scarcely express himself more *Calvinistically* than Ursinus has done in the explanation of his Catechism. He also wrote a tract on Predestination in the same sense. If we compare with this the *Opinion* prepared by Olevianus, the delusion that has appeared in our time must vanish, viz.: that the Palatinate had attached itself to the Melanchthonian development of Lutheranism in contradistinction to the Calvinistic doctrine. In the Lord's Supper the two agreed perfectly, but on the subject under consideration, the Palatinate is as far from Melanchthon as is the Geneva teaching."†

3. *Ursinus's Exposition of the Catechism.*

Let us now examine the Exposition of the Catechism by its chief author. Of Ursinus's *Lectures* on the Catechism, and of their thoroughly Calvinistic character, we spoke in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for April, pp. 253-4. If now we turn to his *Expositio* (not the *Lectures*) we find that questions 7, 21, 27, 53, 54 are explained in the truest Calvinistic sense. The *Prædestinatio Gemina* is here without qualification. For instance: "The parts of Predestination are Election and Reprobation. Both are eternal decrees." "This article of the eternal Predestination of God, that is, of Election and Reprobation, arises from the article of the Church." Nowhere in the entire range of Calvinistic theological literature is the Calvinistic double predestination taught

* *History of the Reformed Church in Germany.* By Rev. James I. Good, D.D., p. 605.

† *Centraldogmen*, I, 474.

with more rigor than is done in the exposition of question 54. Election and Reprobation each is alike the "eternal and immutable decree of God," and "the efficient and impelling cause of Predestination is the *beneplacitum Dei*."*

Now as to the importance of the exposition of Ursinus let Reformed scholars speak: Von Alpen says: "Ursinus, from whose pen the Heidelberg Confession flowed, might reasonably be expected to write the best commentary upon it; and so it is. The numerous editions of this book present a silent, and the loud eulogies of learned men, an eloquent testimony respecting it [Ursinus's *Catechetical Expositions*]. Henry Alting justly adds, after boasting of the number of expositions and explanations of the Heidelberg Catechism: 'Among all these expositions, those of Ursinus are the first and most excellent.' D'Outrein and other divines express a similar opinion."† Dr. Williard says: "As Ursinus was the chief compiler of this symbol (Heidelberg Catechism) he must always be regarded as the most authoritative expounder of the doctrine."‡ It is but reasonable to suppose that the author of the Catechism, who annually delivered a course of lectures on it, and wrote an *Exposition* of its every question, and defended it in various ways, knew what it was intended to teach.

4. *The Other Expositors.*

(a) In 1719 John D'Outrein, preacher and professor in Dort, published an elaborate commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism. For a long time the book had almost symbolical authority. In 1735 a German translation was published at Bremen. We quote from this latter. In explaining question 37 D'Outrein writes: "Quest. Is it to be said that Christ bore the wrath of God against the sin of the whole world?"

"Ans. No. But the wrath of God which was kindled

* Ursini Opera, I passim. Particularly pp. 212-14 under *De æterna Dei Prædestinatione*.

† *The History and Literature of the Heidelberg Catechism*. Dr. Berg's Translation, p. 42.

‡ Preface, p. V, to his translation of *Ursinus's Lectures on the Heidelberg Catechism*.

against the whole human race was borne by him for the elect of the whole human family (1 John 2 : 2).

“Quest. Who do not agree with us in this ?

“Ans. The Remonstrants, and other advocates of the universal grace and reconciliation of Christ.” Here, of course, is the limited atonement and particular Election. In explaining question 54 D’Outrein sets forth Election and Reprobation in the most distinct way, making the one the correlative of the other.

(b) Sudhoff, whose *Theologisches Handbuch zur Auslegung Des Heidelbergischen Katechismus* is an acknowledged standard, says: “From the beginning have the orthodox expounders of the Catechism treated the important subject of Predestination in connection with question 54, hence in conjunction with the doctrine of the Church. In this respect Ursinus takes the lead.” The subjects discussed here are the double Predestination, the efficient impelling cause of Predestination, the Free Will of God, the effects of Predestination, the unchangeability of Predestination, etc.*

(c) Von Alpen says that Grotius and some others tried to explain question 37 in favor of the redemption of all men through Christ; “but all expositors of the Heidelberg Catechism have hitherto declared against this view.” Among others he says that the whole assembly of Reformed divines at the Convention of The Hague explained the answer to question 37 as having reference solely to believers.†

(d) Otto Thelemann wrote *Handreiching zum Heidelberger Katechismus* (1892). The work is highly prized in Germany and in America. In explaining question 54, the author says: “The doctrine of the Reformed Church with reference to election (the term election is found in Rom. 11 : 5) is not treated in a separate question either in the Heidelberg Catechism or in the Catechism of Geneva (Calvin’s), since both Catechisms were prepared primarily as handbooks of instruction for youths, and their authors accommodated themselves to

* Pp. 254-8.

† Von Alpen, pp. 29-30.

this end through a wise consideration of the Apostle's distinction of milk for children and strong meat for them that are of full age. Heb. 5 : 13, 14. But that election is the fundamental doctrine of the Heidelberg Catechism cannot be doubted, as a large number of questions (1, 8, 20, 26, 28, 52, 53, 54 and 65) could otherwise not be understood at all in the sense of the authors, as given in their own writings. Ursinus in his commentary on the catechism, treats this doctrine very thoroughly in connection with question 54, which defines the 'chosen' Church, and in this the expounders of the catechism have followed him for three hundred years. Olevianus with his last word, 'certissimus,' avowed the same doctrine in the face of death."* We commend to Dr. Rupp the literature of the Heidelberg Catechism—for correction or for instruction.

5. *Learned Adherents.*

(a) Güder ridicules Heppe's "discovery" that the Heidelberg Catechism is "Melancthonian" and not "Calvinistic."† (b) Dr. Apple, formerly professor in the Reformed Seminary at Lancaster, declares that the Heidelberg Catechism "asserts in general the position of Calvinism over against Arminianism," and that "we find here the substantial and positive elements of the Calvinistic system."‡ (c) Shedd: "Predestination and election with Calvinistic firmness and self-consciousness."§ (d) Schaff: "The difference between the Heidelberg Catechism and the Westminster Catechism is chiefly one of nationality."|| Again: "It represents a moderate evangelical and irenic Calvinism."¶ (e) Dr. A. P. van Giesen (Dutch Reformed): "On account of its surpassing merit it was accepted as preëminently the *Catechism* of the Reformed Calvinistic Churches, and as such it was a recognized power in Christendom. * * * It was deemed essential to the peace and well-being of the Churches of the Palatinate that, so far as they were concerned, this unfortunate

* Pp. 217-18, English translation.

† Herzog, VIII, p. 612.

‡ Second Gen. Council, Presbyterian Alliance, pp. 484 *et seqq.*

§ Hist. of Doctrines, II, p. 475.

|| *Creeds*, I, p. 545.

¶ *Propædæutic*, p. 502.

controversy should be ended by a definite settlement and no less essential to the interests of truth that the settlement should be in favor of the Calvinistic side. Hence the Catechism takes its stand on that side unmistakably and firmly. It speaks with no uncertain sound. It treats of the Lord's Supper with unusual fulness of statement, and asserts the Calvinistic doctrine with noticeable clearness and vigor."* (f) Dr. James I. Good, Professor in the Ursinus School of Theology, Philadelphia: "The doctrinal position of the Catechism is Calvinistic, but Calvinism moderately stated. That Ursinus and Olevianus were Calvinists, there can be no doubt. Their other works reveal them as more Calvinistic than the Catechism expresses. Either they did not think it expedient to express the hard points of Calvinism for fear of offending the Lutherans; or else, as the Heidelberg Catechism was intended to be a popular treatise on theology, they purposely avoided the deep philosophical statements of Calvinism. But the Catechism has a thoroughly doctrinal basis throughout. Its doctrinal position may be stated as moderately Calvinistic. Heppe, one of the Church historians of Germany, holds that it was Melanchthonian, or low Lutheran; Sudhoff, another writer, that the Catechism was intensely Calvinistic; Ebrard, that it expresses the Sublapsarian School of Calvinism afterwards adopted in France. But if the Catechism had been Melanchthonian it would never have been adopted by the Synod of Dort, that strict Calvinistic Synod. And again, if it had been intensely Calvinistic, it never would have found favor among the Melanchthonians of Germany, who afterwards came into the Reformed Church and adopted the Catechism. The best view is that it is Calvinistic; but on its positive side, the negative side of reprobation not being mentioned. Comparing the Heidelberg Catechism with Melanchthonism, we find that it differs from it on many points. It radically opposes Melanchthon's Synergism. For it is intensely Calvinistic in its doctrine of total depravity. On the doctrine of the perseverance of the Saints it is against Melanchthon's position, and

* *Reformed Church in America* (1876), pp. 24, 25.

is Calvinistic. It disagrees with Melanchthon on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in its reception by the impenitent."*

And again: "It teaches Predestination. In answer 26 it speaks of 'the eternal counsel of God'. What does this mean but God's decree? In answer 31 it speaks of 'the secret will of God concerning our redemption'. Also, in question 52, it speaks of 'the chosen ones'. (The word in the original German is *Auserwaehten*. The German word for election is *Erwaehlung*, from which *Auserwehten* is derived. The word used in our catechism is therefore stronger than election—it literally means elected out of, or from among. If this does not mean election, what does it mean? It means, not merely electing, but electing *out of*). It is true, the catechism does not mention reprobation, or the negative side of election, nor is it to be expected that such a popular theological book would take up such an abstruse doctrine. But if the silence of the Catechism on reprobation is a sign that the Heidelberg Catechism is not Calvinistic, then Calvin's own Catechism is not Calvinistic, for it does not mention reprobation either."† Von Alpen: "In no Catechism were the doctrinal views of Zwingli and Calvin so clearly expressed as in it (the Heidelberg). In none were the distinctive doctrines of the Reformed faith more accurately defined."‡

Before the judgments and arguments of the most learned adherents of the Heidelberg Catechism, the assertion of Dr. Rupp, that Calvinism is not in said Catechism, unsupported, as it is, by facts or arguments, goes utterly to the ground.

6. *Ecclesiastical Endorsement.*

The Netherlands became Calvinistic by the adoption of the Belgic Confession, first at Antwerp in 1566, then at Wesel in 1568, more formally by a Synod at Emden in 1571, by a national Synod at Dort in 1574 and by another at Middleburg in 1581.§ The Calvinism of the Netherlands, as every student of Church History knows, was of the most rigid type. It

* *The Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany*, pp. 178-80.

† *History of the Reformed Church in Germany*, 1620-1890, pp. 600-1.

i Supra, pp. 79-80.

‡ See Von Alpen.

would have been impossible for any book to receive endorsement by the Synods of the Netherlands, which was not thoroughly Calvinistic. And, inasmuch as these Netherlandish Churches contained among their most eminent divines some who had been pupils of Ursinus, and had undoubtedly heard the Catechism expounded by its chief author, these churches were in a situation to know whether or not the Heidelberg Catechism was Calvinistic, and consequently in harmony with the Belgic Confession, or not. (a) In 1556 Peter Gabriel lectured on the Heidelberg Catechism at Amsterdam. At a convention of the Dutch churches, held at Wesel in 1568, it was resolved that "the Heidelberg Catechism shall be employed in the German churches." "At a meeting of the churches in Emden in 1571 it was resolved that the system of the Geneva Catechism shall be followed in the French churches, and that of the Heidelberg Catechism in the churches in which the language of the Netherlands is spoken, but with this understanding, that if any churches have another catechetical form in use, which is in accordance with the Word of God, they shall not be compelled to change it.

"The full adoption of our Catechism ensued at a National Synod of the Dutch churches, German and French, as well those outside of the Netherlands, as those within the borders, held at Dordrecht, 1574; and again at another, held at the same place in 1578, where it was resolved: 'In the German churches, the Heidelberg Catechism shall be used, together with the Psalms translated by Peter Dothenus; and in the French churches, the Catechism heretofore in use, printed with the Psalms in French. The German churches shall also, at their option, use the brief examination of faith, which is extracted from the Catechism, in order to instruct those who may wish to unite with their congregations.' "*

By these synodical enactments the Heidelberg Catechism was placed exactly on a level with the Geneva Catechism, which surely is Calvinistic—and all this was done while Ursinus was

* Von Alpen, *Ubi Supra*, p. 144.

yet living. It is quite to be supposed that these Dutch Calvinists knew what they were doing. (b) The Synod of Dort was the most rigidly Calvinistic body ever convened. It was pre eminently under the influence of Supralapsarians, chief among whom was the redoubtable Francis Gomar, who had been a pupil of Ursinus. Every member of the Synod would be sharply on the lookout for anything that might be supposed to savor of Arminianism or Melanchthonism. Now hear what was done there: In the one hundred and forty-seventh session, May 1st, 1619, it was resolved to take up the Heidelberg Catechism, which for a long time had been used in the Belgic Churches, "and that each one should declare whether he thinks anything is taught in this Catechism which might seem to conflict with the Word of God. To this end all the questions and answers were read, and each one was requested honestly to declare his sentiment concerning the doctrine contained in it." In the afternoon of the same day, in the one hundred and forty-eighth session, "it was declared by the unanimous vote of all the theologians, both foreign and Belgic, that the doctrine contained in the Palatine Catechism is in harmony with the Word of God, and that nothing is contained in it which ought to be changed because not consistent with the same; and that this said Catechism is a very accurate compend of orthodox Christian doctrine; and with singular wisdom it is adapted, as an excellent system of instruction, not only to the capacity of youth, but also to those of riper years. Besides, it ought to be taught in the Belgic churches with great edification; and by all means it ought to be retained."*

Does Dr. Rupp suppose that this Synod of Dort, which had just rejected Arminianism, root and branch, and had adopted the *Canons* that have rendered its name immortal, could have pronounced the Heidelberg Catechism "a very accurate compend of orthodox Christian doctrine," and could have recommended its use in the Belgic churches, if its members had not been convinced that it was Calvinistic? For we must remem-

* *Acta Synodi Nationalis* * * * 1620. Sessions 147-8.

ber that at this time, in the entire Reformed Church, Calvinism was synonymous with orthodoxy. And does he suppose that these delegates, some of whom had been pupils of Ursinus, did not know how the Catechism had been from the beginning interpreted? Especially since Ursinus's *Lectures* and *Expositio* had been again and again published?

And these questions become more pertinent when it is remembered that at the preceding session the Synod had unanimously endorsed the Belgic Confession, thus placing the two symbols side by side on the same plane of orthodoxy, where together with the *Canons* they remain to this day the symbolical books of the Netherlandish and American (Dutch) Reformed Churches.

(c) In 1870 the Old School Presbyterian General Assembly unanimously endorsed the Heidelberg Catechism "as a valuable Scriptural compend of Christian doctrine and duty."* He who recalls the rigid Calvinism of the O. S. Presbyterians of thirty-two years ago, will be slow to believe that they could be induced to put their official imprimatur on a book which was destitute of their distinguishing doctrines.

7. *Attacks on the Heidelberg Catechism.*

(a) From the Lutheran side. "Hesshuss, *Exul Christi*, as he called himself, a zealot for Lutheranism, published 'a faithful warning' in which he raised objections to almost all of the chief doctrines, and at the close added a special polemic against the 'fanaticism of the breaking of bread in the Lord's Supper.' He was followed by the still more famous controversialist, Mathias Flacius, in his *Refutation of a Small Calvinistic Catechism* in the year 1563. The Würtemberg theologians, Brentz and Andreae, composed sharp censures against it. A preacher on the Rhine, Laurence Albertus, tried to arouse Speier and Worms against the poison of the new doctrine, and even the Melanchthonian theologians at Wittenberg gave a decidedly hostile Opinion, which manifestly does not favor the idea that the Catechism was only an expression of the Melanchthonian type of doctrine."†

* *Memorial Volume*, p. 454.

† Dr. Ullmann in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1863, p. 654.

The same writer also tells us that Frederick's Lutheran neighbors, Palsgraf Wolfgang of Zweibrücken, Duke Christopher of Würtemberg and Margrave Karl II of Baden, charged him with having fallen away from the Lutheran faith.*

(b). *The Netherlandish Opposition.*

Already in 1585 opposition to the Catechism arose in Holland. This was aggravated under the leadership of Arminius, and led finally to the *Remonstrantia*, which in essence consisted of points raised against the Heidelberg Catechism, and gave the name *Remonstrants* to those who opposed the Heidelberg Catechism and the doctrines of Calvinism. And Schweizer says: "In Holland this Catechism was lifted up against the Arminians as a banner for the Calvinistic doctrine."† That is, the Contra-Remonstrants held that it was Calvinistic, and found fault with the Arminians for resisting and rejecting its Calvinism. That the Remonstrants did object to it on this very ground, is evident from their own official *Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena*, published at Harderwick in the year 1620. Here it is found that they placed the Belgic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism side by side, and demanded that both "be revised."‡ In this connection they declare that the doctrine of Reprobation is "odious," and that "the consolations drawn from absolute and unconditional election are full of peril."§

When such objections as these are laid before the Sacro-Sanct Synod of Dort, that body, instead of declaring that the objections are unfounded, proceeds to reject the Remonstrant doctrine, to affirm unconditional Election and Reprobation, and to establish the Catechism as a Confessional book—all of which, we repeat, was done by the aid and concurrence of men who had been pupils of Ursinus, and by a body of men who in general were acquainted with the traditions and historical interpretations of the Catechism.

* *Ibid*, p. 455.

† *Centraldogmen* I, p. 471.

‡ P. 84. Scott's *Synod of Dort*, *passim*.

§ Pp. 80-1, *et passim*.

SUMMARY.

We find that both in official and in private interpretations of the Heidelberg Catechism Ursinus, its chief author, attaches to various articles the most rigid Calvinism in the form of the *Prædestinatio gemina*, and that his doctrine of the Lord's Supper set forth in the same connection is Calvinistic. Now does Dr. Rupp wish us to conclude that the illustrious author of the Heidelberg Catechism only *pretended* to find Calvinism in his Catechism, and that he found it there only by *inference and construction*, and that he explained questions 7, 21, 27, 53, 54 and the questions about the Lord's Supper, contrary to their tone and tenor, purpose and intent, and hence abused those questions by hanging to them his personal views? Does Dr. Rupp wish us to think thus of one of the fathers and founders of the Reformed Church throughout the world? An object lesson in ethics, surely.

Does Dr. Rupp mean to say that the expositors of the Catechism from the very beginning perverted it by making it teach Calvinism, and that they bear false witness when they declare that from the very beginning the Catechism has been Calvinistically interpreted? If he cannot answer this two-fold question in the affirmative, then he must concede that the traditional interpretation of the Catechism is the true one.

Does Dr. Rupp wish us to believe that the learned adherents of the Heidelberg Catechism, many of whom were special students of the history, doctrines and symbolics of the Reformed Church, are false to history, and are mistaken in their judgment when they say that said Catechism is Calvinistic? Are we, at the suggestion of Dr. Rupp, thus to discount the scholarship of the Reformed Church?

Does Dr. Rupp mean to say that the Sacro-Sanct Synod of Dort, which made Calvinism the criterion for testing all doctrines, and at a time when Calvinism was the all-absorbing thought, only *pretended* to find the Heidelberg Catechism "a very accurate compend of orthodox Christian doctrine," and that the members placed the Catechism in a false position when

they erected it into a symbolical book for the Belgic Churches and gave it standing side by side with the Belgic Confession? And are we to suppose that the Reformed Church of Holland and the Reformed (Dutch) Church of America have not to this day discovered the mistake? And does he mean to say that the Arminians likewise only *pretended* to find Calvinism in said Catechism, and found it there only by *inference and construction*, and that their *Remonstrantia* proceeded from a false alarm?

And what about the judgment of the Old School Presbyterians of 1870?

Surely Dr. Rupp does not want us to conclude that his Reformed congeners for nearly three hundred and fifty years have been so deficient in intelligence or in honesty, or in both, as his assertion implies. Rather than to conclude thus in regard to such devout Christian scholars we will say:

*Bonus dormitat Homerus
Verum opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.*

When the good Homer shall have aroused himself from slumber, he will no doubt read Ursinus's *Lectures* and *Expositio*, the *Acta* of the Synod of Dort, the *Acta et Scripta* of the Remonstrants, the Expositions of D'Outrein, Sudhoff, Thelemann and others, the *Glaubenslehre* and the *Centraldogmen* of Schweizer, the Article of Dr. Warfield, the *Symbolik* of Dr. Karl Müller, and the History by Von Alpen. He has probably been following Heppe, whose "discovery" has come to be regarded as a veritable mare's nest. Sudhoff has declared that Heppe's position "is utterly untenable and unhistorical,"* and Lauterburg pronounces it a "failure."†

IV.

Dr. Rupp says that "the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination was never accepted by the German Reformed Church, either in Europe or in America. Individual theologians held it, but not the Church as such" (p. 107).

* Herzog, V, p. 661. *Fester Grund*, p. 496.

† Herzog 3, X, p. 171.

Dr. Rupp as a Professor of Reformed theology ought to know. But:

1. We think we have shown conclusively that the doctrine of the Calvinistic double Predestination was held in its most rigid form by Ursinus and Olevianus, the fathers of the German Reformed Church. The *Gutachten** for Zanchius in his controversy with Marbach of Strassburg, prepared, August 25th, 1561, by the Heidelberg theologians Boquin, Tremellius, Olevianus and Diller, teaches an unqualified Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination. Dr. Rupp himself would have to characterize it thus. Schweizer, after quoting this and similar *Gutachten* (for Zanchius) from Marburg, Zurich, Schaffhausen, says: "These *Gutachten* are thus very remarkable forms of agreement on the Reformed side, Marburg, Zurich, Schaffhausen and Heidelberg, for a rigid Calvinistic Predestination."†

These official opinions, quoted at length by Schweizer, place the Reformed Universities, and the theologians of the places named, unqualifiedly hand in glove with the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination. The Heidelbergers are specially careful to say that the Marburg and other theologians have declared what ought to be judged about the case in hand. Hence these *Gutachten*, together with that of Basel, which is only a little milder, at once create a very strong presumption against Dr. Rupp's statement that *individual theologians held it*. We would like for Dr. Rupp to prove that there were at this time any theologians at Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basel and Heidelberg who did not hold the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination.

2. Henry Alting († 1644) tells us that the Catechism, the Confession and the Liturgy of the French churches were translated into German and printed at Heidelberg in 1563. "These," he says, "are the basis and foundation of the Palatinate Church; and these are the bonds of its union with the French, the Swiss and the Belgic churches."‡ There is no questioning the fact

* Quoted in Schweizer's *Centraldogmen*, I, pp. 460-2.

† *Centraldogmen*, I, pp. 448-63.

‡ *Historia Ecclesiæ Palatinae*, pp. 191-2

that the French Catechism and Confession contain the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination.

3. Dr. James I. Good tells us that "in this same year (1566) he (Frederick III) received the Second Helvetic Confession from Bullinger, which pledged the Palatinate to Calvinism, thus uniting himself with the Swiss Churches."* The Second Helvetic Confession has always been regarded as a Calvinistic Confession, in the sense that it contains the Calvinistic doctrine, and was approved by Peter Martyr, Beza and the ministers of Geneva, and was sanctioned by the Calvinistic Churches of France and Scotland, and was well received in Holland and England.† Dr. Karl Müller, Professor of Reformed Theology at Erlangen, says of this Confession: "The Reformed doctrines, for example, of the Lord's Supper and Predestination are presented here very distinctly, though with an effort to avoid giving unnecessary offense."‡ Dr. Warfield says: "The doctrine (Predestination) is here at length: and it is carefully and soundly stated."§ Dr. A. A. Hodge says that this Confession "has always been regarded as of highest authority by all Reformed Churches."|| Was this because it had or had not "the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination"?

4. On the nineteenth of January, 1563, the Heidelberg Catechism was officially presented by the Elector "to all and each of the Superintendents, Pastors, Preachers, Officers of the Church and Schoolmasters throughout the whole Province of the Rhenish Palatinate," with the injunction that they should accept it and explain it according to its true import in the schools and from the pulpit, and should live in accordance with it.¶

Early in the next century the Heidelberg Catechism was officially introduced into several cantons of Switzerland, just as in 1566 the Helvetic Confession had been introduced into the Palatinate. The common use of these two symbolical books

* *Origin of the German Reformed Church in Germany*, p. 215.

† Schaff, *Creeds*, I, pp. 292-4.

‡ *Symbolik*, p. 407.

§ Article p. 55.

|| *Com. on the Confession of Faith*, p. 27.

Von Alpen, pp. 19-22.

made the Swiss German Reformed Church and the Palatinate German Reformed Church to all intents and purposes identical in doctrine. Indeed there was a common recognition by the different Reformed countries of the different Reformed national creeds, and a common recognition of all Reformed Christians as such in all Reformed Churches; or, as Ebrard the German Reformed dogmatician and historian says: "*A tacit, mutual endorsement* of all the Reformed national creeds occurred to such an extent that a Reformed Christian from any country whatever sojourning in any other Reformed country was *eo ipso* upon his certificate from his home church received as a regular member of the congregation." Was this done on the ground that such creeds and their adherents maintained the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination or repudiated it?

Until Dr. Rupp shall have convinced the theological world that the Sacred Helvetic Confession and the Heidelberg Catechism contain no leaven of the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination, and that those ecclesiastical officials who introduced and subscribed to these Symbols did so under the conviction that they contained no leaven of the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination—until such a feat shall have been achieved we must accept Dr. Rupp's statement *cum magno grano salis*.

5. It is well known that in 1607 the Hessian General Synod met at Cassel, officially announced its adherence to the Reformed Church, and introduced the Heidelberg Catechism.* "Accordingly," says Dr. Ebrard, "through Landgrave William, the professors of the reorganized University of Marburg were called from Reformed countries, and were pledged to Salnar's *Harmonia Confessionum*, which in 1612 had appeared at Geneva under the title *Corpus et Syntagma Doctrinæ*. Hence at the Leipzig Colloquy in 1631 the Hessian theologians appeared in the list of Reformed theologians and as representatives of the Reformed Confession."†

Turning now to Salnar's *Harmonia* we find that it supports

* Good, *Ubi Supra*, p. 364, and Dr. Ebrard in Salnar's *Harmonia Conf. Fidei*, p. 7.

† Ebrard's *Salnar's Harmonia*, pp. 7-8.

"Predestination" by extracts from the Helvetic Confession, from the Heidelberg Catechism, questions 31 and 54, from the Gallic Confession drafted by Calvin, from the Belgic, Scotch and other Confessions. (Under the title *De Fide* there is a brief quotation from the Augsburg Confession of 1540).

We submit that a ruler who imposes Salnar's *Harmonia* upon his professors and theologians, thereby imposes the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination upon them, and at the same time under the principle, *cujus regio ejus religio*, he imposes it upon the churches of his dominion. Hence we are not surprised that at Leipzig in 1631 the Hessian theologians maintained a Calvinistic position on the doctrine of Predestination. Even Heppe, speaking about the conference held between the Reformed and Lutherans at Cassel in 1661, says: "This Conference revealed that the German peculiarity of the Hessian theologians was absorbed in Predestinarian Calvinism."*

In the light of such facts Dr. Rupp's statement about "individual theologians" is utterly misleading, especially in view of the declaration of Ebrard that in Article 5th of the Hessian Synod's Confession "the Synod went over to the absolute Predestination of the Reformed Orthodoxy,"† and again: "In no other Reformed country in Germany did the doctrine of absolute Predestination so occupy the throne as in Hesse."‡

6. Dr. Good tells us that "in 1595 Pezel drew up the Bremen Confession, in which he adopted the Calvinistic double Predestination. This Confession was signed by the Bremen ministers down to 1780."§

7. We now quote at length from Dr. James I. Good, whose historical scholarship in the line of the Reformed Church, and whose devotion to that Church, are unquestioned. Dr. Good says: "The doctrinal position of the Reformed Church was Calvinism. On the doctrine of Predestination she was Calvinistic. True, her Calvinism was at first somewhat tintured

* Herzog III, p. 155.

† Salnar's *Harmonia*, p. 18.

‡ *Ibid*, 18, *nota*.

§ *Ubi Supra*, 277.

by Lutheranism. For as the Melanchthonians came over to the Reformed Church they shaded off gradually into Calvinism. But as they became more Reformed, they became more Calvinistic. Thus, for instance, Anhalt was at first Melanchthonian. But as she became more thoroughly Reformed it was not long before Calvinists like Wendelin appeared. Brandenburg was at first Melanchthonian, but soon strict Calvinists like Ewell appeared in the Church. It is true a school of Calvinists appeared, who were lower in their Calvinism than Calvin, and he believed in the universality of the atonement. Yet the Church was Calvinistic, for these sublapsarians were considered Calvinists.

"There have been those in the Reformed Church who have derided Calvinism. But they should remember that Calvinism lay at the foundation of the Reformed Church. Had it not been for Calvinism we would have had no Reformed Church."* Speaking of the conferences at Leipzig, and elsewhere, Dr. Good says: "The theological position of the Reformed at these conferences has a very important significance. It reveals that on every occasion when they are placed, as a church, before the world, they commit the Church to Calvinism. We cannot see how the idea that Calvinism is the historic faith of the Reformed Church of Germany, can be avoided after all these arguments."†

Dr. Good next examines the testimony of the Universities, and proves conclusively that they were *Calvinistic*; and in regard to the German Reformed Church in the United States he has the following to say: "Her Calvinistic position is emphasized by her first Creed. The members of the Reformed Coetus of Pennsylvania, when under the care of the Reformed Church of Holland for about half a century, subscribed to five creeds. 'All ministers, elders, deacons and schoolmasters shall upon entering on their respective offices, subscribe to the formula which has been received in the Palatinate: (1) The Heidelberg Catechism,

* *Origin of the Reformed Church in Germany*, pp. 401-2.

† *Hist. Ref. Church in Germany, 1620-1890*, p. 611.

(2) The Palatine Confession of Faith, (3) The Canons of Dort, as approved by the Palatinate divines, as well as those of other nations, (4) The *post acta* of the Synod of Dort, (5) The Formula Consensus.' This subscription makes our early Reformed Church in America highly Calvinistic."* How does this fact agree with Dr. Rupp's assertion that the Calvinistic Predestination was never accepted by the German Reformed Church in America?

8. The Reformed Churches of Germany and German Switzerland together entered into closest relations of sympathy and coöperation with the most rigid Calvinists against anti-Calvinists.

In the Summer of 1618† the States-General of the United Netherlands invited the Elector of the Palatinate, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the officials of the Swiss cantons, and of Bremen, to send delegates to the proposed Synod of Dort with instructions to vote. The letters of invitation distinctly state that misunderstanding and disputes have arisen "concerning the doctrine of Predestination and its consequences." Hence the princes and officials addressed knew why they were invited to send delegates to a Reformed Synod in Holland: It was to consult in regard to the doctrine of Predestination. The invitation was accepted by all persons and parties named above, and delegates were elected and sent, except that the Elector of Brandenburg excused his delegates-elect on the ground of their great age; "but wrote that his father had accepted the doctrine that is held in the Reformed Churches. He doubts not that the Brandenburg theologians will sign the forthcoming decrees of the Synod as evidence of agreement."‡

9. The Landgrave of Hesse instructed his delegates, four in number, to "defend our orthodox religion and all articles and

* *Ubi Supra*, pp. 620-1.

† The letter to Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse, dated, *The Hague*, June 25th, was published by Heppe in *Zeitschrift für Hist. Theologie*, 1853, pp 227-8.

‡ Schweizer, *Centraldogmen*, II, 115.

parts of the same brought into controversy by the adversaries, and to point out and refute opposing opinions and errors," and "in doctrines, and in the statements, phrases and words concerning the same, to decide and determine upon nothing that is contrary to our true Christian religion and to the Confession of the same adopted in our churches and lands."*

What this *orthodox religion* was, and what the Confession of it was, we have already learned. As to how these delegates interpreted their instruction, and, with others, acted at Dort, we will learn presently.

10. The four German Swiss cantons, whose theologians were thoroughly conversant with the subjects of dispute in Holland, held a conference at Aarau, and on September 17th agreed on an *Instruction* to be given to the delegates who should be sent to the Synod. Among other points of instruction this is prominent: They are to support "only resolutions that agree with the Scriptures, the French, English, Belgic, Helvetic confessions and the Heidelberg Catechism, by which new and unusual expressions shall be avoided; and shall subscribe nothing that in word or content is or might appear to be contrary to the writings named."† On the basis of this instruction one delegate was elected from each canton represented at Aarau. The significance of this *Instruction* cannot be mistaken. It placed the Swiss German Reformed churches high and dry on the Calvinistic pedestal; or rather, it shows that they were already there. Moreover, the Zurichers wrote *Aphorismi* on the five points disputed in Holland. "These *Aphorismi* in content sound just like the subsequent canons of the Synod themselves."‡ In other words they are out and out Calvinistic. These *Aphorismi* were approved by Schaffhausen, and declared "right" at Basel, which said that "the Swiss must in all things be at one with the Palatinate and Holland churches."§ Our good Homer, who seems to have nodded a good deal while

* Published by Heppe. *Ubi Supra*, pp. 231-3.

† Schweizer, *Centraldogmen*, II, 118.

‡ Given in Schweizer, II, 122-4.

§ Schweizer, II, 124.

writing his article, will not exclaim, on awakening to a right apprehension of the facts, that he did not mean to include the Swiss German Reformed Church, for he knows that the difference is only one of nationality, and in part of dialect, not a difference of confession and of doctrinal type. As proof of this we adduce a few more facts:

11. Paraeus of Heidelberg, who could not go to Dort on account of age, wrote a *Refutatio** of the remonstrants that is so decidedly Calvinistic that it was taken into the *Acta* of the Synod. Schweizer, after quoting this *Refutatio* in full, says: "There is no doubt that at Dort the Palatinates acted in this Calvinistic orthodox sense."†

The Hessian theologians brought with them to Dort a *Judicium de Primo Articulo Remonstrantium*,‡ which, though somewhat mildly Calvinistic for the times, was yet sufficiently Calvinistic to be deemed worthy of a place in the *Acta* of the Synod.

The *Opinion* of the Bremen theologians, which was also placed among the *Acta* of the Synod, is a distinct declaration of the Calvinistic *Praedestinatio gemina*.

12. It would be idle to intimate that these *Opinions*, etc., are the private writings of individual theologians. They are the official writings of men officially chosen to represent the churches of their native lands and cities in a general council of Reformed Churches officially called to decide on what were regarded as the most fundamental articles of the Christian Church. The significance of the whole transaction is simply as follows: The Reformed Church of Germany, and the Reformed Church of German Switzerland (to all intents and purposes confessionally and doctrinally one Church) have placed themselves unqualifiedly on a Calvinistic basis as over against the Remonstrants, (a) in that they accepted the invitation of the States-General to attend the Synod, knowing full well the questions at issue, and the position of the States-General and of

* *Ibid*, 125 et seqq.

† *Centraldogmen*, II, 130.

‡ Given in Schweizer, II, 136-7.

the Stadtholder in relation to those questions; and (b) in that by their representatives, in convention, they *officially* expressed themselves in a perfectly Calvinistic sense. There is no escape from this conclusion by any legitimate interpretation of the facts and of the writings involved in this momentous transaction. Had they not been in full accord with the Church of Holland they could not have accepted the invitation, nor have committed themselves beforehand against the doctrines of the Remonstrants. Indeed it was their *Calvinistic doctrine of predestination* that prompted them to accept an invitation to attend a Synod called by the rigidly Calvinistic rulers of a rigidly Calvinistic Church, that was founded on and held together by a rigidly Calvinistic Confession. Indeed the fact that they were invited by such Calvinistic rulers of such a Calvinistic Church, to help to decide purely Calvinistic questions, is evidence that they were regarded as holding the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination.

And now for the climax;

On the sixth of May, in the year of grace 1619, the *Canons of Dort*, the most remorseless piece of Calvinistic doctrine of predestination ever promulgated by a Synod, were officially published, signed *inter alios* by three official representatives of the Palatinate, by four from Hesse, by three from Bremen, and by one each from Zurich, Bern, Basel and Schaffhausen, and by one from the University of Basel—with the words:

*Ita nos sentire et judicare, manuum nostrarum subscriptione testamur.**

We have now learned how these delegates acted under their instructions.

13. When the delegates, each of whom signed with his official title of doctor, pastor, professor, superintendent, etc., returned home, they heard not one word of official protest against their act of signing the *Canons of Dort* against the Remonstrants. That is, through the Synod of Dort the whole Reformed Church of Europe declared that she accepted the

* Schaff, *Creeds*, III, 558-9; Niemeyer, 700-4; *Acta Synodi Nationalis*, p. 307 *et passim*.

Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination. One hundred years later the Synod was formally commemorated at Zurich.*

14. As a set-off to Amyraut's hypothetical universalism, Heidegger, of Zurich, "by command of the civil authorities and at the request of several clergymen," assisted by Luke Gernler, of Basel, and Turretine, of Geneva, composed (1675) the *Helvetic Consensus Formula*,† which Schaff calls "a defense of the Scholastic Calvinism of the Synod of Dort against the theology of Saumer."‡ "Its prime effect in the 'Canons' that concern predestination, therefore, is to defend the Calvinistic order of decrees. * * * A typical statement of the Calvinistic position."§ Schaff says that this formula "was agreed upon by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of Zurich, Bern and Geneva, and adopted in the Reformed countries as a binding rule of public teaching for ministers and professors."|| Walch says: "In 1676 it was accepted and introduced as a symbolical book by Bern, Basle, Schaffhausen and Geneva."¶

These facts need only a word of explanation from Dr. Karl Müller, Professor of German Reformed Theology in Erlangen: "In the seventeenth century every trace of the original difference between German and French Switzerland was wiped out. A common orthodoxy based on Calvinistic principles prevailed in both. The Synod of Dort had sealed the dogmatic unity of all genuine Reformed Churches, and over against the Arminian Synergism had affirmed the central dogma of Predestination."** Drs. Rupp and Müller—*par nobile fratrum*—are commended to each other's tender mercies, while we proceed still further with the recital of facts.

15. In 1631 the Elector of Brandenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse, accompanied by theologians, met the Elector of Saxony and three Lutheran theologians in friendly colloquy at

* Schweizer, II, 144.

† Neimeyer, LXXXI; Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 478.

‡ Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 478.

§ Warfield in *Pres. and Ref. Review*, Jan., 1901, p. 73.

|| *Creeds*, I, 485-6.

¶ *Streitenkeiten*, IV, 407.

** *Symbolik*, p. 408.

Leipzig. They agreed very nearly on every doctrine contained in the Augsburg Confession, but they could by no means agree about the doctrine of Election. "The Reformed traced election to the absolute will of God, and reprobation to the unbelief of men."* The Lutherans held fast by Article XI of the *Form of Concord*.† "The Brandenburg and Hessian theologians placed in the foreground the Election of a definite number to salvation, and excluded the divine prescience from election."‡ That is, *inter alia*, *foreseen faith*, which had now become a Lutheran watchword, and which was a rock of offence to the Reformed generally, is specifically excluded from the causes and conditions of salvation.§ It must be remembered that these Hessian and Brandenburg theologians did not act in a private, but in a representative capacity.

16. In 1645 was held the *Colloquy of Thorn* in West Prussia. As a union effort the Colloquy was a failure. *The Declaration of Thorn* affirms that the eternal election is *non ex ulla prævisa fide*, and declares that the number of the elect is fixed with God.|| Schaff calls it "one of the most careful statements of the Reformed Creed."¶ Müller says: "*This Declaration of Thorn* presents a mild Calvinistic theology without affirming anything special."** And Schweizer says that at Thorn the article of Election came in, and was explained by the Reformed as mildly as possible; but everything was made to depend upon whether the election of grace as such was really maintained or only expressed.‡‡

The document was signed by seven noblemen and twenty clergymen representing Poland, Lithuania and Brandenburg. §§ It received symbolical authority in the Reformed Church of Poland,

* Schaff, *Creeds*, I, 559.

† Niemeyer, 664 ; Warfield, 83-4.

‡ Herzog 2, VIII, p. 547.

§ See the first article of their Confession in Niemeyer, p. 665.

|| Niemeyer, 673-7.

¶ *Creeds*, I, 562.

** *Symbolik*, p. 426.

‡‡ *Centraldogmen*, II, 531-2.

§§ Niemeyer, LXXIV.

and also became one of the three confessions (the Confession of Sigismund and the Leipzig Colloquy being the other two) of the Brandenburg-Prussian Reformed Church.

Now if the adoption of this *Declaration* and of the two confessions named in the parenthesis—especially since the *Confessio Sigismundi* calls the article of Predestination “the most comfortable of all, on which rest not only all other articles, but also our blessedness,”* and rejects the *propter fidem prævisam* as Pelagian—does not make, mark and define a church as Calvinistically predestinarian, it is because words and solemn resolutions had no meaning with the Brandenburgers in the seventeenth century. The absolute election *sine prævisa fide* is the very essence of Calvinism, and, as Dr. Warfield says in regard to two of these creeds (with others), “is *ex vi termini* an act specifically of *discrimination*.”† Moreover, these creeds have always been regarded by Calvinists as Calvinistic, and were so regarded by the Lutherans of the seventeenth century, and were attacked by the Lutherans because they contained *inter alia* the Calvinistic doctrine of Predestination.

And now to sum up:

(a) Dr. Rupp's effort to show that the doctrine of Justification by Faith has the same place, meaning, significance and determinative function in the Reformed Church that it has in the Lutheran Church, “must be considered a failure.” His argument is based on a misapprehension of the real controlling significance of Justification in and for the Lutheran System. He needs to be reminded of the *law of identity*, which is designed to guard us against the danger of supposing that because the phraseology is the same, the meaning must be the same.

(b) Dr. Rupp's method of reference to the controversy on the Lord's Supper, carries with it the means of its own destruction. A moment's reflection would have shown him that “the sign of division” was not the *cause* of division. We are surprised that he did not ask himself, *Why* did the Wittenberg Reformer and the

* Niemeyer, 650.

† *Ubi Supra*, p. 121.

Zurich Reformer differ in regard to the Lord's Supper? This would be the method of a philosophical historian.

(c) As to Dr. Rupp's assertions about the Heidelberg Catechism and the German Reformed Church, they are utterly confuted by the undeniable facts of history, by the witness of an abounding literature, and by the opinions of a long list of illustrious scholars of the Reformed Church.

(d) After the Reformed Church in Germany had taken shelter under the Augsburg Confession in the *Peace of Westphalia* in 1648, and had thus been brought into closer contact with Lutheranism than she had been for some decades previous, she began to modify features of her Calvinistic predestinarianism. In the nineteenth century she more and more conformed to the Christocentric thought developed by the Lutheran teachers of that century. The times seem to indicate that before the close of the twentieth century, she will be taken up into the bosom of the Lutheran Church of the Fatherland. But she cannot blot out the facts of her history, neither should she desire to do so. It is a history written with the blood of martyrs—a sublime record of witnessing and suffering. In this country the Reformed Church and the Lutheran Church have stood side by side in Christian work. We pray that the peaceful relations subsisting between these two bodies may never be disturbed.

CORRECTION.

On page 263, line 17 from the top, after *Lutheran* insert doctrine of Justification, so as to read: *Lutheran* doctrine of Justification.

ARTICLE III.

TSCHACKERT'S "UNALTERED AUGSBURG CONFESSION."*

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

We are accustomed to think of the *Augustana Invariata* as something very definite and fixed, both in form and content. The name itself suggests this. It was coined to designate the Confession in the form in which it was supposed to have been handed to the Emperor, June 25th, 1530, in contradistinction from the later changed forms, in which Melanchthon published

* Die unveraenderte Augsburgische Konfession deutsch und lateinisch nach den besten Handschriften aus dem Besitze der Unterzeichner. Kritische Ausgabe mit den wichtigsten Varianten der Handschriften und dem Textus Receptus. Mit zwei Kuntsbeilagen. Pub. by A. Deichert (Geo. Boehme), Leipzig. Price 7 marks. Also by the same publisher, Die unveraenderte Augsb. Konfes. etc. Textausgabe. This latter edition is without the critical apparatus and has both texts printed with modern spelling. Price 1 mark.

Prof. Paul Tschackert, Dr. Theol. et Phil., is Prof. of Theology in Goettingen University.

A number of critiques have appeared, all of which have been favorable, except that of Prof. Kolde, of Erlangen, in Nos. 7 and 8 of the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* of this year, to which Prof. Tschackert replies in No. 10 of the same journal. It is most certainly true, that that part of Prof. Tschackert's book, which gives the necessary historical introduction, contains some loose and inaccurate statements. But the emphasis which Prof. Kolde lays upon them is out of all due proportion to their importance, especially when we remember that this is a critical edition of the text of the A. C., and not an historico-critical introduction to it. In his zeal to find errors he fails to appreciate the service rendered, and is often unjust. He complains bitterly, almost sarcastically, that Prof. T. does not give us a thorough critical introduction to the Confession. But while this is closely related to the purpose of the book, it is not necessarily a part of it; hence Prof. T. had a perfect right to limit his work as he did. Prof. Kolde has also demonstrated how easy it is to make loose and inaccurate statements when writing on this complicated subject. See Prof. Thieme in *Theol. Literaturblatt*, 1896, No. 16, under title "*Zur Augustana*." We have been told on good authority that most German professors consider Prof. Kolde's critique unjust.

it, especially that of 1540. Though the latter had been recognized as the official confessional document of the Lutheran Church for almost a generation,* the zeal of the Gnesio-Lutherans against the Philippists, Crypto Calvinists and others, about the beginning of the last third of the sixteenth century, induced the Church to turn back to the Confession in its original form.† Thus there was bequeathed to us, in the Book of Concord, the so-called *Augustana Invariata*, the fundamental Confession of the Lutheran Church, and its only universally accepted symbol.

But, strange as it may seem, this name, which has always been the slogan of pure Lutheranism, is really a misnomer. For years it has been all but universally conceded by scholars that Melanchthon's *Editio Princeps* of 1531 (or perhaps of the late Fall of 1530), from which the Latin text of the Book of Concord was taken, was not an exact reproduction of the Confession as it was delivered to the Emperor, and that there were at least verbal inaccuracies in the German text, which, at the time of its introduction into the Book of Concord, was supposed to be an exact copy of the German original, that, after the diet, had been taken to the archives at Mayence. Already in 1784, Bertram's *Beyträge* showed that the antithesis in Art. XVIII was not in the original, and in 1891 Ficker's publication of the first *Confutatio* brought absolute proof that the damnatory section of Art. XIII was likewise not in the Confession as it was submitted to the Diet. Here was conclusive proof that our *Augustana Invariata* was really already a *variata*, and nobody knew to what extent. Both the Latin and the German originals had disappeared, and the only thing of which we were certain was, that the so-called Textus Receptus of the A. C. contained many departures from the original documents, some of which were very important.

* Th. Kolde. *Die Augsburgische Konfession*. Gotha, 1896, p. 14. Weber *Kritische Geschichte der Augsb. Konfession*. Frankfurt a. M., 1783, Vol. II, 72 sq., 316 sqq.

† The *Variata* of the Fall of 1531 was innocently put into the Book of Concord of 1580. This is the last known official use of a *variata*.

A few pages of Reformation history are necessary for us to understand this chaotic condition of the text of the Confession.

The call of the Emperor, issued from Bologna, Jan. 21, 1530, for a Diet at Augsburg, April 8th, 1530, to consider the matters of religion in which there was disagreement, was surprisingly peaceful in spirit; and this, with the conviction that in doctrine they had not departed from the true Catholic Church, induced many of the Evangelical leaders, especially Melanchthon, to think that the only troublesome differences were in ecclesiastical practices. And, since it was unfairly said of the Saxon Elector that "he did away with all service of God and set up a Godless, dissolute life, and disobedience," the work which most naturally suggested itself to the theologians of Wittenberg, was a defence (*apologia*) of the church practices which the Elector John permitted in his realm, for which they were responsible. But after their arrival in Augsburg, May 2d, they were called upon to meet new and unexpected conditions, which compelled them to change their plans. Eck, Professor of Theology in Ingolstadt, probably acting on a suggestion of the Bavarian Dukes,* had published in book form† 404 erroneous excerpts from the writings of Luther, Melanchthon, Zwingli and certain fanatical Anabaptists, the evident purpose of which was, by wresting the utterances of the Reformers from their context and classifying them in the same category with those of the most fanatical errorists, to place the Lutheran Reformation in the worst possible light before the Emperor. Against this Melanchthon found it necessary "to oppose a remedy"‡ in the form of "articles of faith and doctrine," which make up the doctrinal part of the Confession, the basis for which he found in the Marburg and the Schwabach Articles, to which he added Articles VIII.,

* Kolde. *Augsburg. Konfession*, 4. Note at foot of page.

† Eck had sent the Emperor a beautiful manuscript copy with annotations. For description of copy and text of accompanying letter see Plitt, *Einleitung in die Augustana*. Erlangen, 1867, Vol. I, 557 sqq. It is now universally acknowledged that Eck's book called forth the doctrinal part of the Confession.

‡ *Corpus Reformatorum*, II, 45.

XIV and XVIII to XXI. The so-called Torgau Articles* were worked up in the latter part of the Confession, which treats of abuses. But in spite of the fact that Melancthon had such rich material at hand, the great changes that he introduced, and his persistence in seeking the very best form of expression, made the composition of the Confession in its final stages very slow, in fact changes were introduced into it almost up to the hour of delivery. The Saxon Elector and his theologians were the leaders among the Evangelicals, and their Confession attracted the most attention, which increased as the thought of a common confession grew. Copies were needed that they might know the content of the Saxon document, and many were made. Agreement was reached in regard to handing to the Emperor one common confession, and it was in all probability signed June 23d. Sat. P. M., June 25th, the German text was read before the Emperor, and both the Latin and the German originals were handed to him and were never again seen by the Protestants.† Charles retained the Latin copy for

* On page 5 Prof. Tschackert tells us that Melancthon used the Schwabach Articles of Luther, and the Torgau Articles of Luther, himself, Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas in preparing the Confession. In the first edition of the Schwabach Articles Luther informs us that Melancthon helped to compose them. *Er. Ed.* XXIV (2d Ed.), 337. Modern scholars are all unanimous in assigning the so-called Torgau Articles to Melancthon alone. See *LUTHERAN QUARTERLY*, Vol. XXVII, p. 309.

† Weber, in his *Kritische Geschichte* of the A. C., Vol. I, 51 and 76 sqq., shows by citations from a book by Lindanus, *Concordia Discors*, Cologne, 1583, that Lindanus had got the original Latin manuscript from the archives in Brussels for use at the Council of Trent in 1562. Then Weber quotes from a letter from Vigilius to Hopper, according to which Duke Alba, in the name of King Philip of Spain, had demanded the Latin original. Doellinger's *Beitrægen zur politischen kirchlichen und Culturgeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 648, there is a copy of a letter from King Philip to Alba dated Feb. 18th, 1569, in which the king requests that the Confession be sent him so that he might destroy the heretical document. A second letter from the King makes the same request. If the order was obeyed it is probable that the Latin text has perished. At least all search for it in Brussels and in certain Spanish libraries has been fruitless. See Otto Waltz, *Das lateinische Original der Augsburger Konfession*, in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, pub. by Sybel, Vol. 42, 564 sqq.

The German copy was used at the Council of Trent and then disap-

himself and deposited it in the imperial archives in Brussels, and the German copy, having become an official state paper by its having been read before the Diet, was given to the imperial chancellor, the Elector of Mayence, who deposited it in the archives there.

The Emperor desired the Protestants to refrain from publishing their Confession. But certain enterprising printers or book sellers were quick to improve a splendid opportunity. Accordingly, within a short time there appeared one Latin and six German unauthorized editions, all of which were very inaccurate, and some of them seem to have been changed intentionally. This practically compelled Melanchthon to publish a correct text of the Confession, which he did, probably with the consent of the Elector.* It appeared in 1531,† and became the *Editio*

peared. Many historians think that it was taken to Rome, but the researches of Bunsen and Hase, and more recently of Brieger, have failed to discover it.

Prof. Tschackert, on the basis of passages from Lindanus and the letter from Philip just referred to, which mention the Confession as being in Melanchthon's handwriting, claims that Melanchthon wrote the Latin copy that was submitted. Prof. Kolde rejects this on the ground that Melanchthon always made such numerous emendations in his manuscript that it would not be suitable for submission to the Diet, and because the "copying," referred to in the letter of the Nuremberg delegates (C. H. II, 127), could refer only to the preparation of the official copy. As to his first objection: We know that Melanchthon was not allowed to make all the emendations that he wanted to make (C. R. II, 140), hence it is somewhat weakened, and it was not strong in the beginning. And as to his second objection, that the Nuremberg delegates, Kress and Volkmar, report a transcribing (C. R. II, 127), and that on June 24th, the Evangelicals "asked that the Confession be left with them that they might look over it and correct it, because they had been hurried"—that this, in all probability, can refer only to the copy for submission to the Diet, is a mere assumption that needs some positive proof, for the passages in the Nuremberg correspondence can refer just as easily to any one of the dozen other copies that were made about this time. While the Catholic tradition may not be true, we cannot see that Prof. Kolde has succeeded in overthrowing it.

* Koellner's *Symbolik*. Hamburg, 1857, p. 232.

† Kolde, *A. Konfession*, p. 11. Koellner, *Symbolik* 233 and 234. This is one of the many uncertain points in connection with the history of the Augustana. It seems almost impossible that we cannot be sure when our Confession was published in the *Editio Princeps*, but such is the case.

Princeps of history, from which the publishers of the Book of Concord of 1584 took their Latin text. However, this Latin text marked already a departure from the Augsburg document, and the German text suffered still greater alterations at the hand of Melanchthon. Then followed the *Variatæ* of the Fall of 1531, 1533 and 1540, each of which received official recognition.* The Book of Concord effected uniformity by establishing as authoritative in the Church the Latin text of the *Editio Princeps*, and an inaccurate copy of what was supposed to be the German original in the archives of Mayence, but which has been proven to be only a copy of the unfinished text.

It would be difficult to imagine greater textual confusion. To the question, What is the Unaltered A. C? the only safe answer would be: That which we do not have. We cannot get it from the pre-Melanchthonian editions. They are utterly worthless. The various editions by Melanchthon, including the *Editio Princeps*, in spite of the official recognition accorded them, must be regarded as revisions, so far as the establishing the original text is concerned. The Textus Receptus of the Book of Concord is the Latin text of the *Editio Princeps* and an arbitrarily amended copy of a copy of the unfinished German text. Hence even that to which we subscribed on entering the ministry is by no means the Confession in the form in which it was signed, read and submitted at Augsburg. The only source left, from which we might possibly get the original text, is the manuscript copies, of which twenty-five were known, some of which had never been thoroughly investigated. Several of the more important manuscripts had been used in various editions of the A. C., particularly in J. T. Mueller's *Symbolische Buecher*, where there is a list of some important variations. But, strange as it may seem, there has never been a

* The *variata* edition of the Fall of 1531 was put into the Book of Concord of 1580, and was regarded as "the first Unaltered A. C. delivered to the Emperor Charles V, at Augsburg in the year 1530, in the great Diet." Dr. Jacob's *Book of Concord*, p. 492. The German *variata* of 1533 was in all probability used at Smalcald (Weber, II, 316). The great *Variata* of 1540 (German text almost identical with that of 1533, and Latin only slightly changed) was used at Worms in 1541. (Weber, II, 310 and 313.)

thoroughly systematic and critical study of these documents. Even such a student of Reformation history and confessional themes as Theodore Kolde, of Erlangen, was compelled to use the old Textus Receptus in his *Augsburgische Confession* of 1896, "because we possess no critical text." And yet the materials for such an edition have been lying in archives since the days of the Reformation, awaiting a patient investigator to work them up.

Several years ago, while Prof. Tschackert, of Goettingen, was making historical investigations in the royal state archives in Hannover, he chanced upon the original manuscript copy of the A. C., which Duke Ernest (The Confessor) of Lueneburg had his chancellor, Foerster, procure for him. This was by no means a new discovery, for the manuscript had been known for a long time; however, it had never been thoroughly investigated. But this incident suggested to Prof. Tschackert that if one of the signers of the Confession had thought to take a copy of it home with him, so that he might know exactly what he had confessed, the other subscribers would likely have been prudent enough to have done the same. Guided, in part, by this thought he went to work, and as a result we know of thirty-six manuscript copies of the A. C., all of which, save the Weimar translation, are from the year 1530; and we have the original duplicates of every signer of the Confession, except that of Albrecht, of Mansfeld.* Prof. Tschackert has the honor of having discovered three of these—we may call them—official manuscripts, and eight others, which were written about the same time. In this book he gives us a description and a critical examination of each one of the entire

* The name of Albrecht, of Mansfeld, is included in the list of subscribers in all authoritative German manuscripts. Prof. Kolde objects on the basis of certain letters which he quotes in his critique. Prof. Tschackert, in his reply in No. 10 of the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, gives good reason for retaining the name among the signers. The Electoral Prince, John Frederic, of Saxony, who was there with his father, and Duke Francis, of Lueneburg, who was there with his older brother, needed no duplicates.

thirty-six manuscripts, seventeen of which are described for the first time.

Critical investigation of these manuscripts revealed the fact that many of them have the Confession in unfinished form. Of course, such copies, important as they are for showing the progress in the composing of the Confession, can have no authority in determining the final text. For this purpose only those manuscripts can be used that are complete, with preface and names of subscribers, and contain the text in its finished form. Hence Prof. Tschackert was limited to "Nurenberg," "Ansbach No. 2," "Marburg," "Zerbst" and "Reutlingen" for constructing the German text, and for the Latin text he had codices "Norimbergensis," "Hannoveranus," "Dresdensis" and "Marburgensis No. 2." "These nine manuscripts are the authoritative copies. The publisher of the text of the Unaltered A. C. must hold to them alone; and all of these nine invaluable documents belonged to the subscribers of the Confession. It gives us quite a feeling of assurance to know that these priceless manuscripts are the same copies of the Confession that its subscribers wanted to keep with them for their own certainty."

After a critical study of all the manuscripts, Prof. Tschackert makes the following classification:

A. Manuscripts of the German text.

I. (a) Incomplete manuscripts of the unfinished Confession. Ansbach No. 1, Weimar No. 1, and Muenchen.

(b) Complete manuscripts of the unfinished Confession.

Dresden No. 1, Hannover, Pfalz-Neuburg No. 1, Mayence, Wuerzburg, Augsburg, Noerdlingen, Lindau, Weimar No. 2, Dresden No. 2, Pfalz-Neuburg No. 2, Constance and Strassburg.

II. Manuscripts of the finished Confession.

Zerbst, Reutlingen, Nurenberg, Marburg, Ansbach No. 2, Ansbach No. 3 and Koenigsberg.

B. Manuscripts of the Latin text of the Confession.

I. Manuscripts of the unfinished Confession.

Marburgensis No. 1. Wirceburgensis, Ratisbonensis, Onoldinus and Dessaviensis.

II. Manuscripts of the finished Confession.

Dresdensis, Wimariensis, Hannoveranus, Norimbergensis and Marburgensis No. 2.

C. One manuscript of a German translation of a Latin text.

D. One manuscript of a French translation of a Latin text.

We subjoin brief descriptions of the authoritative duplicates, and also of certain other manuscripts that are not classed as authoritative, because former uncritical generations have ascribed to them an importance that they do not have.

The German duplicate of Prince Wolfgang, of Anhalt, is in the ducal family and state archives in Zerbst. It is a good manuscript, evidently written by a learned man, without doubt at Augsburg during the diet. It is independent of the other good German manuscripts and is one of the best witnesses for the German text that we have.

In the state archives in Reutlingen is preserved the Reutlingen copy of the German text, evidently written by an educated man. Like "Zerbst," it is without numbers for the articles, and like "Nuremberg," the names of the confessors stood originally in the preface and were struck out by the transcriber and added at the end. After a critical examination of its errors, Prof. Tschackert concludes that it is more important than "Zerbst," and places it next to the important trio, "Marburg," "Ansbach No. 2" and "Nuremberg."

The German manuscript copy of the Nuremberg delegates is in the Bavarian state archives in Nuremberg, and is the "correct copy" (*richtige Abschrift*) which was made at Augsburg, just before the reading of the Confession, and sent to Nuremberg just after the originals were given to the Emperor. It is carefully corrected throughout.

The German text of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse is in the royal state archives in Marburg. It was corrected, in all probability from the original, as were "Nuremberg," and "Ansbach No. 2."

The German duplicate of Margrave George of Brandenburg is in the royal Bavarian state archives in Nuremberg. The manuscript is corrected throughout, and almost all the correc-

tions are from the same hand that made the copy. Prof Tschackert agrees with Förstemann that in this manuscript, known as "Ansbach No. 2" "we have a copy of the Confession corrected throughout according to the original that was given to the Emperor." The Margrave's chancellor, Sebastian Heller, noted on the first blank page, that this is the Confession read before the Diet, and, in German and Latin copies, given to the Emperor. He also made notes on the margin, which prove conclusively that this document was used in the later negotiations for the adjustment of differences. This shows that this copy was regarded as authoritative at that time. The Königsberg manuscript of the German text is a good copy of "Ansbach No. 2." "Ansbach No. 3" is also a copy of this manuscript, and deserves mention here because it has been differently estimated by different scholars. Weber (*Kritische Geschichte* I, 179 sqq.), considers it a copy of "Ansbach No. 2." Förstemann seems to hesitate to speak of the relation of the two manuscripts. But J. T. Mueller (*Symbolische Buecher*, LXIV and LXV), concludes that "this manuscript is worthy of being placed first among them all, and nothing stands in the way of declaring it to be a true copy of the original." Prof. Tschackert shows clearly that this "Ansbach No. 3" is only a copy of "Ansbach No. 2"; hence it has no voice in determining the final text.

The famous Mayence manuscript, now in the state archives in Vienna, proves to be a carelessly made copy of the unfinished text. It is closely related to "Dresden No. 1," in fact they, with certain other more remotely related copies of the unfinished text, seem to have sprung from a common parent text. Prof. Tschackert's critical examination of the errors in "Mayence" and "Dresden No. 1" shows that the former was copied very carelessly when compared with the latter. And yet this "Mayence" text, barring some corrections made according to Melancthon's German text of the *Editio Princeps*, and certain other changes, that seem to have been purely arbitrary, is the German text that we have in the Book of Concord. It is useless for determining the original.

The Latin duplicate of the Saxon Elector, written and corrected by Spalatin, is in the royal Saxon Archives in Dresden. The Weimar codex is an exact copy of it.

The Latin manuscript copy that Duke Ernest of Lueneburg took home with him is found in the royal Prussian state archives in Hannover. It is a fine copy of the finished Latin text and is one of the authoritative manuscripts.

The Nuremberg delegates also sent home a copy of the finished Latin Confession at the same time that they sent the German copy. It is also preserved in the archives of that city. The manuscript was carefully corrected, apparently in almost every instance, by the writer.

The Latin duplicate of Landgrave Philip of Hesse is in the royal Prussian state archives in Marburg. Prof. Tschackert regards this as the manuscript had in hand when he prepared the Latin text for the *Editio Princeps*, and thinks that he can recognize Melanchthon's handwriting in some of the corrections* in the text. This explains the fact that of all codices this one is most closely related to the Latin text of Melanchthon's first edition of the Confession.†

* This theory is weakened by the fact that this codex does not have "vescentibus" in Art. X. It is fair to assume that if Melanchthon had corrected it he would not have allowed this error to pass unnoticed. All the other authoritative texts have the word.

† Prof. Kolde, in his critique, rejects the theory that Melanchthon used this Hessian codex in editing his *Editio Princeps*, because, according to his unproven theory (see above), Melanchthon had his own manuscript, and then—"as if the Saxon court had none! 'But Prof. Tschackert's critical study reveals the fact that the Dresden codex contains the finished Confession' in a somewhat earlier form" (page 50). Melanchthon certainly knew this, or could recognize it on seeing the manuscript. Hence, even if he were using the Dresden codex, it would be most natural for him to want another Latin copy for comparison. The following facts support Prof. Tschackert's position: There is a marked agreement between this codex of Philip of Hesse and the Latin text of the *Editio Princeps*. The letter of Elector John of Saxony to Philip of Hesse, Oct. 25th, 1530 (C. R. XXVI., 246), begs the latter's pardon for having kept a borrowed copy of the "Apologia" so long, and gives as the reason the very suggestive fact that the Wittenberg theologians "had it in their hands for several days." There certainly must have been some good reason for its being there. We cannot imagine their having kept it several

Critical investigation showed that the German manuscripts "Nuremberg," "Ansbach No. 2" and "Marburg" had almost exactly the same text, that "Reutlingen" stood very near them, and that the Anhalt duplicate, known as "Zerbst," showed some traces of the unfinished form of the Confession. Hence, for establishing the German critical text the three first named manuscripts had the chief authority, and, inasmuch as they agree, it made little difference which one was made the basis for the critical reconstruction of the text, so long as its readings were compared with, and corrected by, the other two manuscripts. Prof. Tschackert chose the Nuremberg duplicate as the basal text, because he identifies this with the "correct copy" spoken of in the Nuremberg correspondence, which can be definitely dated.* The readings of "Reutlingen" and "Zerbst" were likewise always noted. Since each one of these five authoritative texts contained mistakes in the copying of words and errors of omission, addition, transposition and dialectic errors, the critical text could be found only by carefully comparing these documentary sources, word for word throughout the entire Confession.

But we find more than merely a critical text of the A. C. in this book. "At the same time a second task must be per-

days for no purpose. (As to Prof. Kolde's objection, that "Apologia may mean the Apology to the Confession," we reply: Philip would not be at all likely to have a copy of the Apology to the Confession to lend, and, above all, we know that the manuscript copy of the Apology proper was not given over, it was retained). And in the preface to the *Editio Princeps* Melancthon claims that it was prepared from a trustworthy copy (*ex exemplari bonæ fidei*). It is not at all likely that he would have spoken thus had he used his own original manuscript. We conclude, therefore, that Prof. Tschackert's theory rests on strong presumptive evidence, which Prof. Kolde's objections fail to overthrow.

* Prof. Kolde, in his critique, gives good reason for thinking that at least part of this manuscript was written before the final settlement of the text and signing of the Confession, June 23d, and would have preferred to see "Ansbach No. 2" used as the basis of the German text, because we know that it is a text that was recognized as authoritative at that time. However he readily acknowledges that it would have made practically no difference in the results, because the texts of the three chief German manuscripts are almost identical.

formed. The proof of the incorrectness of the Augustana text of the Book of Concord must be given." Hence, in all passages where there are important errors in the "Textus Receptus," the readings of the Mayence text are also given, and generally also those of "Dresden No. 1," which is closely related to it.

For the construction of the critical Latin text a similar method was followed. However, the work was much simpler, because it was not necessary to contend with peculiarities of dialect, and the manuscripts did not differ so widely, as the variations noted at the bottom of the page plainly show. Though the Ansbach and Onold Latin duplicates contain the unfinished text, important readings are also given from them.

Prof. Tschackert chose a very good way for publishing the results of his critical investigations of the text. After the necessary introductory chapters, including descriptions of the various manuscripts, he gives us, not only the critically established 'Unaltered A. C.," but also indicates all changes from the Textus Receptus, and his reasons for making them. The text of the Confession is printed in four parallel columns; in the first the critical German text, in the second the Textus Receptus, in the third the critical Latin text, and in the fourth the Latin Textus Receptus. The differences between the readings of the critical text and those of the Textus Receptus are indicated in the latter by printing the words or passages in separated type. At the bottom of each page are given the various readings of all the authoritative manuscripts, and many readings from other important manuscripts and texts of the Confession, which makes the book very valuable for critical purposes. Prof. Tschackert could not have offered his results to the public in a more convenient form. The reader can see at a glance, not only the fault in the text that we have been using, but also the witnesses that testify against it, and can even note their individual testimony. And the work of editing all this complicated and tedious mass of details was done so carefully that the author found it necessary to note but one correction.

But that which interests us most of all is the resulting critical text. In the preface Prof. Tschackert speaks of his book

as containing the "text of the A. C., guaranteed by manuscripts, which I confidently hope agrees with that which was read before the Emperor, June 25th, 1530." Other manuscripts may yet be found. We know that many were made at that time. "But since I have been able to use the best duplicates, all of which have come down to us from the possession of subscribers to the Confession, we need not fear that the finding of other, as yet unknown, copies will change the present critical text. It is fully guaranteed by nine authoritative, mutually independent parallel manuscripts." Bossert, in his critique in No. 7 of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* of this year, heartily approves this last citation from Tschackert, and adds that its truthfulness will remain unimpeached, even though it should be necessary to make some small changes later. Prof. Kolde approves the selection of manuscripts and the method, save that he would have preferred "Ansbach No. 2" for the basal German text; but he adds that this would make practically no difference in the results, because it is almost identically the same as "Nuremberg." This means that Prof. Kolde, in spite of many errors and supposed errors that he found, approves Prof. Tschackert's work in those things which are all important for making a critical text.

Comparing the German text of the original edition of the Book of Concord of 1580 with the German critical text, Prof. Tschackert concludes: "The German text of the Confession in the Book of Concord is inaccurate through and through. All the passages in which it deviates from the critically guaranteed text are printed with separated type. There are more than 450 such deviations. The proofs for all these errors stand in the different readings. All these errors sprung from the unfinished condition of the Mayence text, the carelessness and caprice of the copyist and, perhaps, of the printer of the Book of Concord."

It is different with the variations in the Latin text. Here Melanchthon is responsible, and not fraudulent curators of archives or naïve and careless publishers; and the departures from the original must be regarded as intentional. About 90 of

them were made purely in the interests of a better style. However in many places these alterations are no longer of a merely editorial character; they change the meaning. Hence we must regard the Latin text of the *Editio Princeps*, which is the Latin text we now use, as a private publication of Melanchthon's, and not as the original unaltered Latin Confession of Augsburg. Some passages were made sharper, and some more mild; some were made clearer, and some few were dropped altogether, while others were added. We note all the important changes and discuss several of them.

The first one we find in reading over the Confession, is the absence of the condemnatory part of Art. XIII in the critical text. It seems almost impossible that such a distinctively Protestant statement of doctrine did not stand in the original, for, excepting the doctrine of Justification by Faith, there is no other place where the characteristic difference between Romanism and Protestantism is more plainly shown. But the evidence against it is overwhelming. It is not found in any of the German or Latin authoritative manuscripts, and it is not mentioned in the Roman Confutation; in fact the confutators were very well pleased with Art. XIII in the Confession as it was submitted, which would have been impossible with this "Damnant" added. True, it does not reject a dogma of the Church. But it condemns a doctrine that was so generally recognized and had such a strong hold on Roman theology, and on the religious thought and life of her subjects, that it could be made a dogma in Ses. VII of the Council of Trent, and an anathema was pronounced against all those who reject it. And, though Melanchthon, even at this time, may have thought that the Catholic Church was sound at heart on the doctrine of the sacraments, and that the *opus operatum* of his and former days was exceptional to, rather than typical of, the Catholic system, he knew full well that it had such favor in the Church that the authorities at Rome openly tolerated it. It is true that its condemnation is implied in the sentence which immediately precedes the damnatory clause, *i. e.*, in the last sentence of the article as it stood in the original; so that Melanchthon could

honestly assure Eck at Worms in 1541, when speaking of the *Variata* of 1540, which has this same thought in a more theologically developed form, that "the meaning of the thing is the same, though in the late edition some things have been either more mildly expressed or have been better explained." But it is only implied there; the direct application to the soul damning error, as Melanchthon had learned to know it in his disputations with the Romanists, is not made. Hence this article, as it was read before the Diet and delivered to the Emperor, was much less anti Roman, much less Protestant, than it is in the form in which Melanchthon gave it to us in the *Editio Princeps*, which is the form in which we use it now.

The antithesis in Art. XVIII is likewise not found in the Latin or German critical text. Without it the article is Protestant and non-Roman, but with it it is much more Protestant, more clearly anti-Roman. It is plainly implied in that which had been submitted at Augsburg, for it is the logical application of that which had been theoretically stated to the errors of the "Pelagians and others." And, though no names are used to indicate who is meant by the "et alios," the doctrine rejected, as well as the language used in formulating the condemnation, make it absolutely certain. Some of the words seem to have been taken from the works of Duns Scotus and Gabriel Biel.* Without the antithesis this article does not exclude the synergistic teaching of Rome. It can be interpreted as merely another expression for that which Catholic theologians understand by the formula, "not without grace," when they speak of man's attaining salvation, which means almost exactly the opposite of that which we understand by the expression, "by grace alone." The confutators understood it this way, for they approved it almost unconditionally. But with the antithesis added, this possible wrong interpretation, this Roman construction of Art. XVIII is absolutely excluded, for it defines the Lutheran doctrine of the will over against Roman synergism by explicitly condemning the latter, as it appears in this con-

* Kolde, *Augsburgische Konfession*, 44.

nection. The meaning of the article is made clear and unmistakable, and its relation to the central dogma of the system, as expressed in Art. IV, is plainly shown. Hence the antithesis not only makes the article more clearly Protestant, but also adds to the unity of the Confession.

In the Epilogue to the doctrinal part of the Confession we read in our Latin texts: "But the dissension is concerning certain abuses." But the critical text, supported by all authoritative manuscripts, reads: "The whole discussion is concerning some few abuses." Both the German texts read: "For the difference and dispute is chiefly concerning some traditions and abuses." The difference between the Latin texts is small, but it is enough to give the Epilogue, as Melanchthon published it, quite a different tone from that which it had when it was submitted to the Emperor. Even as it is now it seems very compromising to us, who can view Rome in the light of almost four centuries of anti-Protestant development, but it is not as compromising as it was.

There is a very important change in the third Sec. of Art. XXIV. In Dr. Jacob's "Book of Concord" it reads: "For therefore alone have we need of ceremonies, that they may teach the unlearned." In the critical text it is: "For therefore chiefly have we need of ceremonies etc." The German texts agree with the critical Latin text. The original text leaves room for another use of ceremonies than that of instruction, *i. e.*, it is open to a Catholic interpretation. It is content to claim that instruction is the chief use of ceremonies, whereas the truly Protestant position is, that it is their only use. Hence we are forced to the conclusion that the original reading of this sentence was not distinctly Protestant, but was rather a compromise with the Romanists. It is only a little change, the change of just one word; but it is enough to transform a sentence, which could easily be understood as approving something that was distinctively Roman, into an unconditional and sweeping condemnation of Roman error in this doctrine.

There are a number of doctrinal changes, but lack of space forbids a thorough discussion of them. We mention the follow-

ing important differences between the text of the *Editio Princeps* and that of the original Art. XXVI, sec. 216: "Sic igitur docuerunt, quod per observationem traditionum humanarum non possimus gratiam mereri aut justificari," READ originally: "Sic igitur docuerunt, quod per observationem traditionum humanarum non possimus gratiam mereri aut satisfacere pro peccatis." Sec. 26 of this article is not found in the original at all. At the end of sec. 29 the critical text has "christiana justitia," where the *Textus Receptus* has "christianismus." Art. XXVIII, sec. 30, we read in the critical text "Praeter haec disputatur, utrum episcopi habeant jus instituendi ceremonias in ecclesia, etc." In the *Editio Princeps* this was changed to "Praeter haec disputatur, utrum episcopi seu pastores habeant, etc." The last words of sec. 35, "et justiciam," are not found in the original. In the middle of sec. 41, "quod certi cibi polluant conscientiam, quod ieiunia sint opera placantia deum, etc.," read in the original, "quod certi cibi polluant conscienciam, quod ieiunia non naturae, sed afflictiva, sint opera, placantia deum." Sec. 76 of the original was changed from "Petrus vetat episcopos dominari et ecclesias cogere" to "Petrus vetat episcopos dominari et ecclesiis imperare."

These are the most important doctrinal changes introduced into the *Editio Princeps* by Melanchthon. The question forces itself upon us, what do they mean, what general conclusions are we compelled to make?

I. The German text, which has been handed down to us in the Book of Concord, and which, at the time of its introduction into the Lutheran collection of symbols, was innocently supposed to be an exact copy of the original German text, though it proves to be but a poorly made copy of an unfinished text and teems with errors, has fewer important doctrinal deviations from the original *Invariata* than our so-called *Invariata*, which was taken from the *Editio Princeps* and has been recognized ever since as authoritative, because the *Editio Princeps* was considered a faithful reproduction of the Confession as it was submitted at Augsburg.

II. Another and a most surprising fact that a comparison of our Latin *Textus Receptus* with the critical text forces upon us,

is, the tendency of the latter to let important Roman errors pass uncondemned. Arts. XIII and XVIII are so formulated in the original that they can be understood almost as easily in a Roman as in a Protestant sense, and the most natural interpretation of other passages is, to say the least, not distinctively Protestant. The Confession is so worded that many anti-Roman elements in Lutheranism and many anti-Lutheran elements in Romanism are not allowed to appear. While it is most certainly true that the great central truth, for which the Reformers stood, is unequivocally confessed, and many other parts of their system of faith are just as clearly set forth, it is equally true that certain other characteristic differences are veiled; forms of expression are chosen that are capable of a double interpretation; the great chasm between Wittenberg and Rome is made to appear smaller than it really is. If Ranke, with the old text before him, could say that Melanchthon drew up the A. C., "with the undeniable intention of approaching as closely as possible to the Catholic doctrine," much more could he assert the same concerning the true *Invariata*, as it lies before us in the critical text. While on the one hand it has a clear Evangelical tone, such as the Church had not heard for centuries, on the other hand it breathes a spirit of acquiescence in Catholic errors, that is somewhat shocking to us of to-day. However, Melanchthon is not alone responsible for this. Though we do not know what changes he made in the text between June 23d and June 25th, when it was read and submitted, the uniform testimony of the manuscripts proves conclusively that these late alterations are not responsible for the chief doctrinal weaknesses.

But in judging the deeds of those eventful times we must always regard them in the light of the conditions that the Reformers were called upon to face. It no longer requires the heroism of Augsburg to confess the faith of Augsburg. We not only have the advantage of centuries of Protestant life and growth, which enables us, in some instances at least, to see the truths in a clearer light, but there is no apparent likelihood of our being called upon to face fire and sword for our faith's sake.

History, then unmade, demonstrated that such a calamity was possible at that time. A few of God's faithful children were before a mighty monarch, who lived and thought under the influence of an ecclesiastical system that was wont to still opposition by annihilation. No wonder they were content, after having stated the great, central, saving truth, to let some points pass unnoticed. It was not cringing cowardice on the part of the confessing Princes and theologians; it was rather consecrated prudence which lead them to subscribe and submit a Confession, which was so formulated as to give the least possible offence, and yet be true to the one great central Evangelical doctrine of salvation by faith alone.

III. From that which has been said, it is clear that the emendations, which Melanchthon introduced into the *Editio Princeps*, improved the unity of the Confession. The irenic tone, which pervaded the original document, seemed at least to veil the unity of the system in different places. Certain doctrines of the Reformers were not allowed to appear in their full antithesis to Rome, and some expressions were used, which have no place in a Confession whose central doctrine is Justification by Faith alone; and of course the elimination of these—we may call them—weaknesses made the Confession more uniform.

IV. For a long time the *publication* of the *Editio Princeps* has been regarded as a private undertaking of Melanchthon in the interests of the Evangelical party and, above all, in the interests of the truth for which they stood. And now the critical text, revealing, as it does, such important doctrinal changes in this first published edition of the Confession, compels us to conclude the same concerning the *text* of the so-called *Augustana Invariata*; for, strictly speaking, we cannot regard it as the same document, but only as a "revised and amended edition" of that which was subscribed and submitted, as Melanchthon himself wrote in the preface. Prof. Tschackert says: "The Latin text of the Melanchthon edition and of the Book of Concord is most certainly not the *Confessio Invariata* that was submitted on June 25th, but a private work of Melanchthon."

This is also true of the German text of the *Editio Princeps*, for it contained even greater variations from the original.

V. If we judge Melanchthon's procedure in the light of our modern ideas it appears as nothing short of tampering with state and church documents. But such a thought does not seem to have occurred to him or to his fellow confessors. "We must emphasize this, that, in spite of the fact that persons had in hand copies (of the Confession) that were different in many places, Melanchthon's edition was recognized by his contemporaries as an authentic rendering of the faith of the Evangelicals, which was confessed before the Emperor and Diet."* If Melanchthon had become convinced by late reflection that he had been too compromising in the interests of peace, or if the *Confutatio* had shown that the Confession as submitted was weak at some points, why should he not change it? The Church of the A. C. was young, and innocent of the literal interpretation of her great symbol. In fact she knew nothing of a "symbol," as we understand that term now. The one thing which above all others concerned her was the setting forth of her faith. And if the original and, strictly speaking, only legal form for confessing this faith proved to be defective in any way, and we must acknowledge that it was deficient in some very important points, it was proper for the author to "revise and amend" it, and for the Evangelicals to accept and use the improved edition. We must not forget that at Augsburg the Confession was a defense (*Apologia*) of the church life permitted by the rulers in their respective domains, and a defense of their faith against Roman objections as crystallized in the attack of Eck; after Augsburg it became a doctrinal standard. The spirit of Augsburg, partly under the influence of Melanchthon, was irenic and compromising toward the Catholic party, and just the opposite toward the Swiss; and this spirit made itself felt in forming the Confession. Later this *Apologia* of the Evangelicals became their chief doctrinal standard, and as such could not well be identical with the document produced under the conditions of

* Kolde, *Augsb. Konfession*, 15.

Augsburg. In a word, the changes introduced by Melancthon into his *Editio Princeps* were most certainly justifiable, and they, as well as those which he made later in several *variata* editions, were not objected to by his Evangelical contemporaries, because the one great thing that concerned the Church then was, not the measuring of faith by a fixed formula, but the fixing, and hence correcting if necessary, of the formula according to faith, so that the expression given it, since it was beginning to be recognized as a distinguishing doctrinal standard, might be the best possible.

But this tampering with an official state and church document brings another important fact to our attention. The reason for the approval of Melancthon's revision by the other Evangelical leaders is to be found in the fact that the changes concerned only the form of the Confession, and not the faith confessed. It remained the same; but the theological setting that had been given it needed improvement, hence the revision. This means that in the age that witnessed the birth of our Church and the formulation of her greatest confession, loyalty to her distinctive type of doctrine was by no means synonymous with a confessionism of the letter. They did not need identity of language in order to be sure of identity of faith. That is, they distinguished between the theological formulation and the faith content of the Confession, and considered the latter binding.

VI. One of the most perplexing questions that Prof. Tschackert's critical restoration of the original text brings up is, now that we have the Unaltered A. C., what shall we do with it? He answers it by saying: "The *Textus Receptus* had its important meaning; but it was only a make-shift, and will now have to yield over its authority to the critical text guaranteed by the manuscripts." If we insist upon confessing the faith of Augsburg in the words of Augsburg, there is no possibility of escaping his conclusion. But from the time of the publication of the *Editio Princeps*, within less than a year after the delivery of the real *Invariata*, until the present day, the Church has confessed her faith by a *variata*, until comparatively recently inno-

cently supposing that it was using the original text of Augsburg. In fact the only persons that have ever subscribed to the real *Augustana Invariata* were the confessors of Augsburg. This demonstrates that it is not necessary for us to forsake the text that has been handed down to us in the Book of Concord. It is true that we are using an unaltered Confession as our doctrinal standard. But if the fathers of the first generation of our Church could use the several *variata* editions as they appeared, we certainly may use the first *variata*, especially since it has been established in the Church for centuries. And, above all, it would not be wise to give up a more definite and more Protestant form of our Confession for a text that contained such marked weaknesses, as we noted in the original. The fact that those who made it and subscribed to it, forsook it for the text that we have, is sufficient reason why we should not go back to it. Lutheranism is not a matter of words and sentences, it is a type of faith. "But a Church that truly claims and wishes to continue to bear the name of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, must stand firmly by this, that its subscription to the doctrines laid down in the Church does not concern the letter, but only *the peculiar type of Christianity* therein expressed."*

P. S.—Having learned from correspondence with Professor Tschackert, that he would report later on the Swæbisch-Haller manuscript, and that he had discovered a new and very important copy of the finished Confession, which he was studying critically, but which, because of perplexing problems that it presented, would not be reported to the public "for some months yet," we requested him to permit us to give the readers of the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY the benefit of the information which he had sent us by letter. He very kindly consented, and gave us the following interesting facts, written expressly for publication in the LUTHERAN QUARTERLY. We take this occasion to express our sincerest thanks, and the earnest wish that his work, which stands as a monument to patient perseverance as a most

* Von Scheele, *Theol. Symbolik*, II, 81.

tedious work, may inspire many to a more thorough study of our great Confession.

"The Swaebish-Haller manuscript is not an original copy, does not have the names of the subscribers, and consequently belongs to the copies of the unfinished Confession. But its text is not to be despised, for it stands on the same plane with Constance and Strassburg. Bossert's view (See *Theol. Literatur-zeitung*, No. 7, 2902) is not substantiated. It is not a witness for the finished text.

"On the other hand, the newly discovered manuscript, which has the names of all the subscribers, is of great importance. It stands on the same high plane with the best manuscripts, and contains exactly the text as it is established in the 'critical edition.' The manuscript is a copy of a copy of the original text, and was written at Augsburg between June 25th and June 27th, and was dispatched June 27th, with an accompanying detailed account. So much is certain, this manuscript was produced in great haste, in from 24 to 48 hours, by two copyists, and is a copy of a copy of the read Confession. Accordingly it confirms what I wrote concerning the making of copies. But the chief thing is, it confirms my text in a most brilliant way."

ARTICLE IV.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.*

BY REV. W. C. HEFFNER, PH.D.

Social problems and their relations are changing continually. The spirit of the age, in the inner and outer development of the social fabric, causes first one and then another to be presented for solution. The development of the human race from primitive to modern civilization was a series of progressive conflicts in which principles and forces struggled for supremacy. Society has been completely revolutionized through the instrumentality of the modern forces—gunpowder, printing, steam and electricity, and the new ideas as to the world and man.†

The increased complexity of modern life has complicated exceedingly our problems and their relations. So many influences are operating therein, that it is almost impossible to disentangle them, trace their correctness, and measure their effects. However certain conclusions and results may appear, they are frequently inexact and proximate only.‡ Profs. Vincent and Small emphasize this complexity in defining "Descriptive Sociology," as "the organization of all the positive knowledge of man and society furnished by Biology, Anthropology, Ethnology, Demography, History, Political and Economic Science and Ethics."§ From these sources the principles governing human conduct in society, as well as for its scientific construction, are chiefly derived. But this practically ignores the teaching of Jesus concerning social problems. A proper recognition of the power and influence of His principles will reduce materially the complexities and difficulties. The Chris-

*[This article has been accepted as a graduating thesis by the Faculty of Wooster University, Wooster, Ohio.—Eds. LUTHERAN QUARTERLY]

† Hodges—*Faith and Social Service*, I. *The New Forces*, especially part III.

‡ R. Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, pp. 8-9.

§ Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*. Footnote p. 12.

tian religion "proclaims the dignity of man, the fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man," eliminates the naturalistic view, and introduces the spiritual, Jesus Christ being the corner stone.

The earliest problems were political and religious. The individual existed for the state, not as a part thereof; and the study of Society was embraced in the other social disciplines. The precipitation of the Germanic tribes upon Roman civilization established state forms, and defined their limits. The struggles from the eleventh century to the close of the Reformation crushed feudalism, determined the rival spheres of Church and State, and established national states. The French revolution overthrew the privileged classes, and accentuated individual liberty.* The American revolution overthrew "taxation without representation," perfected the representative principle, separated Church and State, and made civil and religious liberty real. In these conflicts the political and religious problems were solved.

With their exit the social problem enters. The distinct consciousness of its separate existence "comes," as Prof. Wagner remarks, "of the consciousness of a contradiction between economic development and the social ideal of liberty and equality, which is being realized in political life."† It is advancing now on ethical and religious lines, and gives the present age that distinct character, "the social age."

Numerous propositions are advanced for its solution. Utopias and panaceas, productive of extensive injury, are put forth for all the ills of society with alarming rapidity. Scientific analogies explaining and accounting for social phenomena are equally numerous. The most serious defect of all these is that they fail to account properly for feeling, desire, aspirations and spirituality. Consequently modern writers reject them on the ground of insufficiency, and adopt other bases. Prof. Larde "finds the motive at the basis of all human organizations,"‡ to

* R. Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, pp. 1-2.

† Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, pp. 1-2.

‡ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 4.

be "imitation." Prof. Simmel places it in the psychological nature of man.* Prof. Ward emphasizes the psychological as "found in the feelings of men collectively and in the intuitive faculty.†" Prof. Giddings adopts the "consciousness of kind.‡" Prof. Baldwin accentuates strongly the psychological.§ Dr. Stuckenberg discovers it in his peculiarly invented term, "Sociation." This is conclusive evidence that scientific writers are constructing real society on the basis of "thought, feeling, aspiration and religious emotion."|| The change is gratifying, but the power and influence of Christianity in the formation of society is not recognized fully.

Each phase of human well-being has contributed certain truths for the amelioration of social conditions. The harmonizing of these with the Biblical truths enunciated in Mosaism, re-affirmed by prophecy, and vitalized and expanded by Christ is the unsolved problem of to-day. Christ's prayer, "that they all may be one,"¶ can be realized only in doing God's will, "in earth as it is in heaven."** "Render unto Caesar the things which be Caesar's, and unto God the things which be God's,"†† contributed largely to the solution of the political and religious problems; and the social must be solved by making real the commandments, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;"‡‡ and "That ye love one another as I have loved you."§§ Sociological writers who adopt the new bases mentioned above,||| readily admit the power, influence, and value of Christian principles. Prof. Mathews says: "A Christian method of sociological investigation is impossible,"¶¶ but it is possible to translate Christ's ideals into a Christian sociology for the governing of human conduct in society. Its "terminology, though permissible," may not be "advisable,"° but as we designate philosophies as "Hegelian, Aristotelian, Baconian," so we can desig-

* Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p 5.

† Ibid, p. 5.

‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

|| Ibid.

¶ John 17 : 21.

** Matt. 6 : 10.

†† Luke 20 : 25.

‡‡ Matt. 19 : 19.

§§ John 16 : 12.

||| See pp. 4-5.

¶¶ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 1-2.

° Ibid, pp. 2-3.

nate a sociology as Christian.* In this sense the teaching of Jesus claims the right of recognition in social relations. Placing beside this Wright's definition of the science of social relations, "the science of the institutions, which enable society to perform its infinitely varied functions,"† and that "every feature of society which comprehends the action of a group of individual units represents an institution,"‡ we obtain reasonable and justifiable grounds for its claim.

The inadequacy of naturalism, pantheism, positivism, culturism and other philosophies, and the economics of Smith, Ricardo and Mill, in the improvement of social relations, is conclusively established in the pronounced dissatisfaction with their progeny—the present industrial system. When, under the influence of this system, unscrupulous men without principle and patriotism put themselves forward as the apostles of civilization and intelligence, and the high-minded and noble, the honest and enlightened, advocate bondage and oppose progress, we must reject the erroneous views and turn to the Man of Galilee—the Light of the World—for the real truth. In His teaching we find the material for reforming individual, social and national life. He accounted for human nature and society in their entirety; and entrusted the mission of application to His disciples and followers. The Christian clergy, on account of their close contact and intimate fellowship with every class of people, must assume the leadership in introducing a deeper realization of the kingdom of God upon earth, by expounding Christian Ethics, and Christian principles of social relations, to regulate and harmonize the laws and institutions of government, and the practices and customs of human society upon one model, Jesus Christ.§

* *Ibid*, p. 3.

† Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 1.

‡ *Ibid*, pp. 1-2.

§ S. F. Scovel in a personal letter to the writer.

PART I.

THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.

The principles of social relations must be stated and discussed before they can be applied to the improvement of society. It is a mooted question whether the time has arrived in sociological research to adopt certain principles as fundamental and final; but the work done under judicious investigation, discussion and criticism, has resulted in establishing some truths that serve as guides in practical work.

The natural state of man is association, not isolation. The Divine edict that it is not good for man to be alone,* is echoed in the Aristotelian dictum, "Man is a social animal." Prof. Fairbanks' denial† of this can be admitted only when man is viewed from the crude animalistic side, but not when regarded in the light of Christian truth; because, with the impress of the Divine image, "Man is a social being who finds his normal life only in union."‡ The naturally implanted social qualities, and the external environment, as race, location, etc., are the causatives for social relations and activities, that enable man to realize the perfection of his being in seeking the fellowship of other human beings. From whatever point we view man in his entirety, we find this capacity and desire for union—the completion of his life by losing it in the lives of others; and in this lies the hope of his regeneration.§ The entire scope of man's life is embraced in these words of Philo: "Man lives not for self only, but for parents, brothers, wife, children, relatives, friends—the members of his deme, tribe, country, race—mankind—and much more, the Father and Creator."|| It is joined on the one side with physical forces, and on the other lies the needed sonship of God and fellowship of man.¶

Social relations and activities are caused by the naturally im-

* Gen. 2 : 18.

† Fairbanks, *Intro. to Sociology*, pp. 61 and following.

‡ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 186.

§ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 32-89

|| Lorimer, *Christianity and the Social State*, p. 52.

¶ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 38.

planted social stimuli, whose wants and desires seek satisfaction in social aggregations. These primal causatives are the need of existence and the desire for distinction. The quest for food causes association. Association paves the way for distinction, which Senior considers "the most powerful of human passions."* Distinction must include character, else it could be perverted to the basest of human actions. Christ dealt severely with those who sought distinction at the expense of character. Numerous secondary causatives exist, such as the love for the beautiful, the desire for excellence in science, literature and art, morals and religion, etc., that supplement the activities of the primary in laying the foundations of the institutions of the science of social relations.

These causatives do not supersede, nor invalidate the postulates of Prof. Giddings and Dr. Stuckenberg. They are the basic grounds of the postulates from which they develop their logical social theories. We accept the "consciousness of kind" as denoting the "instinctive or unreflective,"† psychological principle determining "the unity of the social instincts,"‡ and "Sociation, as the reflective, apperceptive or deliberately voluntary,"§ stage of social development. In our judgment, Dr. Stuckenberg's criticism of the "consciousness of kind," in his introduction to the study of Sociology, misinterprets Prof. Giddings' intended meaning. If we accept "Sociation" as the sociative cause in reflective groups, and as representing so much of the "Social factors of individuals," as is "socially interactive,"|| does this go beyond the fundamental causatives of social activities as expressed in human needs and desires? Divesting man of all, save a small sociative factor, opens the way to introduce into sociology the counterpart of the "economic man" of the mercantile school of economists with all his absolutism

* Marshal, *Principles of Economics*. Quoted from Senior's *Political Economy*.

† Hyslop, *The Science of Sociology*, pp. 4-5, footnote.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ *Ibid.*, Cf., whole footnote.

|| Stuckenberg, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 160 and 129.

and robs man practically of his nobler attributes. On the other hand it seems strange that Prof. Giddings, after discarding biological and naturalistic explanations as insufficient, should follow the Spencerian method so largely in his great work, and practically throw overboard the nobler virtues of true manhood. Prof. Hyslop considers this and his method of classifying the sciences as the chief defects of his writings.

Accepting these scientific postulates with the largest measure of truth possible, and placing them beside the Christian postulates and truths, we should find harmony; for if true, they ought, when properly interpreted, to harmonize and supplement each other. Christian principles are regarded as too inexact, and useless in the scientific construction of a science of society. That "Jesus was not a student of society in the technical use of the term"* is true, but he gave us the basic principles to construct a real society. In prescribed forms with all the minutiae of details it would have become rigid, inelastic, and unadaptable; because constant adjudication of constitutions and forms is essentially necessary to real progress and development.

Abbott says: "The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man are the postulates of Christ's instruction; and the realization in human life of these ideals is the end of his ministry."† Flint advances as a basis, "The royal law of love—the love to man which is conjoined with and vivified by love to God."‡ Mathews finds that "according to the new social standard of Jesus, two men are equal, not because they have equal claims upon each other, but because they owe equal duties to each other."§ The ethical element predominates strongly in these views, while the spiritual recedes into the background. Gladden's conception of social science exalts the spiritual. He conceives it to be "the child of Christianity,"|| and its relation that "of an offspring to its parent"¶ being vivi-

* Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 16.

† Abbott, *Christianity and Social Problems*, pp. 225-6.

‡ Flint, *Socialism*, p. 458.

§ *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 173.

|| Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, pp. 211-14.

¶ *Ibid.*

fied "by the communication of a subtle personal force from one life to another,"* that is found in the Spirit of Christ.† At the close of the chapter on Demogenic Association, Prof. Giddings emphasizes the binding power of the spirit nobly when he says: "The Christian conception of universal brotherhood, by the genius of St. Paul, was converted into an ideal—that all men through a spiritual renewal may become brothers, uniting the classes and the races in a spiritual humanity"‡ Thus, if the social solidarity of the human race is ever to be realized, it must come through the unifying power of the Spirit in a brotherhood that forgets self, operates under the power of love, and aims to glorify Christ in service. Paul certainly interpreted the heart of Jesus when he wrote: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."§ The Spirit of Jesus must certainly be the unifying and vivifying power in the construction and development of social relations based on his teaching.

The postulates for a Christian basis of society are the sum of our duties to God and man in the summation of the decalogue on which, "hang all the law and the prophets."|| I. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."¶ II. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."° Christ exemplifies these, especially the latter, in enunciating the Golden Rule: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them"; and His new commandment of love,** "That ye love one another, as I have loved you."°° In these postulates law, reward and love are the appointed instrumentalities by which humanity is to attain comfort, contentment and unity in a spiritual brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God; for, "the first need of modern society is the diffusion of Christian

* *Ibid.*† *Ibid.*‡ Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*, p. 360.

§ Gal. 3 : 28.

|| Matt. 22 : 40.

¶ Deut. 6 : 5.

° Lev. 19 : 18.

** Matt. 7 : 12.

°° John 15 : 12.

principles, and a right relation of man to God"* and his fellow-man.

Primarily and fundamentally the Christian and the scientific postulates do not invalidate, contradict or antagonize each other to any perceptible extent. The antagonism results more from the manner in which investigators develop them than in their fundamental meaning. Neither Dr. Stuckenberg, nor Profs. Giddings and Fairbanks reject Christian principles. They recognize the power and influence of the Spirit of Christ in social relations, the latter even attributing to religious motives a "comprehensive authority," in social life; that "it so governs and controls the whole life, that the history of religion may almost claim to be the history of society."°

If we accept the width of meaning allowed by some writers, who recognize the power of the Christian religion in casting out the evil in society on the basis that, "he that is not against us is for us,"† *i. e.*, "whoever is trying in the name of Christ to cast out the evil in the world is a worthy comrade for every one else who is trying to do the same work in the same way;"‡ and if we interpret them as Gladden interprets Spencer's "Data of Ethics," that "Self-sacrifice is no less primordial than self-preservation;" "Egoism and Altruism are co-essential,"§ in which he finds a verification of "Christ's own law,"|| "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself;"¶ then certainly we must pronounce them preëminently Christian; because they recognize Christian principles far more largely than Spencer.

Inasmuch as both Christianity and Social Science recognize a state of social disease and distress in man and society, their subject matter and lines of work are practically identical and ought to be pursued harmoniously.** Man's wants, physically

* Thompson, *Divine Order of Human Society*, p. 11.

° Fairbanks, *Introduction to Sociology*, pp. 106-107.

† Luke, 9 : 50.

‡ Abbott, *Christianity and Social Problems*, p. 233.

§ Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, p. 234. || *Ibid.*

¶ Levit. 19 : 18 and Matt. 22 : 39.

** Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, p. 213 and following.

and religiously, are the causatives for social activities. Under the "consciousness of kind" and "Sociation" they appear in the formation of society and social relations, whose construction and development must be effected by the Biblical principles, vitalized by the Spirit of Christ; for "the new social order was to be spiritual, not material."* Its realization will be complete when the "higher verities and experiences of life" and the spirit† of love, embodied in Christ's new commandment "will seek to minister, not to be ministered unto; to become a servant to all."‡ The Christian Church and clergy, guided by the Spirit of Christ, must assume the leadership in the study, interpretation, construction and development of society, in order that the new social order of the spiritual brotherhood of man and fatherhood of God may become a reality.

The development of the social institutions by which society performs its infinitely varied functions is attained by making certain divisions of the subject matter. What constitutes a logical and full division of Sociology is still undecided. It is safest to adopt the view of Dr. Stuckenberg that "Numerous divisions are possible, and each may have cogent reasons. The best is that which most naturally groups the diverse materials and presents the greatest advantages for systematic study."§ Objections and criticisms can be made to every division. We deem that of Prof. Mackenzie as best adapted for our purpose, and, with a few modifications, adopt it for applying the principles stated above to the development and improvement of social relations. We group the materials and discussion under three divisions. I. The Conquest of Nature, based on the Divine command: "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth."|| II. Social Relations, "the science of the institutions which enable society to perform its infinitely varied functions,"¶ based on the dominion conferred on man** and his duties to his

* Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 176.

† *Ibid.*, p. 183.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Stuckenberg, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 102.

|| Gen. 1 : 28.

¶ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 1.

**Gen. 1 : 28-30.

fellowman. III. Personal development, embracing man's duties to God and the culture of his individual self. If this division is considered lacking in full discrimination, it is due to the exceeding complexity of social phenomena.

The clergy, in order to discharge their full bounden duty, should seek to mould the social and civic, as well as the religious life of the people, in expounding the teachings of Christ. Just as the Church and clergy lead in the cause of higher education on distinctly Christian principles, so also ought they to assume leadership in investigating and applying the teaching of Jesus to the whole life of man. With biblical truth permeating society, the chasms and cleavages will be bridged over, and their causes expelled. The true foundation and power of religious and civil life is the spirit of the living Christ. Science, Ethics, Civics, and Social institutions all issue from that one Fountain in whom is all wisdom. Let the heralds and watchmen of His Zion improve every opportunity, and labor incessantly in painstaking investigation, and study to correct the social disease and distress, and usher in the realization of the kingdom of God upon earth.

PART II.

THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS.

I. THE CONQUEST OF NATURE.

The application of these principles to the social institutions of industrial and business life is extremely difficult. The abnormal desire for wealth, coupled with selfish habits and customs, has created such prejudices and antipathies that a calm consideration is well nigh impossible. The present situation is largely that of two armies drawn up in hostile array, eager to seize the major portion of the product of industry. Powers and resources are wasted, and ruin and misery stalk around.

Our industrial and business system has been built up and developed from the "Economics" of Smith, Ricardo and Mill, whose doctrines have been perverted to the basest and most

selfish designs of unscrupulous men. The universal dissatisfaction and unrest demonstrate clearly that either some portions, or the whole of the foundation is wrong. Somewhere we departed from the truth. *Apriori* economics, supported by rationalism and skepticism, socialism, communism and other panaceas, have not revealed the error. Can the teaching of Jesus reveal it?

In industrial and business matters Christ dealt with the individual as a member of society. The standard of value by which the economists measure man is their meaning of the term "wealth."* The sole object of man is the acquisition of wealth by the unceasing application of business maxims that are scarcely anything else than rules of legalized theft, irrespective of the rights and welfare of humanity sacrificed thereby. The standard by which Christ measures the individual is his meaning of the term "man." The sole aim of man is the development of a Christian character.† Everything that God created he entrusted to man to be administered for his glory. In the parables of the pounds and the pearl of great price, Jesus approves industry and private property, and "the only one who is condemned is he who has done nothing to increase the store entrusted to him."‡ Private property is a trust from God to be administered in developing the highest Christian character.

The two forces governing industrial and business life are "the two coördinate forces of the ideal society—self-interest and benevolence." The nearer they approach, the more perfect, and the farther they depart, the more imperfect society becomes. Their wide separation to-day is due to the undue exaltations of self-interest to get as much and give as little as possible. The true spirit of humanity, that "a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth,"§ and that "life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment,"|| is

* *Christianity and Social Problems*, p. 183.

‡ *Ibid.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 80. See also Matt. 13 : 45-46, and 25 : 14-30.

§ Luke 12 : 15.

|| Luke 12 : 23.

lacking. To attain the proper spirit self-interest is to be checked and benevolence exalted.

Every one contributes to the product of industry, and is entitled to receive that just share that will enable him to enjoy the largest possible measure of life's comforts. It is not how much must be given for a certain effort, but how can we administer our stewardship so as to promote human happiness and enrich and enlarge human life most successfully.

It is not what will just suffice, but what will enable both employer and employee to enjoy comfortable homes, a variety of clothing, facilities for education, amusement, recreation, conveniences, a fair proportion of the luxuries of life, the knowledge that men are not human machines, but intelligent citizens, trusted servants of God and brothers in Christ seeking the eternal welfare and happiness of their souls.* "This requires the employe to cultivate the habits of industry and sobriety, and remember that promotions will come in proportion as he puts a higher degree of efficiency into his work; and the employer to recognize the employe's right to an increased share of the enlarged product of industry to enable him to work out his destiny under more exacting social conditions. Employer and employe are co-partners in industrial and business interests, dependent on each other as members of society, and mutually bound to render justice and righteousness in due season as good and wise stewards whom the Lord can call blessed when he cometh.† Social obligations debar the use of wealth for selfish ends, the sacrifice of souls at its expense, and its increase out of the just share of others. Jesus severely denounced those who perverted wealth and social distinction so as to let their "neighbors fall among thieves and Lazarus rot among dogs. There exists a nobler conception of one's duty which finds in Christ as the Son of man, a man in each one."‡

The capitalist and business man must not be confused with the stock-gambler and speculator. The former seek to increase

* Matt. 24 : 45-46

† Cf. Wright's *Practical Sociology*, pp. 233-4.

‡ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 157.

the product of industry by extending commerce and manufactures, while the latter seek to acquire the increase without just compensation. They are the scourges and parasites of society, and the causes of industrial and business depressions that ruin merchant and manufacturer, and bring hardship and privation on the inoffensive toiler. The creation of a conscience and public sentiment that will effectually expel this incubus from society will relieve the capitalist and business man from paying tribute to it and open the way for a more just and equitable distribution of wealth.

Educational facilities for the acquisition of increased technical skill and efficiency are essential requisites for the laboring man. Industrial education is to be placed on a par with that for the sciences and liberal arts. The threefold object is also to be sought: to serve for present purposes, and as a key to further knowledge; to train and develop such specialized lines for which there are natural aptitudes, and to impart that wisdom which will enable him to bring his individuality of character into harmonious relationship with the rest of his world.* Progressive-ness, which is the working through each stage of the business, and the abolition of the apprenticeship system, must find a substitute in the technical education. Promotions to positions requiring greater skill, responsibility and trust, are to be made on the basis of successful work only. The technically trained artisan is to be received into society with the same dignity, respect and honor as the man trained in science and the liberal arts. Dr. Sheldon, in "Born to Serve," seeks to dignify humble service in the spirit and love of Christ, and to prove that it is no barrier to advancement and preferment. Its sole aim is to be the developing of Christian character; the sending forth of men and women qualified to be makers and builders of society, and the emancipation of the workingman and the industrial and business world from the thralldom of present evils. Trades-unions and capitalistic combinations should be training schools in which mutual interests and their application to the advance-

* Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, pp. 410-419.

ment and promotion of human well-being are the studies. In mutual justice and right, self-interest and benevolence meet, and society becomes perfect.

The mission of the clergy in this is to endeavor to harmonize the clashing interests by fostering education and promoting happiness; by advancing peace through conciliation and arbitration; by setting forth the advantages and disadvantages of co-operation and profit-sharing, and by demonstrating that "the true relation of employer and employe is that of independent equals, uniting their efforts to a given end, each with the power, within certain limits, to determine his own rights, but not to prescribe the duties of the other."* They ought to enforce continually in their teaching, the recognition of right and love in mutual interests; the conversion of horizontal divisions of society into perpendicular ones; the application of Christian principles impartially, and the granting of equality on the basis of merit and truth. Christian freedom, truth and light will eventually prevail, and the larger the contribution they make toward the realization thereof, the greater will be the rejoicing in the day when the complete triumph will be proclaimed. In the transformations of that day will come the improved social relations, the dignity of man so universally desired, and the unification of mankind in the spiritual fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

II. SOCIAL RELATIONS.

1. *In Home and Family Life.*

The family is the primary unit and fundamental basis of social organization and development. It is the normal state of mankind. The purity and simplicity of the social order depend on its maintenance. Prof. Peabody says that Jesus "finds in the unity of the family that social force which moulds all mankind into one great family under the fatherhood of a loving God,"† and that "if the individual comes to his self-realization only in and through his service of the social order—then the

* Abbott, *Christianity and Social Problems*, pp. 284-5.

† Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, pp. 149-50.

integrity of the family, as the most elementary group of social life, will be reverently guarded and stringently secured."* Wright calls the family "the crucial social unit,"† "the very keystone of society,"‡ which is but another expression of the language of modern research. "The family is the unit of civilization."§ Upon the family depends the perpetuation of the race, the cultivation of the affections, the formation of character, the elimination of selfishness and unholiness, and the education necessary to make Christian men and women.

The family is co-eval with the race. Its normal form, as ordained in the creation, monogamy; the union of two persons of the opposite sex into one flesh. The distressed and deteriorated conditions of society in polygamous and polyandrous countries, prove that an eternal and immutable law of God has been violated. It is a life-long bond, based on physical, psychical and spiritual grounds, and is not to be broken, save for just cause, except by death. It is the "one expression of the fundamental social nature of man in both its physical and spiritual expression; and so long as it is monogamous, to be characterized by the modesty that is possible alone in such a relation; so long must it be unbreakable by statute."|| The union is mutual. The duties justly devolving on the one are not to be performed by the other. Jesus enunciated no principle that justifies the assertion of any superiority of the male over the female, or vice versa. There exists a just and righteous headship of the husband, that is recognized and enforced by Christ and His Apostles, and based on mutual respect and love, that makes woman man's companion, not slave. Domestic duties may be divided, burdens and afflictions borne mutually, but in the autocracy of the household the husband is the head.

Different views have been entertained concerning the marriage union during the successive stages of the world's history; but the one that prevailed is the monogamic form that is not a contract, or some form of co-partnership, dissolvable at will,

* *Ibid*, p. 133. † Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 67. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 67.

§ Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, p. 50.

|| Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 48.

but a real union dissolvable on one ground only,* and then only in the most extreme circumstances. The family's worst enemy is the modern divorce system of lax laws and loose courts of justice that have reduced it to a formal business partnership, and seriously injured the permanency of the conjugal relation. Uncontrolled passions and tempers; wasting things necessary for home comforts; the cruelties of the individualistic industrial system that compels wives and children to exhaust their vitalities in supporting the home; social clubs and fraternal associations that demand continual absence from the home circle; neglect of home cares and duties join the divorce courts in destroying home and family. Edmond Kelly's statement that "the family, which is the basis of our civilization, is gradually breaking up,"† is being fulfilled in these operations. Our safety lies in their total destruction. That is the noblest philanthropy which exerts its powers for maintaining the integrity, purity, happiness and sacredness of the Christian home.

The value of home influences in a child's life cannot be overestimated. The family circle is the educational institution in which it receives its first training and development. The preservation of the integrity of the family for the perpetuation and reproduction of its ideas in their lives is worthy of our best efforts. The aesthetic tastes, the love of the beautiful, the real sympathy, the law of peace and love, self-sacrifice, living for others, knowledge of the insufficiency of self, receive their first impressions in childhood's happy hour, and are the germs that come to perfection only in real home life. The progressivity of this "keystone of civilized society,"‡ this exemplification of Christ's law of love is realized as one home quickens those that follow. If mutual patience, forbearance and love govern and control the relations of the home, then the responsibilities, as well as the joys of family life will become radiant with divine light. The powers and influences of such families will manifest themselves in the daily life of love and self-sacri-

* Matt. 5 : 32.

† Wright, *Practical Sociology*, a quotation on page 71.

‡ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 67.

fice to do the will of the "Father before whom they daily bow the knee."*

In ancient history, the family was the basis for the state. In modern research its power is made to end with tribal organization; the state being formed in the breaking up of tribal authority, with the individual as the unit. In presence of this fact, however, it cannot be denied that the family exerts a potent influence in the construction of the State. The prestige and power of the institution upon which rests the divine impress and sanction is prominent in the institutions by which society discharges its functions.

The clergy are in closer contact with the home life of the people than any other person, or persons. Their advice should aim at the continual application of Christian truth to life and conduct. The expounding of the correct biblical teaching concerning the family, and the emphasizing of the sacredness and holiness of the marriage bond is their divinely ordained duty. The most momentous interests and welfare of society depend upon the faithful discharge of this duty. Righteous homes are essentially necessary for a state to perform its divine mission.

2. In Social Life.

Within the circle of social life amusements of every kind are included, whether they minister to physical development, or to the cultivation of those charms that attract the sexes and make their presence desirable and agreeable, or to the fostering of those criminal acts which satisfy the vicious and corrupt natures of mankind. "Dancing, from the impromptu polka of street children to 'assemblies' and masked balls; dramatic representations, from amateur theatricals to grand opera; games and contests, from pavement marbles to yacht racing and prize fighting; gambling, from 'craps' and policy-buying to roulette and 'book-making,' and festivity in all its degrees, are the universal amusements."† It is evident at a glance that much

* Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 106.

† Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*, pp. 120-121.

practical instruction is necessary to control the influences of these forms of social life.

Man's natural state is fraternity, not asceticism. Various attempts were made to combine asceticism and Christianity as the normal form of life, while in reality they are opposites. Asceticism seeks to banish everything that stimulates evil propensities in order to destroy the evil faculties, while Christianity seeks to overcome the evil by controlling the faculties in the performance of their divinely appointed functions. Christ's teaching seeks to train the powers of discrimination between good and evil, so as to impart a vigorous and healthful tone of life. With Him it was not a question of antagonism, but of using all things righteously, that they may minister to effect an entrance into the perfect social order. He came eating and drinking, making no distinction as to rich or poor. He made all things the ministrants to a higher good, not ends. In the spirit of brotherliness, they become the instrumentalities in furthering the happiness and welfare of society.*

In amusements there is an unmeasurable quantity of evil that destroys the health and usefulness of the individual. Drafts are made on time that is sacred for other uses; work is neglected; appetites and passions are aroused and stimulated; character is weakened; respect for sacred, holy and eternal things is destroyed; mental powers are impaired, and the general ability to perform the proper duties of life is completely ruined. The various institutions for the victims of drunkenness, gambling and social excesses, are mute witnesses of the awful ravages. Society is smarting under the ills of the social fabric, and the universal discontent, and yet it condones and tolerates the evil. The welfare of humanity demands the infusion of a healthier Christian morality, and a fuller application of Christian truth for the excesses of social life.

The Church has provided the means for inculcating religious instruction. The state and philanthropic people have provided for secular education. These, under the inspiration of the pub-

* Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 158-161.

lic conscience and guidance of Christian principles, must provide amusements that are wholesome, inspiring and uplifting. A warning voice is not sufficient; it must find expression in definite action. Christian people ought to unite, even at sacrifice to self, to provide wholesome recreation that will draw the attention to nobler things and impart an enlarged view of life.

3. In State and National Life.

Neither Christ nor any of the inspired writers prescribe any particular form of government with minute subdivisions; but they do enunciate certain principles for the administration of a just government. Pope's famous couplet,

"For forms of government let fools contest,
Whate'er is best administered is best,"

is but an echo of the divine truth in Paul's letters to the Romans "that the end of government is the good of the governed."* Any form of government that is "the minister of God to thee for good,"† has biblical sanction. Christ and his disciples regarded government not as an evil, but as an authority to be obeyed and supported, provided it furthered that fraternity which he set forth as the basis for the new social order; and inasmuch as his kingdom was spiritual, no particular species of monarchy, aristocracy or democracy was necessary.‡ The true test of a Christian government is "not because it is this or that form, but because it is attempting to realize the principles of fraternity and love that underlie the entire social teachings of Jesus."§

The safety and wealth of a nation "is to be found in the good character, the intelligence, and the health of the people."|| Many menacing and dangerous abuses have been introduced

* Wines, *Intro. Essay to Laws of Ancient Hebrews*, p. 2. Also Rom. 13 : 4-6.

† Rom. 13 : 4.

‡ Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 129-130.

§ *Ibid*, p. 130.

|| Hodges, *Faith and Social Service*, p. 112.

through the selfish designs of unprincipled men. Our first need "is not better laws, but better men to enforce the present laws,"* men of exalted Christian character, who cannot be bribed nor influenced by soulless corporations and unscrupulous demagogues. A healthy, vigorous, and freely expressed public opinion is to be cultivated for their support in administering the laws. Not that, however, which originates in the editorial sanctum of a secular newspaper, and finds its materials in the lives of the luxurious, pleasure-hunting, and unbridled rich, or in the distasteful positions of some political party, or in the subsidizations of soulless corporations and trusts; but that which emanates from public assemblies, resolutions, petitions and circulars of the people at large, revealing their wants and desires. These wants must be carefully considered; measures devised for their satisfaction; and provision made for their enforcement. The expressions of public opinion must be harmonized with divine truth to produce national righteousness and a national life and character that reverences authority and order in all things.

The public welfare depends on the development of "the highest possible degree of health, vigor and independence in all its citizens."† Citizenship is a right, and a privilege conferred, to be exercised in the government of the country. The right to vote, and the privilege of election to office, should require a full, enlightened knowledge of the duties of Christian citizenship. It is through the ballot that the people approve or disapprove the administrations of those who are "God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing."‡ Consequently ballots ought to be weighed, rather than counted,§ so that public office may be truly a public trust for the public welfare. As the rights and privileges of Christian citizenship are exalted, righteousness will cause the enactment of wiser laws, the betterment of administration and the banishment of bribery and corruption.

* *Ibid*, p. 227.

† Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, p. 51.

‡ Rom. 13 : 6.

§ Mackenzie, *An Introduction to Social Philosophy*, p. 382.

The normal state of mankind is peace.* Every wise and well directed nation ought to seek its maintenance by conciliation, arbitration, compromise and concession, so as to prevent the interruption of the peaceful pursuits of life. The spirit of greed for territory, maintenance of vast aggressive armaments and public armed contests have no justification in Christ's law of love and peace. God and humanity are pressing on in the spirit of His law, and the righteous sceptre of Jesus for the dissemination of universal peace and love.† A nation's life, like an individual's, does not consist "in the abundance of the things it possesseth;"‡ but in the diffusion of righteousness, peace and holiness for the production of vigorous national manhood. Therefore each nation can perform its divine mission best under international peace and protection.

Love of country, united with love of God, contemplates God in human welfare, and leads to the realization of His ideal. There are Christian truths that, if enforced assiduously by the clergy, will minister to a fuller realization of the end of government. Duties are to be enforced; precept and example utilized in purifying and strengthening national life and character, and Christian life and service put in practice for the upbuilding and developing of just and righteous institutions. A solemn duty rests upon Christian people to render obedience and assistance, and contribute freely their power and influence in promoting such measures as will make it distinctly Christian; and especially to make due acknowledgment in the fundamental law, or constitution, of its dependence upon Almighty God and Jesus Christ for its just authority.§ Our nation was founded upon principles of Christian truth, and it ought to remove the stigma of non-recognition from its fundamental law.|| Duty enjoins the clergy to infuse Christian truth and light into political institutions, and public and national life; to "be instant in

* Woolsey, *International Law*, p. 175.

† S. F. Scovel, in *P. G. Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 3, Apr., 1901, p. 257.

‡ Luke 12 : 15.

§ National Reform Association Documents for 1887-8 and 1900.

|| *Ibid.*

season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long-suffering and doctrine,"* that the Divine Mission and purpose of the State may be realized speedily in the kingdom of God upon earth.

III. PERSONAL DEVELOPMENT.

1. *In Church and Spiritual Life.*

The Church and Christian Ethics are the instrumentalities in the development of personal culture. The foundation of both is Christ's teaching. "Therefore we designate the Church as the all embracing form of association for every kind of social work."† As the depositary of Divine truth it is "to put the spirit of Christ into all social institutions."‡ The soul is to be converted to Christ, and the whole personality educated in His spirit and love. Through the sacrifice of Christ, the kingdom of God is to be established on earth; and by the operations of His grace in the hearts of men, the perfect social order realized. The adaptability of the Church and home for personal culture cannot be questioned. The hallowed influences emanating therefrom will transform the heart and life of the individual soul, and prepare it for the consecrated life in the newer and better social order.

In adapting past revelation to present needs, "The kingdom of heaven, as preached by Christ, meant a truer social order than the world possessed up to that time."§ The Bible, from Genesis to Revelation, abounds with social truths. The beautiful Old Testament exposition of the expansion of the family into "a tribe, a group of tribes, a nation,"|| is expanded in the New into the two-fold mission, the salvation of the individual, and the salvation of society. "Not that the 'social' is to supersede everything else, and especially not that the individual, with his rights and responsibilities, his spiritual needs and pow-

* II Tim. 4 : 2.

† Ely, *Social Law of Service*, p. 257.

‡ *Ibid*, p. 261.

§ Thompson, *Sunday School Times*, Oct., 1897, Vol. 39, No. 42, p. 660.

|| *Ibid*.

ers, is to be left out of sight. He is there present on every page, and yet rarely filling the whole page, often occupying but a small part of it. For the Bible is broad as life, having, indeed, the same author."*

It is, then, preëminently the mission of the Church to provide a pure social environment, in which the regenerated person may attain the deepest spiritual growth and personal development. Its chief mission is the salvation of souls, but this must be supplemented by the expulsion of error and the inculcation of a correct idea of right. There are many Christian people who have the ideas of the "wage fund theory," "laissez-faire," the law of supply and demand, and the cash *nexus* of the Manchester school to govern their industrial and social life.† Their purpose and heart is right, but their minds are misled by false philosophies that are incapable of increasing human happiness. A correct idea of right, and a true knowledge of who our neighbor is, is requisite for the proper administration of our stewardships. The worst exploitation is that which holds sway with one hand, and throws out the hope of charity with the other.‡ The spirit and love of Christ reveal our mutual obligations. More of Christ's law in our minds and of His grace in our hearts will expel the false philosophies and usher in a new era of good will to all.

II. The Church's Duty.

The special mission of the Church in personal development is to provide an improved social environment in which spiritual life can bear fruit. It is not sufficient that it is a treasury of uncorrupted dogmatic and religious truth; it must also be "a power-house, where there is generated a supply of spiritual energy sufficient to move the world with wisdom, courage and peace."§ This spiritual power and energy is to be translated into the activities of daily life, so as to make each day a day

* Thompson, *Sunday School Times*, Oct. 16, 1897.

† Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, pp. 166-7.

‡ Gladden, *Applied Christianity*, p. 174.

§ Ely, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, p. 350-51.

of service to the Lord. The Church must again regain leadership; infuse the spirit of Christ into the social movement, and convert the social forces that are producing this upheaval of the world through the instrumentality of "the whole truth, and that includes a social as well as an individual gospel."*

The establishing of the kingdom of God on earth "is the realization of Christian Ethics; and the laws and institutions, as well as practices and customs of governments and societies, must eventually conform to the perfect law of God which underlies them, and ultimately expel everything that is contrary to the spirit and love of Christ; and the Church and clergy are to be its earnest and effective advocates."† If "Back to Christ" sounds too reactionary, then let it be "Forward to Christ," because the forward look expresses the spirit of His gospel more thoroughly and clearly.‡ The mission of Christ was one of social service,§ that God "might be glorified."|| As He checked the anti-social and anti-religious forces then, so now the Church too performs its just functions, must check the anti Christian and anti-social forces, and regenerate, quicken, and elevate society. Present social conditions have been characterized by Father Ducey as "despotic and unbearable," with the great mass of people the world over in revolt; and prophesying that unless the Church, directed by the spirit of Christ, becomes the people's advocate, the revolt now impending will swing into a most disastrous revolution.¶ Our salvation lies in a decided, yet cautious and steady advance of Christ's social gospel.

III. The Clergy as the Advocates.

The clergy are the heralds, advocates, and leaders of Christ's zion with a mission as wide as the Master's. In individual and social regenerations they are to study and apply prudently and

* Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, pp. 147-48.

† Quoted from Personal Letter by Prof. S. F. Scovel.

‡ Ely, *Social Aspects of Christianity*, p. 149.

§ Luke, 4 : 18-19.

|| Isa. 61 : 3.

¶ Father Ducey, in *Preacher's Helper*, Vol. VIII, No. 5.

diligently, "the principles of the Gospel," that "are designed to pervade, embrace and direct the whole life of man."* The social welfare of man is essentially and emphatically a religious question, regulated by Christian truth for the elevation of humanity. The natural leader in this movement is he who has the sympathy and love of mankind, and is one with it in prosperity and adversity, and in sorrow and rejoicing.

Materialistic philosophies based on evolutionistic and biologic principles and interpretations have caused retrogression rather than progression in social improvement. The work of public officials, who are to formulate and execute laws, affects the head but not the heart. The secular and religious press have their respective offices to fill; the former being "devoted to secular news-gathering and party service;"† the latter "to ecclesiastical news-gathering and denominational service;"‡ but neither seeks to discover laws of life applicable to the whole life of man.

The clergy, with a full consciousness of the eternal destiny of the individual, and of the ministry of reconciliation as involving both preaching and teaching, are especially adapted to present the gospel of social regeneration, along with the spiritual, to a dying world. Their work of ministering, a work wholly unselfish and disinterested,"§ ought to give them that piety and insight|| that is necessary to impress the importance and value of these truths upon the minds and hearts of humanity. The Christian people have the power to remove the errors and iniquities of society and demand enlightenment on the laws and principles that govern organized humanity in social and industrial life. In sermons, lectures, study of special social topics and their relations, and colloquys, they can "expound the true principles of society from a Christian point of view."¶ Prof.

* Flint, *Socialism*, p. 480.

† Abbott, *Christianity and Social Problems*, p. 361.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ Abbott, *Christianity and Social Problems*, p. 362.

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *The Preacher's Helper*, Vol. VIII, No. 3. *The Preacher and the Social Problem*, by Rev. T. A. Johnson, p. 91.

Ely says: "We may, in short, study in common how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time, and we may present Christ in practical life as the Living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love."* The more excellent way must be shown by which Christ has already rewrought civilizations† and embodied in His teaching great moral laws of social order and development for the transformation of society, that the kingdom of God may come and His will be done, "in earth as it is in heaven."‡ May it be the prelude to the perfect order of the future, and may the clergy lead the way through the trackless forests of perverted social relations and pernicious doctrines that hold sway over the hearts and lives of the people.

We perceive in the light of Christian truth, and present progress in the study of society, the dawning of a better day, in which the wisdom, justice and love of God will reign supreme. Then the old "economic man" will have passed away in the fires of a righteous judgment, and from his dust and ashes a new "economic man" will have arisen, who will not be governed by the low, base motive of "acquiring wealth only," but by the highest and noblest attributes of true manhood. Then each phase of human progress will receive just recognition and honor in the construction of real society.

The conception of this new, "economic man" will be social and ethical,§ and in harmony with Christian truth and light. In him will be comprehended a social and individual service that places family first, mankind next, their country, and last self; and recognizes that what these do for him is of far more value than what he does for himself.|| This new man finds his sphere of work in "the organized body of Christ, which feeds the hungry, heals the sick, and visits those in prison, and

* Ely, *Social Law of Service*, p. 271.

† Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, p. 230.

‡ Matt. 6 : 10.

§ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 424.

|| *Ibid.*

gathers up the children."* The religion of this organized body of Christ will "hold in its power the Church, industry, commerce, and the whole social fabric."† All solutions which shall have any weight in removing the imperfections of human nature, the unwholesomeness of social life, and the decay of society, must possess the living embodiment of the religion of Jesus Christ.‡ Possessing this, they will not be viewed as pertaining to a continually changing ephemeral world only, but also as a work of progress that makes each achievement a step in the process of that transformation in society which shall mark the complete triumph of divine righteousness in the perfect social order of the future; for "the teaching of Jesus asks the life for the service of the kingdom" that expands "into the greater problem of spiritual regeneration and preparedness."§

It is evident, therefore, that it is a work ordered for an eternal destiny; to prepare man for life in heaven. At the time of "that great change," the work of progress will end, and the close of the aeon proclaimed. But meanwhile the work must move forward; and though beaten back by the sin, misery, and social inequalities of the world, let us look toward the East in hope that through this darkness may break the glorious form of Him who for centuries has been awaited—that glorious event—the coming of the Lord.||

* *Ibid.*

■ Wright, *Practical Sociology*, p. 425.

† *Ib.*, p. 424.

‡ Peabody, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, p. 215.

|| Mathews, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, pp. 225-230.

ARTICLE V.

THE CHRISTIAN RESOURCES OF OUR COUNTRY.

BY C. W. HEISLER, D.D.

The incoming of the twentieth century has turned attention in a surprising degree to our material resources. We have been reminded again and again how our territory has increased from 392,000 square miles to 3,700,000; how, even before acquiring the Philippines, the middle point of our national limits, East and West, had marched three hundred miles out into the Pacific ocean, while the center of population has been hastening toward the setting sun at an amazing rate, until now it has reached the neighborhood of Indianapolis, Indiana. And all this and much more in the same line is intensely interesting and flattering to our national pride. It is pleasing to contemplate these facts. Over 3,000,000 of liberty-loving people have multiplied to over 76,000,000. The almost insolvent little republic of 1776 has increased its goods until its wealth now exceeds that of any nation on the globe. It is piling up now at the rate of over \$280,000 for each hour, every day and night of the year, while our material resources as the source for new wealth seem practically unlimited. As our late lamented President McKinley said in his now famous Buffalo speech: "Trade statistics indicate that this country is in a state of unexampled prosperity. The figures are almost appalling." We may rejoice in these evidences of material prosperity, and piously and gratefully declare that "God hath not dealt so with any people." But while we review with pardonable pride these indications of material greatness and facts of material wealth, let us not forget that in the matter of religious advancement and of Christian resources we may find cause for even larger gratitude to Almighty God. It is interesting and profitable to consider the Christian resources of our country, which constitute it a positive force for righteousness in the world.

When an earnest Christian contemplates certain present-day conditions; the prevalent Sabbath desecration; the thinly disguised skepticism circulating in much of our current literature; the alarming prevalence of political corruption; the conspicuous prostitution of justice; the shameless disregard of the Golden Rule in economic affairs; the low tone of spiritual life in many of our churches; the comparatively small accessions to our churches from the outside world, we sometimes wonder whether, after all, we dare claim much for Christianity here, or denominate ourselves a Christian nation. The prospect at first sight seems dreary and disheartening enough. But we must not lose heart. There may be eddying currents, while yet the great tide is sweeping onward with resistless force. The darkest spot near a blazing arc light is directly beneath the lamp, and the darkness is intensified by the brilliancy of the surrounding area of light. It may cheer our hearts to review hastily the Christian factors entering into our national life, from which we may reasonably hope for much in the future. The most superficial glance at the moral conditions now, as compared with those prevailing at the Revolution and at the opening of the nineteenth century, ought to convince the most skeptical of marvelous progress here.

First of all, we may venture to name as entering into our Christian resources and helping to constitute us a force for righteousness, the Christian traditions of this country. The United States stand to-day as the product of a long and thrilling series of events shaped by the hand of Almighty God. The thoughtful student cannot but feel that, apart from the preparation of the world for the coming of the Son of God and of Europe for the Reformation of the sixteenth century, few events in history disclose more manifestly the guiding and overruling hand of the Lord than the discovery, settlement, and development of this land. To appreciate this most fully requires a wide historical sweep. Our government and institutions root themselves far back in the past. For full explanations we must go back to the early settlements of England by the Angles and Jutes and Saxons; back to Danish and Nor-

man elements infused into the developing Anglo-Saxon race; back to the Magna Charta and the evolution of the principles of civil liberty and self-government in manor and shire and nation; back to the crusades and the overthrow of feudalism; back to the rise of the free cities on the continent and the beginning of constitutional government. We must take cognizance of great epochal inventions and discoveries, of the Turk in Europe and the wonderful Renaissance, and we must carefully estimate the far-reaching importance of the Reformation. Out of the seething mass of European social elements of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries came a product of intellectual emancipation, of civil liberty and religious freedom that was to mean marvels for the elevation of the race and the glorious progress of the kingdom of God among men. The struggles and achievements of German Protestants, of the Swiss and Dutch Republics, the noble heroism of French Huguenots and Scotch Covenanters, and the development of Anglicanism, Presbyterianism and Puritanism in England, all seem to have conspired to a new and unique civilization in this Western nation, which might henceforth stand as a sentinel of liberty and a spiritual light-bearer to the nations of the earth. I see not how we can resist the conviction that God was for hundreds of years directly preparing for the adornment of a new nation and civilization, which should develop civil, political, social and religious elements undreamed of by mediaeval Europe, and which should conspicuously enter into His gracious plans for the future of the race.

It was not by chance that neither the Spaniard in the South, nor the Frenchman in the North, gained the ascendancy over this fair land. What might have been the result if Spain—Spain with its cruel despotism and horrible inquisition, the Spain of Charles V, or of Philip II, with not a spark of the principles of self-government; or France—the France of Louis XIV, the magnificent and the dissolute, who haughtily declared “I am the State!”—had either of them planted its civilization and institutions dominantly on these Western shores? It is true that the England of those times had much to learn of civil

and religious liberty, but then it had vitality enough to protest very vigorously and decisively against the absolutism of a Charles I, and it was slowly preparing for the flowering of the loftiest principles of human rights. It was by no means blind and fortuitous combination of circumstances that the great central zone of the United States was early settled by Plymouth Pilgrims and Puritan refugees, by Dutch Republicans and German and Swedish Pietists, by English Churchmen and Scotch and Irish Covenanters, and that the rule of Spaniard and the Frenchman gave way to the sway of the Englishman and his allied races, with their Protestantism and training in self-government. Read over again the story of those early days; of the landing of that immortal band on the bleak New England shores in 1620, of the first awful Winter, which laid one-half of that little company beneath its cold, white snows, and then persuade yourself, if you can, that the hand of God was not in all this preparing for the life and work of a great people.

“Here, on this rock, and on this sterile soil,
 Began the kingdom, not of kings, but men;
 Began the making of the world again.
 Here, centuries sank, and from the hither brink,
 A new world reached, and raised an old world link;
 When English hands, by wider vision taught,
 Threw down the feudal bars the Norman brought
 * * * * *
 Here struck the seed—the Pilgrim’s roofless town,
 Where equal rights and equal bonds were set;
 Where all the people, equal-franchised, met;
 Where doom was writ of privilege and crown;
 Where human breath blew all the idols down;
 Where crests were naught, where vulture flags were furled,
 And common men began to own the world.”

We may trace the hand of God in the significant fact that here we had a number of independent colonies, out of which could develop, in the long struggle against oppression, a strong federation of sovereign and yet subject States, in the formation of the federal union; in the preservation of this union against all hostile attack upon it; in bringing us victoriously through a struggle that drenched this fair land with fraternal blood; in

evidently marking out for us a national destiny that forces us to the front, whether we will or no, as one of the great world powers of to-day, and gives us a commanding place at the council table of the nations of the earth.

From this hasty survey, how can we help exclaiming, "The Lord hath not dealt so with any people;" or acknowledging that God has been ruling and overruling among us for His own glory? He has constituted us what we are. He has impressed Himself upon our national life. The Lord God, the Universal King of the nations, has woven Himself into the very warp and woof of our national history. He has stamped His own impress upon this great nation. He has laid His hand upon it for some great, divine purpose.

It must never be forgotten that the factors entering into this nation's life in its early days were essentially Christian. The early New England settlements were really church congregations. The early government was in a sense theocratic. With the Pilgrims and Puritans in New England, the Dutch Reformed in New York, the Swedes in Delaware, the German Lutherans and Quakers in Pennsylvania, the Episcopalians in Maryland and Virginia, as distinctly religious settlements, we must acknowledge that the traditions of this country are positively Christian. It bears to this day the stamp of that early Christian character. It stands for something historically of Christian sentiment and gospel power. Our country comes to us to-day with a certain religious momentum imparted to it by its progress through the guiding hand of God. It is thrilling to contemplate the way by which we have come, and this, we may insist, has shaped and constituted Christian America a force for righteousness, in working out God's great and blessed purposes for mankind. This is what we mean by the Christian traditions of this country, and all this fully warrants our presenting this at the outstart as among our Christian resources.

A step in advance leads us to note that our country is pre-vaillingly Christian in sentiment. This cannot be denied. Millions of our people make no profession of religion, but millions do, and are actively connected with the Church of Christ.

The masses of the people show a decent respect for religion; indeed, one might almost claim a deep, inbred reverence for it. It is not merely a spirit of negative tolerance for Christianity that we claim, but a positive Christian sentiment. This has exhibited itself, on occasions, in the most pronounced manner. There is at least so much of it that the managers of a great opera house in New York City were obliged to desist from reproducing the Oberammagau Passion Play on the stage for fear of offending this Christian consciousness. There was enough of it recently to prevent a theatrical management from daring to represent the Holy Christ on the stage in the production of "Ben Hur." There was enough of it to make the ears of Colorado legislators tingle, a few years ago, when they had dared, surreptitiously, to pass a bill favoring prize fighting. It was an easy matter so to crystallize this sentiment as to demand a special session of the Legislature to repeal that odious law, and to applaud to the echo when the courts declared against its constitutionality. There was enough of it in the State of New York to insist upon the repeal of the infamous Horton prize-fight law. The Christian sentiment of this land of ours was sufficiently pronounced to flood Congress with petitions for the passage of the Anti Canteen bill, and to feel outraged beyond measure by the unjustifiable nullification of that law, at the alleged dictation of the Washington whiskey ring. It was strong enough, two years ago, to demand in thunder tones that an open violator of our country's laws, a shameless insulter of America's Christian homes, should not take his seat in our national Congress. There was enough of it to drive the legalized lottery to the shores of the Southern gulf, and eventually to crowd it out into the waters of the gulf. And there is enough of it to close every one of the breathing places of hell in this broad land, if it only could be unified and properly directed.

Certainly great evils exist among us; enough to make the angels of God weep tears of blood, if that were possible. With 230,000 saloons and drinking places in our land, with gambling hells running wide open in many cities, and often, apparently,

under police protection; with the social evil polluting so much of our social and family life; with men in high place in Church and State demanding that the Christian Sabbath shall be, by law, at least partially surrendered to the saloon elements, we certainly dare not complain of a dearth of evils in our midst. And yet the Christian sentiment of this country has been sufficiently strong to outlaw gambling and social vice and to curb the saloon, to create an increasing antipathy to this modern American Moloch, and to put under the ban any individual Christian or church for complicity with it.

One of the most encouraging signs of the times is the alacrity with which the public conscience condemns great wrong. Even the secular press, in general, is not hostile, but maintains a friendly attitude towards the Christian religion. There is everywhere a great substratum of Christian sentiment, despite the alarming prevalence of open wickedness. The last century has witnessed a marvelous advance in sentiment against the saloon and drinking habits and customs. Indeed, this is rightly denominated a Christian nation. The United States Supreme Court, Feb. 29, 1892, in the Trinity Church case, rendered a unanimous opinion that "This is a Christian nation." The Christian code underlies the fundamental law of the land. President Dwight, of the Columbia Law School, declares: "It is well settled by decisions in the courts of the leading States of the Union that Christianity is a part of the common law of the State. Its recognition is shown in the administration of oaths in the courts of justice, in the rules which punish those who wilfully blaspheme, in the observance of Sunday, in the prohibition of profanity, in the legal establishment of permanent charitable trusts, and in the legal principles which control a parent in the education and training of his children. One of the American courts states the law in this manner: "Christianity is, and always has been, a part of the common law of this State. Christianity without the spiritual artillery of European countries—not Christianity with an established church and titles and spiritual courts, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men. * * * Our national development has in it the

best and purest elements of historic Christianity as related to the government of States. Should we tear Christianity out of our law, we would rob our law of its fairest jewels, we would deprive it of its richest treasures, we would arrest its growth, and bereave it of its capacity to adapt itself to the progress in culture, refinement and morality of those for whose benefit it properly exists." We need not hesitate, therefore to point to the prevailing Christian sentiment of this nation as part of our Christian resources, and thus making it as characteristically religious.

We may pass on to note the positive Christian elements of this country. According to the carefully prepared statistics of *The New York Independent*, January 3, 1901, the total church membership of the United States, at the close of 1900, was 28,339,630. This is exclusive of some minor bodies, of which no reliable information has been had for some years. This is just 37.3 per cent. of our population as per the last census. In 1890 the number was 20,612,806, or about 33.3 per cent. of the population. Deducting Catholics and certain non evangelical bodies (Christian Scientists, Jews, Unitarians, Universalists, Mormons, etc.), numbering 10,378,279, the evangelical church membership in 1901 was 17,961,351, as against 13,890,523 in 1890, a gain in ten years of 4,070,828, or slightly over 29 per cent. This is remarkable.

In 1800, the evangelical church membership of this country was 364,872, or a ratio of 1 to 14.50 inhabitants; in 1850 the number was 3,529,988, and the ratio 1 to 6.57; in 1870 the number was 6,673,396, and the ratio 1 to 5.78 inhabitants; in 1880 the number was 10,065,963, and the ratio 1 to 4.98; in 1890 it was 13,890,523, and the ratio 1 to 4.5; in 1900 it was 17,961,351, and the ratio 1 to 4.2. That is to say, the evangelical church membership in our country has risen in 100 years from 1 to every 14.5 of inhabitants, in 1800, to 1 to 4.2 inhabitants in 1900. From 1800 to 1900 our increase in population was 70,704,336, or 1331 per cent.; the increase in evangelical church membership was 17,596,479, 4810 per cent., nearly fourfold that of the population. From 1800 to 1850

population increased 336 per cent., evangelical church membership 867 per cent.; from 1850 to 1870 population increased 66.2 per cent., evangelical church membership 88 per cent.; from 1870 to 1880 population increased 30.7 per cent., evangelical church membership 50 per cent.; from 1880 to 1890 the population increased 25 per cent., the evangelical church membership 38 per cent.; from 1890 to 1900 the gain in population was 17.6 per cent., in church membership 29 per cent.*

Including the Catholics we now have a church membership in the United States equal to that in all the world at the end of the seventh century. May we not cheer ourselves with this remarkable showing? Here we have a host of nearly 18,000,000 evangelical church members, or, including the Catholics, of nearly 27,000,000, marching under the banner of the Christ of Calvary. What an inspiring army! What an invincible host for righteousness, if properly enlisted and directed. This vast multitude can rule this land in righteousness, if it will. If united and aggressive it can close every saloon in this broad land, and do marvels for the evangelization of our country and of the world in this present generation. It might soon transform this land into a very Paradise of God, and flame among the nations afar off as a herald of the gospel with such sublime effectiveness that ere long the dark places of the earth and the habitations of cruelty might be comparatively unknown.

The Rev. Dr. W. H. Roberts, in 1895, presented some very significant figures showing the possible church voters in the United States. He estimated the possible Protestant church

* The appended table may exhibit these facts more graphically and conveniently.

RELATION OF EVANGELICAL CHURCH MEMBERSHIP TO POPULATION.

Year	Population	Per cent. of increase	Church membership	Per cent. of increase	Per cent. of population to ch. members	Ratio of ch. mem. to pop.
1800	5,308,483		364,872		6.8	1 : 14.5
1850	23,191,876	336	3,529,988	867	15.2	1 : 6.57
1870	38,558,371	66.2	6,673,396	88	17.2	1 : 5.78
1880	50,155,783	30.07	10,065,963	50	20	1 : 4.98
1890	62,622,250	24.86	13,890,523	38	22.2	1 : 4.5
1900	76,295,220	17.6	17,961,351	29	23.5	1 : 4.2

voters at 4,558,412, or 26.9 per cent. of the total number of voters; the Catholic Church voters at 1,942,682, or 11.5 per cent. Protestant and Catholic voters aggregated 6,501,094, or 38.4 per cent. of the total voting population of our country. On a conservative estimate there is enough of moral sentiment outside of the church which could be influenced and counted upon to vote with the Church element to give the Church and moral elements the large majority. Indeed we need not hesitate to say that in most of the voting districts of the United States the church voters, with the sentiment they can command outside of the Church, are largely in the majority. In some of the congested voting districts of the large cities of course this would not be true; but these are in the minority. All this presents another and a striking aspect of the Christian resources of this country, and this is a controlling factor of undesirable effectiveness.

In this rapid survey we must not fail to advert to the Christian wealth of this land. It is confessedly difficult to secure accurate data upon this point. Nearly ten years ago Rev. Dr. Strong wrote: "In 1890, one in every 4.7 of our population was a member of some evangelical church, that is, 21.92 per cent. of all the people. We may reasonably infer then that this percentage of the wealth of the United States, or \$13,076,300,000 was in the hands of evangelical church members at that time, and this takes no account of their immense capital in brains and muscle. * * * From 1880 to 1890 the average annual increase of the wealth of church members was \$434,790,000." This estimate is based on the assumption that evangelical church members share pro rata in the wealth of this country. The estimate is sufficiently accurate for purpose of comparison. We are persuaded it is not far from correct. The estimated wealth of the United States is about \$98,000,000,000. With evangelical church members forming 23.5 per cent. of our population their share of this enormous wealth would be \$23,030,000,000. That certainly is conservative. It is under-stated rather than over-stated. At four per cent. that would yield an annual income of \$921,200,000. If but

five per cent. of that, just half the tithe, were given to further the Lord's work in the world it would be \$46,060,000. Rev. Dr. Gregory's estimates, from a somewhat different standpoint, are considerable higher. He says that "the gross annual output of American productive industry is more than \$10,000,000,000. At least one-half of that sum, or \$5,000,000,000, comes under the control of those connected more or less directly with the Protestant Christian Churches, and acknowledging to some extent Christian obligations." Five per cent. of that sum would be \$250,000,000. What a magnificent sum that would be as an annual expenditure for furthering the Lord's work. On any conservative estimate the wealth of the Protestant Church members in our country is stupendous, and constitutes an indirect force for righteousness and the progress of the Kingdom, if consecrated to God, that is simply beyond all conception.

We may next pass under review the Christian institutions of our country as forming part of our Christian resources. A study of our religious organizations is an inspiring antidote to pessimistic misgivings. At the close of 1900 we had, all told, 158,237 Christian ministers in the United States, and 192,676 church organizations, with church property valued at easily over \$1,000,000,000. About five and one half millions of the brightest, brainiest, purest and best young men and women of this country are now organized for Christian work in various Young Peoples' societies, such as the Y. P. S. C. E., the B. Y. P. U., the Luther League, the Epworth League, the St. Andrew's Brotherhood, and others of similar character. They stand for so much in denominational loyalty, in inter denominational fellowship, in enthusiastic service for the Christ, that it is positively thrilling to contemplate their marvelous possibilities in the advancement of the kingdom of righteousness. Our Sunday schools furnish another army of 12,000,000; the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. have banded together some hundreds of thousands of other choice spirits along other lines of Christian activity. Other organizations enlisting their thousands in special lines of service for the King, may be enumer-

ated among our Christian resources, such as Deaconess' Homes, where consecrated young women are trained for the gentle ministries of the gospel; Orphans' Homes, Asylums for the unfortunate, "Havens of Refuge," "Doors of Hope," City Missions and other similar institutions, where Christ's dear ones are finding channels for the communication of the blessings and the comforts of the gospel.

Another fact of encouraging significance is the better organization of our Christian forces against the saloon. The great vice of the Anglo-Saxon race is drunkenness, with its two closely associated evils. Despite the damning record of the past, we can rejoice that the Christian sentiment and institutions of this land have never been so effectually directed against the saloon as to-day. We must recognize, then, as part of our Christian resources, such effective organizations as the W. C. T. U., the Y. P. S. C. E., the N. T. Soc., the Catholic Total Abstinence Association, the Christian Temperance Union, and the Anti-Saloon League. These are all practically an outgrowth of the Church, and carry on their work under the fostering care of the Church.

In connection with this, mention must be made of numerous Reform Organizations of recent years. With our great American cities, the worst governed in Christendom, with many of our city halls acknowledged centers of political corruption, and in the hands, alas ! too often, of the saloon elements; with great States under the heel of the political boss and in the remorseless grip of the "machine"; with Bacchus holding high carnival in our legislative halls; with Mammon and Rum prostituting our courts of justice, it is small wonder that many earnest Christians and patriotic citizens have nearly lost hope as to the value of popular government and the perpetuity of our free institutions. But a better day is dawning. The tiger has been unchained. The people are aroused. American patriotism has been fired to preserve the principles of self-government for which the fathers died. Civic righteousness is asserting itself. The people are rising to a truer conception of their rights and duties as citizens. The civic spirit has become contagious. It

has reached down through the universities and colleges to the public schools, where the development of a public spirit is coming to be a required part of Young America's education.

But the point of special interest here is that this modern revival of patriotism, this new civic spirit, is coming in to reinforce the Kingdom of Righteousness, and to constitute, in a very practical way, an element in our Christian resources. Christian citizens, while rejoicing that their eternal citizenship is in that glorious city in the skies, are realizing that their present citizenship is in a very material and matter-of-fact city on earth, and that God will hold them responsible for a full discharge of all their obligations to Cæsar. And thus many of God's people have been massing themselves in various Reform Organizations, "Law and Order Leagues, "Municipal" and "Good Government Leagues," to abate vice, secure the ends of good government and a wise administration of the laws, and thus supply better conditions for the growth of the seeds of righteousness and the coming of the Kingdom. In this view they may rightly be counted as forming an important element in the Christian resources of our country.

It may help to some vividness of view to summarize the various elements entering into these resources in a fourfold analysis.

Our Christian resources are, first of all, of a material nature. With church property valued in 1890 at \$680,000,000, and, likely, at this time, exceeding \$1,000,000,000, with over \$23,000,000,000 of wealth in the hands of evangelical Church members; with the Y. M. C. A. owning property used exclusively for religious purposes, valued at \$21,500,000, the Church of Christ in our midst can scarcely be said to be very poverty-stricken, nor can it exclaim "Silver and gold have I none."

Again, these resources bear a decidedly intellectual stamp. Christianity has in this land a wealth of consecrated intellect. In any community select all the college bred men and women and all others of superior mental attainments and culture, and the majority of them will be found in the Christian Church. Take the brainy, educated men of this land, who as presidents

of, and professors in our higher educational institutions, as editors, preachers, teachers, public speakers, and authors are doing the most to mould public opinion or influence public action, and the vast majority of them are Christians, and the majority of the remainder maintain an attitude of respect for Christianity. I have been strikingly impressed with the fact that so many, I might say the majority, of the great popular lecturers, under the control of the lecture bureaus, are positively Christian men, and are standing for the defence of the great formative truths of Christianity in many lectures of a distinctly religious character. In all we have 160,000 clergymen in this country. What an intellectual force for righteousness they constitute. In our higher educational institutions there are now gathered over 160,000 students of both sexes, and 12,000 professors. I am warranted in saying that eighty per cent. of these 12,000 professors, and from sixty to sixty five per cent. of these 160,000 students are professing Christians. This marks a vast change from the opening years of the nineteenth century, when, it is said, there were only three professing Christians in Yale College. In Princeton in 1813 there was but one. Recently out of 1,400 graduates of Harvard only two were found to be professed unbelievers. Of our 480 colleges and universities in 1898, 364 were directly under denominational religious control, while in most of the remainder many religious influences are brought to bear upon the students. Think of the hundreds of thousands of Christian homes of this land; of the millions on millions of copies of positively religious periodicals; of the hundreds and thousands of religious books and pamphlets issued annually from our presses; of the multiplied thousands of copies of the sacred scriptures circulated every year, and you will get some faint conception of the intellectual factors entering into the Christian resources of the United States.

Then we may mention the new social spirit which the Church of Christ is developing, which means so much for the progress of the Kingdom of our dear Lord. Our institutions of learning are wisely establishing chairs and lectureships of Christian

Sociology. It is demanded of the coming minister that he be thoroughly conversant with our new social conditions and of the relation of the pulpit and of the Church thereto. Ministers and philanthropists, wise statesmen and astute politicians are studying social questions as never before.

It is seen that the Church bears a very vital relation to questions of capital and labor, to the slums, to plans for social betterment, and that it has a blessed and helpful ministry to the poor and oppressed beneath the shadows of its stately temples.

We may but mention the profoundly spiritual aspect of many of these resources, so hastily passed over. With over twenty-eight millions naming the name of Christ among us; with religious devotion flowering out in a host of 10,000 consecrated young Christians in the Student Volunteer movement; with the multiplied Christian activities of our Young Peoples' Societies; with such organizations as the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday School Union; with such a spirit as made possible that most remarkable Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York City two years ago; with larger Christian giving and purer Christian living among us, we may well rejoice for the specifically spiritual side of these Christian resources. Certainly we may venture to maintain that never has there been such true-hearted consecration and profound personal loyalty to the Lord Christ in this land as there is to day. Never have our Christian resources been so pronounced, so conspicuous, as at the present.

This brief survey of our Christian resources ought to stir our hearts with profound gratitude, and encourage us with larger hope for the future. But it must seem as if these splendid resources mean something very definite and positive as to the divine purpose for this land. God is here developing a new national life and character. It is not English; it is not Teutonic; it is not Anglo-Saxon. It is American. The claim is frequently made in these latter days that Anglo Saxon civilization is coming to dominate the world. But may we not venture to suggest that it is an Americanized Anglo-Saxon civilization that is rapidly coming to the mastery? Whether we

deserved it or not America has come to take her place at the council table of the great world-powers. And what has not this meant already for some of the European people? God's hand must be in it all. It must be that this is to mean marvels, in the near future, for the evangelization of the world, and the rapid extension of the Kingdom of the Christ. It is certainly an inspiring and thrilling thought that with these varied resources, as active agencies, the Divine Father is here, on this Western continent, developing a new race, which is to stand as a sentinel of liberty and a mighty force for positive righteousness among the nations of the earth. We may well bow before the throne of God in grateful recognition of these distinguished and varied resources, and humbly pray that He may so sanctify them by His spirit that the time may speedily come when He, whose right it is to rule, may take His great power and reign to the glory of His holy name!

ARTICLE VI.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

The Rev. Dr. Mackie, of Beyrout, in *The Expository Times* for June, gives a Hebrew derivation of the word *Mass* in the Roman celebration of the Eucharist. It is commonly derived from *missa est*, or *dimissa*, the intimation to the catechumens and other unconfirmed worshipers at the close of the service to retire, before the communicant congregation began the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The derivation is not clear and seems to Dr. Mackie to be a helpless and artificial attempt at etymology. Besides the obscurity of this derivation, it is militated against by the custom of saying *Mass for the dead*. If all non-participants were absolutely excluded, such a service could be no communion for the soul for whose benefit the mass was said.

But the guest at the Jewish Passover ceremony observes a special act which explains the meaning of the word *mass*. At the beginning of the Passover service the platter containing the bread is lifted up, and subsequently a piece of the cake also before it is broken and passed around the table. This act of consecration by elevation is נשם, *massa*, uplifting of the bread for manifestation to all participants. This act of consecration, "saying the Kaddish" with elevated emblem, is the eucharistic factor, and the showing forth for discernment by elevation of both bread and wine is *massa*.

In the same number of *The Expository Times* Prof. Nestle recovers from the Syriac a quaint version of Nathaniel under the fig tree. It is generally thought that Jesus' discernment of Nathaniel and reading of his character occurred while the

latter was sitting in meditation under a fig tree. But *sitting* is not expressly stated. In the Syriac of the story of Mary it is said that when the babes of Bethlehem were about to be slain by the emissaries of Herod, the mother of Nathaniel took him and hung him up in a fig tree and covered him with its leaves. "And when he came to Jesus to see Him, Jesus answered and said unto him, 'Behold a child of Israel, in whom, verily, there is no guile.' And Nathaniel said unto Him: 'Where didst Thou know me?' Then Jesus said unto him: 'I saw thee before Philip called thee, when thou wast under the fig tree.' And Nathaniel went and told his mother everything which Jesus had narrated unto him; and his mother said unto him, 'Verily, my son, this is the Messiah for whom creation waiteth.'" The *Book of the Bee* gives the same story, with the exception that it is the father of Nathaniel that "wrapped him round" and 'laid him under" a fig tree.

In the same magazine for May the editor gives notes on the laying on of hands, and on spiritual and water baptism. It is becoming a popular opinion among exegetes that the gift of the Holy Spirit is not the occasion of the New Birth, and may not even be coincident with it. The twelve Ephesian disciples, though baptized by Paul with Christian baptism, did not, however, receive the Holy Spirit till he subsequently laid his hands on them. After Philip's evangelistic work in Samaria the Church at Jerusalem sent Peter and John to confirm Philip's teaching. Though the believers had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, the Holy Spirit was yet fallen on none of them. Then the apostles laid their hands upon them, and through prayer they received the Holy Ghost.

In the June number Margaret D. Gibson associates the Patriarchal blessing with the Apostolic laying on of hands as suggested by Matthew Henry. When the patriarchs made declaration of the divine covenant promise it was by a peculiar gesture accompanying a prayer calling down covenant favor from God, and by imposition of hands sealing the promise to the one blessed. Was it not the prayer of Jacob that was ef-

fectual in bringing down the blessing? Was it not the prayer of the Apostles that effectually sealed the believers with the Spirit of promise? In regard to the Ephesian twelve the imposition of hands by Paul may have been part of the baptismal act. The gift of the Spirit may have been coincident with Christian baptism. The active divine agency whereby man is touched and worked upon by God for all purposes of grace is the Holy Spirit. New birth, nor gift of spiritual power comes other than through the Spirit of God. The answer of chronology respecting divine effects in man's spiritual birth and the reciprocity of spiritual gifts is no adequate penetration of the subtle, impenetrable activity of the Holy Spirit, who works in man's life beginning before natural birth to impress His effects on the tendencies of potential character. Nor are we to suppose that the Spirit acts but once on man's life, and that all effects of regeneration, sanctification, reform of faculty and empowering of human godly action must come only from one sole reciprocity either through baptism, or subsequent imposition of hands. Regeneration is not without the Holy Spirit; nor is common conduct of righteousness, or signal act by which the Spirit moves mightily in man, apart from spiritual impartation and activity. Mathematics in the ministry of the Spirit accounts for nothing. Temporal conjunction of human manifestations of spiritual gifts argues neither coincidence nor periodicity of spiritual action on man. The conferring of the Spirit is not dependent on imposition of hands, nor solely associated with it.

But what is the necessary human rite for the Spirit's action in effecting the new birth? What is the necessary relation between rite and spiritual reform? "Except a man be born of water and the spirit," says St. John in his gospel, 3 : 5. Prof. Wendt deems the element of water an addition by the redactor to the statement of Jesus, a very easy but drastic way to banish a difficulty. Dr. Taylor, in his *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*, says that our Lord, or St. John reporting Him, had in mind the Old Birth of creation in Genesis, where the Spirit of God moved

upon the face of the waters. That is why two elements appear in the statement of the second creation. Water is material in the first creation; figurative and spiritual in the second. As God created order in the first upon matter, so in the second He creates order in the soul of man.

Mr. James Neill, in his booklet *Figurative Language in the Bible*, solves the mystery by the explanation of hendiadys. In oriental tongues hendiadys is a common form of speech, and in its structure the qualifying adjective is turned into a substantive. When the priest of Jupiter brought "oxen and garlands" to do sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, we understand that he brought garlanded oxen. When Paul writes to Timothy that "Our Savior Jesus Christ brought life and immortality to light through the gospel," he means that Christ brought life immortal. The second word of the couplet is the important one, and, in the translation of the hendiadys, becomes the distinctively qualitative. So, to be "born of water and the spirit" is to be born of spiritual water. John's baptism was with water material; Christ's baptism was with water spiritual, spiritual water.

What is the status of religion in Japan? An answer is given in *The American Journal of Theology* for April by Dr. Clay MacCauley.

The chief religions of Japan have been Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Shintoism no longer is mentioned in Japan's catalogue of religious bodies, though its influence is still felt among rural people, and the poorly educated, and has still some political deference paid to it. Buddhism entered Japan in 552 A. D. Confucianism had its revival about three hundred years ago, but now has but little nominal influence. A revival of Buddhism is at present taking place fostered by the young men of the higher schools and colleges. The rationalistic principles of Christianity combined with other principles of material and moral progress are being amalgamated with Buddhism to give it popular acceptance. The keen sense of the divine, the so-called God-consciousness, is not a native quality of Japanese mind and character. The ethical phases of phi-

losophy and religion seem fully adequate to satisfy the desire for religion. Shintoism, *The Way of the Gods*, furnishes the objects of religion. At Shinto shrines reverence is paid to myriads of persons, and personifications of natural objects and phenomena. Confucianism offers the rules of conduct and cultivates the moral sense. As Confucianism urged nothing speculative in respect of religion and theological thought, it created no conflict with the aboriginal faith, and found no opposition. Buddhism, though bringing in new elements at its introduction, embodied and absorbed the primitive aboriginal pantheon of Shinto, and adapted itself to the popular faith. Shinto furnished the objects of worship; Confucianism, the rules of life and conduct; but Buddhism supplied the way of future salvation, a philosophy of quietism, and final consolatory absorption into Nirvana. In a population of forty-seven millions of Japanese there are approximately one hundred and twenty thousand professing Christianity. These are chiefly of the lower and middle classes of society. Three-fifths of these are adherents of the Greek and Roman Churches. All Japanese, from the time of the early Roman Church propagandism to 1873, were forbidden by imperial edict to form any connection with Christianity. But the horizon of feeling and of liberal sentiment was widened by the entrance of Commodore Perry a half century ago into the Japanese port. The invasion of Western civilization followed rapidly after the treaty with the "Land of the Rising Sun," which opened the ports of Japan to free inter-communication with foreign peoples. The tumultuous application of alien forms of religious belief, the intrusion of alien civilization, industry, and commercialism found a people readily adaptable to the new order. In occidental lands political, social and religious changes are of slow growth. Introduction is followed by an evolutionary process of gradual re-adjustment and development. But the revolution in Japan was sudden without being cataclysmic. Amid reactions, impulsive, tentative efforts, new aims and methods, there occurred no national or commercial upheaval of ruinous confusion. The quick adaptation to things new showed a ready susceptibility

to progress. This natural temperament presages a willingness to be content with a religion of heterogeneous elements. A commingling of conservatism with progressive religious ideas, though forming almost grotesque conceptions and re-adjustments of faith, is not a fickle compromise, but a widely accepted "New Buddhism." This new Buddhist dogma and practice, a faith embodying old and new, satisfies many whose demand is that Buddhism be for the Orient what Christianity is for the Occident. But a few see the incoherency of this new heterogeneous faith, and are attempting to supplant all religion by a pure ethical system. The many sects of the church urging the superior claims of Christianity seem no better than the mixture of elements in Buddhism. The educated Japanese copies not only Western progressiveness in commercialism and industry, but as well falls happily in with occidental rationalism, skepticism, and religious indifference. A national ethical system as a substitute for religion is aimed at by a rising class of educators. And while an "Evangelical Alliance" is seeking ineffectually to bring about some method of efficient coöperation among Christian denominations, Buddhism proffers her unity of absorbed alien faiths as the religious salvation of Japan. The war is on between an ethical substitute for religion, a new Buddhism and an unaffiliated sectarian Christianity.

The complexity of religious elements in Japan, and the confusion of the religious situation, however, do not presage an absolute uncertainty as to the final result. The adaptiveness of the Japanese mind and the desire to appropriate Western progressiveness must make her destiny one with the progressive world. Christianity will share with civilization from the West and become the potent faith as maturity of ideas and conception of principles takes permanent shape. There is an intellectual necessity for one form of religion. The necessary craving for unity is seen in the attempts of science, and the efforts of the mind to unify all knowledge. It is seen in the moral necessity of conceiving the source of right and truth and duty

to be one. And the spiritual nature of man will not be satisfied until one God is Lord of all, and one faith unites the principles of thought and religion. Christianity, with her attendant ethics and philosophy, alone supplies a true unity, and alone proffers one satisfactory, harmonious system. The bread of satisfaction multiplies in her hands. What she touches is healed; and what she opposes as evil is ground into powder. That which is not of the essence of truth must recede and at length disappear. The great body of heart-throbbing love sometimes walks with feet of clay. Japan will see the inconsistency of her religious beliefs, and recognize her spiritual opportunities as well as her material possibilities. Confucianism, no more than Buddhism, can satisfy an educated religious need. It seeks an ideal heaven by a restored primitive earth. But the world as a whole moves forward and does not recede, while Confucianism, dissatisfied with the present, seeks not the future, but the past for relief. Something is seen to be wrong with the world, but progress will never recover what is desired. Culture, civilization, and advance in the arts are a decline, and not progress. Go back to Eden; back to primitive life, to the patriarchal age and the glory of the family. The only true rest is to be found under primeval shadows. So Confucians worship the ancestral dead, and revere primitive simplicity of social life shorn of the modern complexity of civilization, and hate innovations. Let the shadow go back ten degrees, for the golden age is passed. But childhood is not the goal of Christianity. "Except ye be turned back and become as little children, ye shall not enter the kingdom of heaven," is a new beginning for a new ending. It is but an entrance condition for spiritual fulness. The soul is to be emptied not for the sake of emptiness, but for more satisfactory replenishment. Confucianism is regressive to emptiness. It is without aspiration. It idealizes primitive conditions, reverts to faded memory, and not to hope. It brings down the kingdom of heaven and makes it of the earth earthy. It is a kingdom without God, a kingdom where the king does not become father, but the father arbitrary king. Christianity looks backward too, but in its aspiration looks also forward. It sees

the golden age in the future. But this age is an era of exalted character and spiritual worth, which is seen not by looking backward, or solely forward, but by looking in.

Buddhism has its modernness, but from accretion and not from inherent development. Its adaptations to modern life and thought are but "proselytes of the gate," and not "children of the covenant." Her elements of universality are not original, but invented. They grow not from a germ principle; they are not inherent, only an acquisition. New Buddhism cannot be permanent. It is alien, not indigenous. It cannot attain supremacy, for it lacks native and original qualities of universality. Buddhism says the sorrows and dissatisfactions, the hindrances to perfect life are illusions, mere dreams. The whole of life is but an illusive dream, and the hereafter but the rule of absolute quietism, eternal stillness. Christianity says this life is an important, and the hereafter a special reality. Buddhism seeks to make one unconscious of sorrow and evil by less life. Christianity seeks to create a more vital consciousness by more life. Sorrow and evil are a reality, but not a finality, and these the true God, the only One and Holy, can use for the cultivation of a richer moral life. Buddhism offers no satisfactory solution of life's problem, and no salvation from its ills save this: the way to mend it is to end it. Christianity is in the world to seek and to save, to furnish life more abundant, and through its fulness must conquer.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

During the first half of this year there has been little excitement in German theological circles. In fact the only event that has called forth much opposition was the appearance of Friedrich Delitzsch's address, *Babel und Bibel*, delivered under the auspices of the German Oriental Society, January 13, in the Singakademie in Berlin, in the presence of the Emperor,

and repeated two weeks later at his request in the royal palace. This fact, combined with the attractiveness of the material presented and some startling assertions that he made, made the pamphlet very popular. In a few months its sale had exceeded 10,000 copies; specialists in oriental branches were replying to it; students, theologians and non-theologians were discussing it in their social meetings; in fact it was on the order of the day, and every student was supposed to have read it.

A large portion of the address presents, very briefly but attractively, results of pick and decipherment in oriental matters, that are common property. But it also contains some statements which, if true, will revolutionize some of our conceptions of Israelitish religion.

After noting confirmations of biblical accounts of men and events that the inscriptions give us, the well-developed civilization that they show existed several thousand years before Christ, and like matters of interest, Delitzsch speaks of the account of the deluge as found in Babylonian literature, and traces it to a possible inundation of the Tigris and Euphrates district, brought about by a cyclone driving the waters of the Persian gulf inland and carrying Noah's boat to a distant mountain. The story wandered to Canaan and was put into the Pentateuch. The cyclone of 1876 in Bengal Bay, which inundated a large district and caused the loss of 215,000 lives, is a like disaster, probably on a smaller scale.

We give an extended account of his treatment of the Babylonian epic of creation, because it is so characteristic of the new "Religionsgeschichtliche Methode" (study of religion, particularly Christianity, from the standpoint of the history of religion) which promises to be the next chief focus for negative thought.

The epic, in condensed form, runs thus: In the very beginning was dark, chaotic water (tiamat). When the gods would bring order out of chaos and make a universe tiamat revolted (generally conceived of as a dragon, also as a seven-headed serpent) and brought forth all sorts of hideous beings, and with them prepared for battle. All the gods feared and trembled

save Marduk, god of light and of the early and the springtime Sun, who was ready to fight under the condition, that, in case he won, he would have the chief place among the gods. Then followed fierce conflict. Marduk, in brilliant armor, on a wagon drawn by four fiery steeds, drove straight at the dragon and its host and challenged combat. The tiamat roared and opened its jaws as wide as possible, but before it could close them Marduk sent the evil wind into its inner parts, laid hold of the javelin and cut its heart, hurled down the dead body, and stood on it, while the helpers of the tiamat were his prisoners. Then Marduk cut the tiamat through as a fish; of the one half he made the heavens, of the other the earth; he provided the heavens with moon, sun and stars, and the earth with plants and animals, until at last the first human pair came forth from the hand of the creator, made of clay and of the blood of gods.

Immediately after giving this account Delitzsch adds: Since Marduk was the city god of Babylon (where the children of Israel were captives) it is easy to see how this account was widely spread in Canaan. The O. T. poets and prophets even went so far as to transfer the heroic act of Marduk to Jahve, and to extol him as the one who in the beginning crushed the heads of the sea monster, Ps. 74 : 13 *sqq.* and 89 : 11, and under whom the helpers of the dragon fell, Job 9 : 13. Such passages as Isaiah : 51 9 (Rahab translated dragon) and Job 26 : 12 (Heb. word translated "proud" in our old version, translated dragon by Delitzsch) read like an explanation to some dug-up image of Marduk. The learned priest, who compiled Gen. 1, was anxious to remove all mythological features, but since the dark, watery chaos was presupposed, with like name, *tehom* (that is *tiamat*) and this was first separated from light when heaven and earth appeared, and so on until the first human pair came forth, the very close connection between the biblical and the Babylonian accounts is clear. "It is interesting that this fight between Marduk and the *tiamat* appears in the Revelation of St. John in the struggle between the archangel Michael and the old serpent, the devil (chapter 12). And all

these conceptions, which were brought back by the crusaders, and are present in the account of Knight St. George and his fight with the dragon, are evidently Babylonian, for many, many hundreds of years before the Apocalypse and Gen. I were written we find the struggle between the power of light and the power of darkness, renewed with each new-made day and each opening year, and represented on the walls of Assyrian palaces in grand relief."

In like manner Delitzsch finds portions of the decalogue among the Babylonians, and an account of the fall. [There is no account at all, only a tablet that may be interpreted as a representation of the fall, but against which interpretation there seem to be many most weighty reasons.] Their nether world was less repulsive than the Old Testament Sheol. It was a sort of dusty, mouldy place. But the pious had easy couches and clear water; the wicked no water at all, or dirty water (Job 24 : 18 *sq.*). In the New Testament the rich man is in a fiery hell without water, and Lazarus is in a garden (Paradise) with fresh water. The last consequence of the simple Babylonian conception of clear water, which the pious have to drink in Sheol, is the Mohammedan paradise, with all its pleasures and the seventy two paradise virgins, which each pious Musselman has, in addition to the wives he had on earth. Also angels, cherubim and seraphim are from Babylon. "And since we do not profess old Persian dualism, we can bid farewell" to demons and devil.

As to the monotheism of the Jews—El (God) means "goal," the goal to which the eyes of man, who alone looks heavenward, are directed (Job 36 : 25), and towards which his hands are stretched and his heart yearns. There can be but one such goal, hence monotheism. Even Jahve is only an ancient inheritance from Babylonia, found already on tablets of the time of Hammurabi (2500 B. C.). And faith in Jahve had many weaknesses clinging to it, so that it could not restrain the Israelites from idolatry, and was purified only when the prophets came and recognized in Jahve the god of all the world, and lead

over to the preaching of Jesus, that we should worship God a Spirit in spirit and in truth.

"Perhaps I have succeeded in showing that, through the medium of the Bible, many Babylonian elements cling even to our religious thought. By doing away with these conceptions that sprung from this highly gifted people, which are nevertheless of purely human origin, and by freeing our thought from every sort of deeply-rooted prejudice, true religion and true religiousness, as the poets and prophets of the Old Testament and, in noblest sense, Jesus taught us, is so little affected that it comes forth from this purifying process much truer and deeper."

Many of these statements, even to the uninformed in oriental matters, contain their sufficient refutation, and demonstrate the truth of Gustav Freytag's assertion that many semetic and oriental students have no sense of reality. In No. 17 of the *Allgemeine Evan. Luth. Kirchen-Zeitung* and in Nos. 17 and 18 of the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, Kittel, of Leipzig, exposed some of Delitzsch's hasty and superficial generalizations, especially those concerning the origin of Monotheism, the meaning of El (God), and the finding of the peculiarly Israelitish name for God, Jahve, on cylinders of Hammurabi's time. Koenig, of Bonn, also replied in a pamphlet entitled *Bibel und Babel*, which is a complete exposure of the way Delitzsch accepted mere possibilities, some of which were quite improbable, as absolute certainties and proclaimed them as such.

Koenig observes, that on the one hand "not all Babylonian-Assyrian literature is unquestionably authentic, complete and capable of sure interpretation, and on the other hand, that the Hebrew literature is not all so young and colored in the interests of a tendency, as a number of our most recent investigators are inclined to assume." Then instances are cited in proof of these propositions. True, Old Testament dates are sometimes wrong, but chronological inaccuracy does not prove the unreliability of the accounts. Such errors are most easily made. We cannot set the Old Testament aside. The two literatures must rather supplement each other as history. Many places, merely named in the Old Testament, are located and can be described,

and events merely mentioned are seen in their full import in the light of recent discoveries. Delitzsch's assertion that the twelve tribes of Israel were Canaanites is found to be unproved and, in all probability, unprovable. Koenig finds that Isaiah 51 : 9 refers plainly to God's bringing his people from Egyptian bondage. Rahab (violent sea monster), as in Isaiah 30 : 7, refers to Egypt.

Delitzsch simply passes by in silence those things which make up Israel's national individuality, and emphasizes only the parallel elements, which are so often quite non-essential, and, when essential, do not furnish absolute proof of dependence on Babylonian religious conceptions. In showing the relation of God to the world in creation, Delitzsch forgot to give the first part of the Babylonian epic of creation. In Jensen's German translation it is as follows: "When above heaven was not yet named, below the earth was not yet named, Apsu (the ocean), the first of all, that begat them, and the primaeval form (Urform) tiamat which bore them all, mixed their waters together * * * when not one of the gods had come into being, no(a) name named, no(a) fate determined, then were the gods made, then arose (first) Lakhmu and Lakhamu. Until they had become large, etc." This makes the origin of the divine a part of creation. The Babylonian epic is seen in an altogether different light. And yet Delitzsch never hinted that any such essential and characteristic part had not been given. The Bible presupposes a divine spiritual being that conceives the plan of the universe. No greater contrast can be imagined. And yet Delitzsch tells us in *Babel und Bibel* that the Babylonian account is the purer. Comment is unnecessary.

Koenig, Kittel, *et al*, dispute the interpretation of El (God), which would make it mean "goal," and the assumption of Monotheism in ancient Babylonia. Koenig says: "Granted that such is the true interpretation, it does not follow that Monotheism prevailed in Babylonia ca. 2500 B. C., because, as Delitzsch claims, there can be but one goal. Logically and grammatically El, if it means 'goal' at all, can mean a 'goal,' one of several. And Polytheism can be proved to have existed

in the time of Hammurabi, which fact Delitzsch fails to mention in *Babel und Bibel*."

Delitzsch's claim that he had found the name of Jahve on certain Babylonian cylinders was rather startling to the learned world. Klostermann, of Kiel, wrote to Hommel, of Muenchen, inquiring whether some great discovery had been made, of which he had not heard. Kittel, of Leipzig, entered into correspondence and conferences with several specialists, as is seen from his articles mentioned above. The question is most important, Did Moses introduce Jahve worship, or was he a god got from Babylonia? Delitzsch's lecture would lead us to conclude that he had demonstrated the latter beyond all doubt. But the criticisms of these learned men show that he proclaimed an improbable possibility as a demonstrated fact.

Koenig then shows the difference between the Babylonian and Jewish conceptions of God's relation to history, and the difference in their ideals of morality. In both respects Israel's thought and life stand on a plane far above that of Babylonia. He concludes by saying: "Yes, Babylon certainly was the source of many elements of culture, for near and remote lands, but religion, this final factor in all culture, has its classic literature in the Bible. True, Babel may be called the 'brains' of western Asia, but that which forms the life center of the Bible streamed forth from a supermundane experience, and so it will remain. In Babel man strove toward heaven, in the Bible heaven reaches down into poor human life."

At a conference in Eisenach, May 27, Hommel, of Muenchen, mentioned Delitzsch's address and said that it makes the Bible appear "merely as a collection of old stuff." With the exception of a few passages, it is the result of Illuminism in the O. T. The Rationalism of Wellhausen and followers, until now only a net of theories, is to be proved by the monuments, but his methods are arbitrary.

On the same occasion, Hommel, himself formerly of the Wellhausen school, prophesied the collapse, within a generation, of the O. T. criticism, as it now stands. He thinks that

signs of disintegration have appeared. However, the result will not be the O. T. as a Hengstenberg saw it. There will be sources recognized in the Pentateuch, but it will not be a patch-work collection, with parts of verses from various times and authors. The law will be recognized as of Mosaic origin, and the entire Pentateuch will be considered as coming from the same age. There will be other changes, but none will affect the authority of the O. T. as God's revelation. About the same time a young man, not a professor, but whose name has been mentioned twice of late in connection with university professorships, said that he gave the present reigning O. T. criticism at most twenty years. A collapse is sure to come.

Lic. Dr. Gustav Lasch, in his recent book, *Die Theologie der Pariser Schule. Charakteristik und Kritik des Symbolo-Fideismus* (Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn) gives a brief resume of the liberal Reformed French theology of Sabatier (died 1901) and Ménégoz and their followers. His chief sources are Sabatier's *Esquisse d'une philosophie de la religion d'après la psychologie et l'histoire*, 1897, and Ménégoz' *Publications diverses sur le fideïsme et son application à l'enseignement chrétien traditionnel*, 1900. Lasch's book is reviewed in the *Theol. Rundschau*, April, 1902. The term Symbolo-Fideismus is chosen to designate this school, in spite of the criticism of G. Lobstein, H. Bois *et al.*, because Sabatier is reported to have approved it. It is intended to express the two different elements in the school, arising from the two leaders, which supplement each other. Sabatier represented the Symbolismus, and Ménégoz the Fideismus.

Sabatier taught, that, since all religious conceptions have the transcendent as their object, they must necessarily be inadequate symbols. Ménégoz declared that justification through faith is the principle of every religion. According to Sabatier, the struggle between knowledge and conscience, thinking and acting, finds its solution in life-fellowship with the all-pervading Spirit. Its place is essentially in feeling, religious knowledge is purely subjective. It is quickened by revelation, which has three stages, the mythological revelations, the inspiration

of the prophets, and the consciousness of sonship of Jesus as the constant and normal form of revelation. In this sense Christianity is at the same time historical and absolute religion. But the apprehension of religion, because it is subjective, is always symbolical. But definite fundamental thoughts permit no transformation. They are the thoughts of God the Father and of the kingdom of God. Christianity has passed through three forms of development, the Judaistic Messianic, the Græco-Roman and the Reformation-modern. Ménégos starts from the general consciousness of sin. It requires revelation. Justification through faith is the center of religion. Faith is the consecration of the heart to God, the decision of the will for God, which God, out of grace, reckons as ideal righteousness. But in spite of this, faith is no real service. Orthodoxy based justification on it as an intellectual service, liberalism made justification dependent on love. Christ works faith. Supernatural birth and resurrection are matters of indifference. But further, justification is even thinkable if man doubts the existence of Christ, and even a conscious belief in the existence of God is not necessary to salvation. The Trinity is defended in a peculiar modalistic form. The "I" of the God revealed to us and in us is identical with the "I" of the transcendent God. Miracles are acts of the divine father-love, that do not break the laws of nature.

The book closes with a brief but very useful statement of the relation between the leaders of this Paris school and the German theologians of like tendency of the last century. Special mention is made of Schleiermacher and DeWette of the first half of the century, and of Lipsius of the latter part of the century.

Several years ago Prof. Cremer, of Greifswald, published a lecture on *Baptismal Grace*. It was rather sharply attacked by several men, and he replied by publishing quite a lengthy pamphlet entitled *Baptism, Regeneration and Infant Baptism in the Power of the Holy Spirit*, which was soon exhausted, and a second edition, more than twice as large as the first, followed within a year after the first appearance of the book.

(*Taufe, Wiedergeburt und Kindertaufe in Kraft des heiligen Geistes*. Bertlemann, Guetersloh).

Regeneration is not a second process, along side of justification, but man has it in that he is justified and has received grace and forgiveness of sins, for forgiveness brings the strongest conceivable freeing from sin. Likewise the bestowal of the Spirit does not mean the giving of a new and higher nature, which works in us with a supernatural power. For personal fellowship is something much higher and mightier and more blessed than fellowship in a new nature, and no other activity satisfies spirit than to work on spirit. Therefore the transformation of our life by the Spirit consists in effecting the life of faith in us. "To be regenerated means to believe, and to be borne of the Spirit means to believe and nothing else," and justifying faith itself is the change that takes place within us. Titius (Ritschlian professor in Kiel) thinks Cremer identifies forgiveness of sins and the new life too closely. And, though he approves fully of Cremer's bringing regeneration, possession of the Spirit and repentance together under faith, he fears there is danger that moral motives, knowledge and hope will not receive sufficient emphasis, for the riches of the new life in faith can hardly be exhausted in the state of forgiveness. As to infant baptism: Faith does not work the state of grace, but grace works faith. Therefore justifying grace finds its plainest expression in infant baptism. In so far as grace works through the sacrament, we can say "it is not faith that makes the sacrament," but the sacrament works faith.

ARTICLE VII.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS, NEW YORK.

The Apostles' Creed. Its Origin, Its Purpose, and Its Historical Interpretation. A lecture with critical notes. By Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Washburn Professor of Church History in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. 12mo. Pp. 206. \$1.25 net.

This lecture, which extends to page 36, was first given at the Harvard University Summer School of Theology in July, 1899, later at the University of Chicago, and part of it was read at the meeting of the American Historical Association held at Detroit in December, 1900. The remainder of the book contains the Critical Notes.

On reading this book we are at once impressed with the learning and sincerity of the author, and with the novelty of some of the views expressed. While using the best of the many available helps in his study of the venerable Symbol, he has been a careful investigator of the original sources of information. We are not surprised therefore that on so dark a subject as the origin and purpose of the Old Roman Symbol, he should come to entertain "some conclusions at variance with those commonly accepted by modern scholars," most of whom, including Harnack and Kattenbusch, "regard the Old Roman Symbol as a positive statement of the Christian faith framed quite independently of existing errors and evangelistic or missionary purpose." The author holds that "it is primarily a doctrinal and polemical creed, not an evangelistic or missionary symbol," and that it was composed by one man at Rome about A. D. 150, for the purpose of opposing the Marcion heresy, which appeared at Rome about that time. He supports this, his fundamental conception, by noticing "that the Old Roman Symbol is not a general statement of the faith of the second century over against all the errors of that day," and that the most of its clauses stand in direct opposition to the teaching of Marcion on the subjects involved. For instance, Marcion absolutely denied that Christ was born of a woman; denied the reality of Christ's earthly life, his session at the right hand of God, and his return to judgment. "Marcion conceived of the Christian God, the God of redemption revealed by Christ, as pure love and mercy, and denied that he or his son, Jesus Christ, would judge any one. In the article on the Judgment in the Old Roman Symbol, joined as it is to the session at the right hand of the Father, the Marcionite position is repudiated in the most emphatic way. Christ will come again from the right hand of the Father, that

is, with his authority and as his agent, to judge the living and the dead."

In support of his theory of the origin of the Creed the author amasses an immense amount of evidence gathered from the Christian literature of the second century. In this respect he shows himself fully the equal of Harnack, Kattenbusch and Loofs, the last named of whom argues, with Caspari, for the Asiatic origin of the old baptismal Symbol. The author is also strong, clear and ingenious in argument. In a word, he has written a book which, however much it may deviate from some hitherto accepted views, cannot be answered by a wave of the hand, or by an expression of dissent. He has advanced the question of the origin and purpose of the Creed to a place where it will challenge the attention of the patristic specialists, and only such should enter the lists against the author's theory. While we decline to accept some of the author's conclusions, and suspend judgment on others, we nevertheless say that here is one of the most scholarly books of our time.

In the *Critical Notes* the author discusses: I. The Text of the Old Roman Symbol in the fourth century. II. The date of the Old Roman Symbol. III. The original text of the Old Roman Symbol. IV. The place of Composition of the Old Roman Symbol. V. The purpose of the Old Roman Symbol and its historical interpretation. VI. The Old Roman Symbol and the baptismal formula. VII. The present text of the Apostles' Creed.

We give here in literal translation what our author regards as "the original text" of the Old Roman Symbol: "I believe in God Father Almighty; and in Christ Jesus his Son, who was born of Mary the Virgin, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried, on the third day he arose from the dead, ascended into heaven, is sitting on the right hand of the Father, whence he cometh to judge the quick and dead; and in Holy Ghost, resurrection of flesh "

This is the Old Roman Symbol in a simpler form than we have elsewhere seen it. But it does not differ widely from the form for the fourth century given by Loofs in his recently published *Symbolik*, pp. 7-8, who adds "the only begotten, our Lord" after "Son;" "of the Holy Spirit and" after "born;" "holy Church, forgiveness of sins" after "Holy Spirit."

The discrepancy between the text of Dr. McGiffert and those of other investigators suggests the need of further study of this important but obscure subject. We feel certain that the last word has not yet been spoken.

Dr. McGiffert's general attitude towards the Creed in its practical and doctrinal aspect is expressed in these words: "While we of to-day can repeat parts of it, probably not one of us can repeat the whole of it in the sense which was originally intended." This is most certainly true. In some parts of the Creed there were, originally, conceptions which probably no Protestant can indorse; and it is very certain that

Protestants of to-day do not agree on the meaning of certain parts of the Creed that is repeated in concert every Lord's day. For instance: How many Protestants understand what is intended by *Descended into the place of departed spirits* (Hell, Hades)? And how many accept *Holy Catholic Church* "in the sense which was originally intended"? the sense which has doubtless been preserved in the Roman Catholic Church. We know that to avoid misunderstanding Luther substituted the word "Christian" for the word "Catholic."

"And so the interpretation of the word *communio* as if it were a concrete noun and equivalent to *congregatio* (*Gemeinde der Heiligen* as Luther translated the article) is also incorrect. The word is an abstract and is to be taken in the sense of *participation in*, or *fellowship* or *converse with*. The phrase, then, is not to be understood as a definition of ecclesia, as if it meant that the holy church catholic is a *communio sanctorum*. This was the interpretation of the Reformers, and has been generally accepted by Protestants, but is not true to the original meaning of the article in the Creed. That the church has a *communio sanctorum*, that such *communio* is to be had within or through the church, was often said in the part of the world where the article first got into the Creed, but not that the church is a *communio sanctorum*."

This is exactly in accord with what we showed in THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY for October, 1888, while in the same periodical for January, 1894, we showed that such is the unanimous conclusion of competent scholarship. Those who would see the proofs for such interpretation given with fulness and elaboration are referred to the exhaustive work of Kattenbusch, II, pp. 927 *et seqq.*; to the article by Köstlin in the third edition of the *Real-encyclopædie*, VI, 503 *et seqq.*; to Oehler's *Symbolik*, 2d ed., p. 56; and to Loofs' *Symbolik*, pp. 43 *et seqq.* Our General Synod was therefore wise when she instructed the publisher of her authorized literature to print all the clauses of the third article of the Apostles' Creed with coördinate punctuation. The *communio sanctorum* is not to be understood as a definition of ecclesia, but as the description of a blessing that is found in the ecclesia taken in its widest sense.

Dr. McGiffert's book is sure to start fresh inquiry into the origin, purpose and interpretation of the venerable Symbol. We are astonished that the learned author should locate Professor Kattenbusch at Tübingen instead of at Giessen.

J. W. RICHARD.

The Ancient Catholic Church. From the accession of Trajan to the fourth General Council [A. D. 98-457]. By Robert Rainy, D.D., Principal of the New College, Edinburgh. 8vo. Pp. xii and 559. \$2.50 net.

This book belongs to *The International Theological Library* series,

the most comprehensive series of theological books hitherto published in this country. As a rule the series supports the liberal and progressive tendency represented by the editors, Drs. Briggs and Salmond. The aim of the series is to exhibit "the present condition of investigation, and indicate the way for further progress."

The volume before us is historical and descriptive, yet the author thought it due to the subject and the reader to express frankly the impression on his own mind which the various topics have made." This certainly is the right and duty of every historian. We expect one who has come into closest contact with the facts of history to draw conclusions, and to exhibit something in the nature of the philosophy of history.

The Ancient Catholic Church, founded directly on the work of the Apostles, and developed by those who had learned from the Apostles, and by those who still felt the traditional influence of the Apostles, will always be regarded as more or less normative. It is more than curiosity that leads us to inquire into the teaching, the mode of worship, and the manner of life of the Christians of that early period. In our inquiry we are impelled by a genuine desire for instruction. This desire is well met by Dr. Rainy's book, which is as thorough as it is comprehensive. Except in the case of specialists, or for the specific study of particular subjects, there is scarcely any need of going further, and even for the specialist this book will be an excellent guide, since it is written partly from the sources, and partly by the use of the best monographs, and is supplemented by an excellent bibliographical appendix.

The chapter on *The New Philosophy* (pp. 146-156) and the chapters on *Christian Life, Worship, Clergy, Discipline and Schisms*, have interested us especially. *The New Philosophy* is Platonism, which as a school disappeared; but "the influence of it as an element in the history of the Church has been recognizable at all periods." The Christian life of the Ancient Church was heroic, and stood in marked contrast with the immoralities of the heathen. Christian worship, at first very simple, became more complex, and adopted not a few heathen rites. It was in this period that episcopacy developed itself, and became fixed in the Church. The Ancient Church had to contend with schisms, and heresies, but she decided against rebaptism.

Theological students especially should read this book in connection with the study of Church History, and pastors will find it helpful in solving the problems that emerge from time to time in the modern congregation, and in Synods

We learn with pleasure that Dr. Rainy will write the volume on *The Later Catholic Church* for this series.

J. W. RICHARD.

- . *Thoughts for Every Day Living.* By Maltbie Davenport Babcock. 12mo, cloth, gilt top. Pp 192. Price \$1.00.

Those who have heard Dr. Babcock preach will remember how he made one feel that he was speaking directly to him. There was personal magnetism about the man, which made it a delight to listen. This little book, made up of short quotations from sermons and newspaper articles, seems to carry the delightful personality of the man over into the printed page. The quotations are gems of poetic thought, and beautiful diction, and each one drives home some practical truth in a way that insures its development. In addition to the quotations are a number of prayers and extracts from personal letters written to friends in times of sorrow, temptation or perplexity, and a number of poems, all of which show the beautiful character of the man, his intense and trustful faith, and his loving sympathetic nature.

As a table-book to be picked up at odd moments, as a means of inspiration, as a source of sermonic illustrations of the better sort, this little book not only has found, but will find, abundant welcome.

E. G. MILLER.

FUNK AND WAGNALLS COMPANY, NEW YORK.

- A Vacation with Nature.* By Frank DeWitt Talmage. 7 x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 276.

The word Vacation as used in this title conveys a somewhat erroneous impression. The vacation intended is not a midsummer holiday season, with hunting and fishing, away from the ordinary cares of life, but such an hour as may at any time be snatched from business to contemplate the common but impressive facts of nature—the groves, the mountains, the stars, the clouds and the various forms of animal life. The rest and renewed strength resulting from such contemplation are nevertheless very real, and he who can divert the mind a little now and then from the intense pursuit and bustle of industry and bring it in contact with the calm of nature may render a very important service. Mr. Talmage's book is not profound; it is easily read and the effect of it is very wholesome.

We must not look in these pages for minute and accurate information; they speak to the emotions rather than to the intellect and they bear some marks of hasty composition. But they come from a mind capable of hearty appreciation of what is sublime or beautiful or pathetic in the world about us. The volume will be good company on an actual vacation and is commended to those who, weary of cities and their turmoil, are at this particular time seeking quiet days of retirement.

JOHN A. HIMES.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

Social Salvation. By Washington Gladden. Pp v, 240. Price \$1.00.

Dr. Washington Gladden has given special attention to social and industrial conditions, and the results of his study and experience furnish methods of treatment for the solution of social difficulties. These seven lectures on the Lyman Beecher Foundation delivered before the students of the Yale Divinity School treat of the social ills widely prevalent, and of what should be the Christian attitude toward them. The author does not present ecclesiastical remedies, nor remedies to be solely employed by clergymen in their religious functions. The relation of Christianity to disturbed and imperfect conditions of society is a practical one, to be recognized by intelligent laymen, as well as ministers of the gospel. The question, "What must I do to be saved?" has widened into the more comprehensive one, "What must I do that others be saved?" To save a soul is to save a man. He needs salvation in the entirety of his personality. His social rights and responsibilities, as well as spiritual attitude, demand readjustment and harmonious conditions.

The indifferent deboniar abandonment of social duties on the part of religious leaders, and their relegation to professional philanthropists and social advocates, will never attain a millennium of economic or social conditions. The religious leader especially should be a leader of public opinion in social matters. These principles are clearly and convincingly set forth by Dr Gladden in these lectures.

The chapters treat of the care of the poor, and of the unemployed; of rightful prison conditions, and penal exactions; of social vices, public education, and redemption of cities from bondage to corrupt political conditions. The method of social treatment advocated is sane and healthy. The book deserves wide circulation.

M. COOVER.

The July number of the *Atlantic Monthly* contains a notable group of papers which deal with present national issues. They discuss the most vital problems before the American people. "Certain Aspects of America," by Henry D. Sedgwick Jr.; "Race Prejudice in the Philippines," by James A. LeRoy, who has just returned from two years' service in the Philippines; "The Negro—Another View," by Andrew Sledd, of Georgia, in which Mr. Sledd asserts that the radical difficulty in the negro problem is not with the negro but with the white man, and "Two Years' Legislation in Porto Rico," by William F. Willoughby, are the papers which will attract wide attention. They will be introduced by an editorial "On Keeping the Fourth of July." Then a new serial, "Our Lady of the Beeches," is begun in this number. There is, too, another paper on out-of-door life—this time on "Sailing," and a rich collection of extracts hitherto unprinted, describing

Emerson's walks and talks with Ellery Channing, called "Fresh Leaves from Emerson's Diary." In addition to all these attractions there are short stories, sketches, essays and verses, making a valuable number that will make fine reading during the vacation days.

BOARD OF PUBLICATION OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA.

The Christ and His Church. By Joseph A. Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D.
Pp 440. Price \$1.75.

In these twenty-three addresses and sermons Dr. Seiss lucidly and eloquently presents the nature and claims of the Christian Church. Special occasions have called forth able discourses upon ecclesiastical topics, as well as sermons for particular national exigencies. These occasions find Dr. Seiss in rich capability of production, and his discourses are well adapted, and carefully prepared. The book is stimulating and churchly, and breathes a healthy patriotism.

M. COOVER.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING CO., ST. LOUIS.

Enchiridion. The Small Catechism of Dr. Martin Luther. For Pastors and Preachers. Also one hundred Questions and Answers on Christian Doctrine. For Adult Catechumens. By A. J. Otto Hauser. German and English.

The first is the undeveloped Catechism of Luther with one hundred questions and answers appended. The latter contains the questions and answers only, which pertain to the Word, Sin, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments.

M. COOVER.

GENERAL COUNCIL PUBLICATION HOUSE.

The Perfect Prayer and its Lessons. By Pastor Armand Miller, M.A., Philadelphia. 50 cents.

The title of this book gives us a clue to its contents. There is but one "Perfect Prayer," the Lord's Prayer. The author has treated it on the basis of the explanation of Luther's Smaller Catechism. The Augustinian classification of the prayer into seven petitions is followed. Of the eleven chapters in the book, seven are devoted to the discussion of these petitions. The following, forming the subjects of the remaining four chapters, are: The School of Prayer, The Introduction, The Conclusion, The Prayer as a Whole.

As we should expect, the writer has given us a devotional work. Every page and every chapter is filled with the true spirit of devotion. We are continually reminded of the necessity of true devotion in the use of the prayer. A listless and passive use becomes mere "mockery"

and is a "sin." The necessity of prayer is emphasized. "It showed a wise appreciation of their need that the disciples should have made the request, Lord, teach us to pray." The request embodies the need of the human family.

Our attention is called to the fact that the first three petitions honor and glorify God. The key word to these petitions is *thy*. The remaining four have to do with our needs. The key word to these petitions is *our* or *us*. We find a similar classification in the two tables of the commandments. "We are impressed with the thought that this is a deep and pervading principle, applicable throughout our lives."

We heartily endorse the author's explanation of the fifth petition. What true prayer is, and who truly can pray, are clearly expressed. But we cannot agree with him when he says the giving by Christ of the Lord's prayer "is a justification, nay, even command, for the devout and fervent use of forms of prayer." That it justifies us in the use of forms of prayer we admit, but that it is a *command*, we do not believe.

In this age of advanced thought and doubt, it is refreshing to read a book of this character. The subject, the spiritual tone, the elegant English, the finished style, all commend the book to us. It should have a place not only in ministerial libraries, but should find its way into many homes of our people.

A. J. RUDISILL.

NORTHWESTERN PUBLISHING HOUSE, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Death of Martin Luther. By Alexander Struys, Professor of the Art School at Weimar.

The picture represents Luther in his last moments, according to history, at the Drachstedt home in Eisleben, surrounded by his two sons and friends, Dr. Jonas of Halle, Cœlius, Count and Countess Albrecht, Countess Schwarzburg, and the two physicians of the city. The picture is the exact reproduction of the original by Alexander Struys, which received the gold medal at the Expositions at Paris, Brussels, Antwerp and Munich.

It is executed in the finest chromo-lithography and retails at \$1.50. The price for ministers and teachers is \$1.00.

MERRILL AND BAKER.

A Lay Thesis on Bible Wines. By Edward R. Emerson. 1902. Pp. 63. Price 75 cents.

This, as the title purports, is a dissertation on the mooted two-wine question. The author is a layman, and also, by frank confession, a manufacturer of wine. He shows himself possessed of no mean measure of culture beyond his wine vats. He deals in a quality of English

which, though always vigorous, is sometimes wanting in perspicuity. He feels the uniqueness of a wine-maker entering the lists with theologians; but he comforts himself with the thought that there is greater propriety in his entrance upon the wine question than that theologians should do so. They speak speculatively, he "by the book," out of a practical experience of many years.

The author frankly and emphatically records his entire sympathy with the legitimate work of Temperance Reform, whose moral achievements have wrought an incalculable blessing to the race. But his controversy is with Temperance fanatics and Prohibition cranks. His unsparing strictures upon their extravagant, ridiculous, and sometimes—touching the *wine* question—their sacrilegious claims, are inspired, one fears, as much by the irritation of the commercialist as by that of the moralist. One is quick to defend his occupation, and the attack takes momentum to itself by the thought of an endangered bank account.

Arguing from an abundant knowledge, the author unequivocally and positively denies the theory that an "unfermented wine" can exist or ever did exist. So-called unfermented wine is not "wine," but the extracted juice of the grape, called *must*. It becomes actual *wine* only when it perfectly ceases to be the pure, sweet juice of the grape, *i. e.*, when fermentation has taken place.

Furthermore the author points out with scientific conclusiveness that the process of fermentation begins and progresses immediately upon the contact of air with the freshly extracted juice, this immediate fermentation being arrested by the application of one of numerous anti-ferments, and so obtaining unfermented wine. Mr. Emerson maintains with great confidence that the ancients could no more make unfermented wine than present day manufacturers. This explanation of Christ's observation: "No man puts new wine into old bottles," we hold to be acceptable and conclusive. His reflection on the menace to the health of communicants at the Lord's Supper in receiving "doctored wine" seems to us greatly exaggerated. His animadversions upon pastors for urging the use of "unfermented wine" in the communion, though logical, are of no special value. With the pastor it is a choice between the two "wines"—the intoxicating, or the non-intoxicating. In the days of abounding inebriety what wonder that the careful pastor should be anxious to use that liquid which is the nearest approach to the pure fruit of the vine.

"The thesis is, in a word, a comprehensive, practical statement of the many questions involved in the consideration of biblical wines and their use, of temperance as opposed to total abstinence, of common sense as opposed to foolishness."

A. R. STECK.

THE LUTHERAN QUARTERLY.

OCTOBER, 1902.



ARTICLE I.

THE DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION IN ITS RELATIONS.*

BY PROFESSOR J. W. RICHARD, D.D.

The knowledge of objects involves knowledge of their relations. We know objects in their relations to ourselves, to cause and effect, and to environment; and the better we know the relations of objects the better we know the objects. This principle is as true of thought-objects as it is of object-objects. Any of our psychical experiences are thought-objects when we hold them up before the mind, and contemplate them in their relations to ourselves, to their causes, to their effects, and to other thoughts. We may also concentrate our thoughts, and translate them into propositions, and may analyze them and combine them in concepts. In this way we systematize our thoughts and create science, whether it be the science of material objects, or the science of psychical experiences. And the more we generalize our concepts the more do we become convinced that there is a mysterious, but real nexus that links phenomenon to phenomenon, and finally connects phenomena with a common ground of existence, which we call a *fundamental principle*, and which comes to be conceived of not only as a *principium essendi*, but as an active agency that has more or less to do in determining the nature and significance of the phenomena.

* Parts of this paper were read before the *Lutheran Conference*, held in Philadelphia, April 1-3, 1902.

Now among the phenomena of the human soul none is more real, none more potent than the Christian experience. It is known as a distinct fact in consciousness; it is known in relation to a remembered antithetical experience, in relation to its cause, and in relation to its effects. This Christian experience is the consciousness of enmity slain, of sin pardoned, of fellowship with God, of salvation. This Christian experience is expressed in the theological vocabulary by the word *Justification*, that is, *Justification* or the righteousness of faith according to its subjective side, the personal certainty the Christian has that he stands in a new relation to God, and that he is renewed in his mind after the image of him that created him.

It was exactly in this way that *Justification* was at first known and contemplated by Luther. After a long and dreary night of doubt and spiritual agony, he threw himself by faith on the Lord Jesus Christ, and experienced peace and salvation; and at the same time he realized that he had become a new creature. Out of this, Luther's personal experience of salvation, the Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century was born; and it was only because Justification had in it this powerful element of personal experience, that it could become a genetic principle that imparted life to others and caused a religious movement the most far-reaching and beneficent of any in the history of Christianity.

But while on the one hand Luther contemplated Justification as the experience of salvation, he at the same time on the other hand contemplated it as an act of God, an *actus forensis* by which God declared him righteous, and brought him into fellowship with himself. This is the objective side of Justification.

Now it is, that is, when we put together the two sides, that we have Justification in its complete conception, as an act of divine grace by which man who was *injustus* is declared *justus* before God and is *justus*; though this conception did not come to Luther as a *doctrine*, in the sense of an article of faith, or as an ecclesiastical or theological *dogma* that must be believed. It was only when the period of reflection, of analysis and

synthesis, came, that men began to contemplate Justification as an article of faith, as a doctrine or teaching of the divine word, and sought to discover its place and its relations; in other words, sought to know it scientifically.

Holding these fundamental principles in view we advance naturally to the discussion of *Justification in its Relations*. But before that can be done properly, it will be necessary to ascertain the place, that is, the significance, the content, and the extent of the theological conception, JUSTIFICATION. This can be done best by pursuing the inductive or historical method.

To Luther Justification was salvation. By the one declarative act of God, he knew himself to be in possession of all that the Gospel has to offer. He had the pardon of sin and adoption into the favor of God. More than this the Gospel does not offer for the present life. Hence he could say that Justification is the supreme article of faith, and the article of a standing or falling Church, meaning that it stands at the head of the Christian system, and that if it be kept in its proper place, the Church will prosper; but that if it be thrust from its central position the Church will fail. This conception of the article in its objective character at once gives it a normative and determinative place in the *ordo salutis*. This article as standing at the head, or center, as the eternal principle of Christianity, as in its practical application the end for which Christ came into the world, was used by Luther for judging the measure, proportions and validity of all other articles of the Christian faith. Even the Scriptures themselves were to be discriminated by this article; for a book of Scripture that does not teach faith in Christ is not to be esteemed so highly as one that does teach faith in him;* for faith in Christ is everything.

Hence we hear Luther say in the Preface to the *Commentary on Galatians*: "In my heart this article alone reigns, viz., the faith of Christ, from whom, through and to whom, my theological meditations flow and reflow continually." Again: "Wherefore it is very necessary that this doctrine be kept in

* Erl. Ed. 63 : 156-8.

continued practice and public exercise both of reading and hearing. And although it be never so well known, never so exactly learned, yet the devil, who continually rageth about seeking to devour us, is not dead. Likewise our flesh and old man are yet alive. Besides this all kinds of temptations vex and oppress us on every side; wherefore this doctrine can never be taught, urged and repeated enough. If this doctrine be lost, then is also the doctrine of truth, life and salvation lost and gone. If this doctrine flourish, then all good things flourish: Religion, the true service of God, the glory of God, the right knowledge of all things that are necessary for a Christian man to know."*

In 1530 he wrote to Brentz: "This gift of God, besides others, I particularly admire and venerate in you. In all your writings you faithfully and correctly urge the righteousness of faith. This article is the head and corner-stone. It alone begets, nourishes, edifies, defends the Church of God. Without this article the Church of God cannot subsist a single hour, as you know and perceive. No one can teach rightly in the Church nor successfully resist an opponent who does not hold this article, as Paul calls it, *this sound doctrine*."† In 1536 he wrote: "The article of Justification and it alone, makes true theologians. Therefore it is necessary in the Church, and it is to be often repeated."‡ And in 1538: "Beyond all controversy the article of Justification is the head and sum of the Christian doctrine. When this is properly comprehended there is no danger either on the right hand, or on the left. For this it is that bruises the serpent's head, and overthrows whatever is opposed to Christ. Hence this article most of all is exposed to the bite of the serpent, and to every kind of attack, in order that it may be overthrown and perverted. Satan perceives that so long as this article remains intact, he labors in vain."§

These quotations show that Luther attached supreme im-

* Erl. Ed. I, 3, 4, 12.

† DeWette IV, 150.

‡ *Dissertationen*, p. 39.

§ *Ibid.* p. 436.

portance to the Article of Justification. He placed it at the very head of the Christian system, and practically identified it with the sum of Christianity. Equally evident is it that he regarded Justification as the *genetic* principle of the entire Christian doctrinal system. He says: "In this article David holds up to us the sum of the entire Christian doctrine, and the clear, beautiful sun that illumines the Christian congregation. If this article be grasped with sure and firm faith, and be maintained, then the others follow gradually after." Also: "Therefore the Article of Justification, as I have often said, must be diligently learned. For in this are embraced all the articles of our faith, and if this be kept intact, all the others are safe."*

Not less emphatic is Melanchthon in assigning the first place to Justification: "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden. When you have sinned, you will not quiet your conscience by work; but alone by faith in Christ you will find peace, when you believe that he has borne your sins. This is that confession on which the Church is founded. Against this the gates of hell shall not prevail."† In his analysis of the epistle to the Romans he devotes thirteen short chapters to Justification, and only a few words to Predestination. In the *Loci* he declares: "This article contains the sum of the Gospel, for it shows the proper benefit of Christ, offers a sure consolation to pious souls, teaches what is the true worship of God, what is true prayer, and especially distinguishes the Church from the heathen, the Pelagians, that is, from all who imagine that man is righteous by the law, or by discipline."‡

In his *Theological Propositions* Melanchthon says: "The word faith signifies confidence in mercy, and rests on the Son of God, whom the Father hath appointed. This faith embraces all the articles of the Creed, and refers the others to these two: *Credo remissionem peccatorum, Credo vitam aeternam.*"§ In his refutation of the Osiandrian error, he declares that the "con-

* *Com. on Galat.* II, 23.

† C. R. 21 : 55.

‡ C. R. 21, 739.

§ C. R. 12 : 406.

tention cannot be regarded as a logomachy, but it is a controversy touching matters of great moment, viz., the proper honor and office of the Mediator, the true comfort of the pious, the difference of the divine persons, the difference between the law and the Gospel, and the meaning of the proposition: *Fide Justificamur*.”*

Quotations of identical import from these two fathers of the Lutheran Church might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but these will suffice to show that they gave Justification the place of highest rank in the *ordo salutis*, and in every formal and systematic statement of the Christian doctrine. They regarded it as Christianity itself,† not in the sense that they dispensed with every other doctrine, but in the sense that they regarded it as embracing all other doctrines. It formed, as their works show, the central point around which all their theological thinking revolved. In their opposition to Pelagianism, and to the Semipelagianism of the Roman Catholic Church, which rejected the *sola fide*, they sometimes laid heavy emphasis on the *Bondage of the Will*, and on Predestination as its correlate, but neither of these subjects received a hundredth part of the attention from Luther and Melanchthon that was bestowed by them on *Justification*. To this last they returned ever and again, as to the Alpha and Omega of human destiny. In the case of Luther, Predestination was regarded as the proper preparation for Justification;‡ and in the case of Melanchthon it early came to be postponed to Justification in such a way that he declared that “those undoubtedly are elected, who by faith lay hold on mercy, and persevere in that confidence unto the end”§—thus laying the foundation for the *fide praevisa* that subsequently occupied so large a place in the Lutheran theology, and became a watchword against the *Praedestinatio absoluta* of the Reformed. Even in his so-called and much misunderstood Synergism, Melanchthon never taught that the

* *Ibid.* 8 : 504.

† C. R. 21 : 39.

‡ Loescher's *Reformations-Acta*, I 541.

§ C. R. 21 : 332.

human will begins the work of salvation, or contributes anything meritorious to Justification; and he was the first to note expressly that faith is the instrumental cause of Justification.

THE CONFESSIONS.

In the twentieth article of the Augustana it is said: "The doctrine of faith which is the chief article of the Christian Church." In Article IV, of the Apology, it is written: "Now, since this controversy concerns the principal article of the Christian doctrine, which, correctly understood, illumines and enlarges the honor of Christ, and brings the necessary and richest comfort to pious consciences, we beseech the Emperor to hear us clemently in regard to such important matters." In the Schmalkald Articles three classes of articles are named: Those about which there was no controversy, inasmuch as both parties confessed them; those with which the Lutheran Reformers were willing to treat with learned and sensible men; and what they call *Der Hauptartikel, Principalis Articulus*. Here it is said: "On this article depends everything that we teach and practice against the Pope, the Devil, and the whole world. Therefore in regard to this we must be entirely certain, and not doubt, otherwise all is lost, and the Pope and the Devil and everything has the victory and the case against us." So important was the article in the estimation of its numerous signers, and so certain were they in regard to the Lutheran teaching thereon, that they would not suffer it to be brought under discussion. In the Form of Concord it is taught: "This article concerning Justification by faith is, as the Apology declares, the leading article of the whole Christian doctrine; without which a disturbed conscience can have no more consolation, or rightly conceive the riches of the grace of Christ, as Dr. Luther has written: 'If this single article remain pure, the whole Christian community will also remain pure and harmonious, and without any factions; but if it remain not pure, it is impossible to resist any error or fanatical spirit.' And with respect to this article in particular, Paul says: 'A little leaven

leaveneth the whole lump.' For that reason he enforces in this article, with so much earnestness and zeal, the *particulæ exclusivæ*—namely, the words, 'without law,' 'without works,' 'by grace' (Rom. 3 : 28 ; 4 : 5 ; Eph. 2 : 8, 9) by which the works of man are excluded—for the purpose of showing how highly necessary it is in this article, not only to unfold the true doctrine, but also to set forth the contrary doctrines, that they may be discriminated, exposed and rejected."

From this quotation it is evident that the authors of the *Form of Concord*, who profess to adhere to the true and Christian sense of the Augsburg Confession, regarded the article of Justification not only as the chief article of the Christian faith, but as normative for the right apprehension of other doctrines, and as judicial for the detection and exclusion of the contrary doctrines.

THE DOGMATICIANS.

1. *Chemnitz*, the greatest of the Lutheran Dogmaticians, says: "This article preëminently distinguishes the Church from all other societies, and superstitions, as Augustine says: 'The Church distinguishes the just from *the unjust, not by the law of works, but by the law of faith* ;' yea, this article is as it were the citadel, the chief bulwark of the entire Christian doctrine and Religion. If this be obscured, or corrupted, or subverted, it is impossible to retain purity of doctrine in the other articles. But if this article be preserved, all idolatries and superstitions will perish of their own accord."*

2. *Gerhard*, distinguished alike for learning and piety, says: "The rank of this article, joined with its utility and necessity, is the highest. The pious and pure treatment of it ascribes the proper honor to Christ, brings a firm consolation to alarmed consciences, guards the distinction between law and gospel, incites the confidence of faith necessary in the true and profitable worship of God, and fires the minds of the pious to the serious performance of good works."†

* *Loci, Pars. Sec.* p. 216.

† *Loci*, VII, p. 2.

3. *Quenstedt*, known as the bookkeeper of the Wittenberg orthodoxy, calls Justification "*Divinissima doctrina*, the acropolis of the entire Christian religion, and the bond by which all the parts of the Christian doctrine are held together; and if this be broken, all the other articles are put out of joint and destroyed." He quotes *Meissner* as saying: "This article is, as it were, the *center of theology*, to which all things are directed in a straight line, the sacred ocean to which all things flow; the citadel of the faith which keeps all things safe and sound."*

If now we analyze these quotations from the Reformers, the Confessions, the Dogmaticians, we perceive especially two things:

1. They all give to Justification the place of supreme dignity and importance as *summus fidei articulus*. They place it at the head of the entire Christian system, and confer upon it the most honorable predicates.

2. They treat Justification as normative, and as the regulative factor for the entire Christian system. All the other articles of faith are viewed as centering in, or as going out from, this article, or are to be tested by this article. It is this article that distinguishes the Church from all other associations of men, and decides for or against their teaching. This, its discriminating characteristic, was particularly observed by the Catholics. *Pighius* said: "*On this article as on a hinge turns, and on this principle depends, almost the whole controversy between the Lutherans and us in religion and faith, for by this dogma they corrupt and pollute almost all the articles of our religion.*"†

At the Council of Trent it was declared that all the errors of Luther arose from this one point.

And *Sarpi*, the historian of the Council of Trent, tells us that on the eighteenth of June, 1546, "it was proposed, that having, by divine inspiration, condemned the heresies concerning original sin, the order of the things to be handled did require,

* *Systema*, Pars III, p. 514.

† Quoted from *Chemnitz's Loci*, Pars Sec., pp. 216-17.

that the doctrine of the modernes, in the point of divine grace, which is the medicine of sinne, should be examined; and that the rather it was fit to follow the order, because it was observed by the *Augustane* Confession; all which the Councell meaneth to condemne. And the Fathers and Divines were intreated to have recourse by prayer unto the divine assistance, and to bee assiduous, and exact in their studies, because all the errours of *Martin* were resolved into that point. For having undertaken from the beginning to oppugne the Indulgences, he saw hee could not obtaine his purpose, except hee destroyed the workes of repentance, in defect whereof Indulgences doe succede. And iustification by faith onely, a thing never heard of before, seemed to him a good means to effect this; from whence hee hath collected not only that good workes are not necessary, but also that a dissolute libertie in observing the Law of GOD, and of the Church, will serve the turne: hath denied effiencie in the Sacraments, authoritie of Priests, Purgatorie, sacrifice of the Masse, and all other remedies for remission of sinnes. Therefore by a contrary way, hee that will establish the bodie of the Catholike doctrine, must overthrow this heresie of justice by faith only, and condemne the blasphemies of that enemie of good works.”*

And now inasmuch as Justification is the sum of Christianity, and inasmuch as it is the criterion for judging all doctrines, and inasmuch as other doctrines follow legitimately from it, it must result, that, interpreted by the methods and in the language of modern thinking, Justification as conceived and employed by Lutherans has the characteristics and the significance of a fundamental *principle*. Hence, beginning with Twisten in 1826, Justification has been called the *Material Principle* of Lutheranism, or of the Lutheran Reformation, by which designation is meant “that doctrine which presents itself as the central point of the entire system;” and further: “This doctrine, viz., *that we are justified without merit purely* out of grace, for Christ’s sake, through faith, was always designated by Luther and his co-workers expressly as the ground-dogma of Christianity. On this centered, directly or indirectly, the entire con-

* *Council of Trent (English Translation)*, p. 190.

troversy of the contending parties. From this is to be understood the peculiar structure of the Dogmatic of our Church.”*

From the days of Twisten to the present time, the terms, *Material Principle* and *Justification by Faith*, have been employed interchangeably by standard Lutheran theologians; that is, the *Material Principle* of Lutheranism is the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith, and Justification by Faith is the *Material Principle* of Lutheranism. Dr. Luthardt says: “*The Material Principle* is the *doctrine of the righteousness of faith* according to two sides: The righteousness of Jesus Christ is salvation, and faith is the way of salvation. This forms the soul of the Lutheran Confession, and is expressed either more *directly*, and that too in the objective form, so as to emphasize the *sole mediatorship or sole honor of Christ*, over against the Romish doctrine, which dims the glory of Christ, and casts contempt upon Christ.
* * * Or it is *directly* named the doctrine of the righteousness of faith as the *articulus praecipuus et fundamentalis*.”†

We find a definition of identical import in the Meusel *Hand-Lexikon*, V, p. 528: “The doctrine of Justification by faith alone, recognized by Luther as the kernel and star of the Scriptures, is the *Material Principle* of the Lutheran Reformation.”

Frank declares: “It would go hard with theological science, if it should at any time cease to regard the article of the Justification of the sinner out of grace through faith as the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae*. For what the Evangelical Lutheran Church has been and is, the Christian truth that belongs to her, and an account of which alone she has a right to exist—all this has she become through the restoration and development of this one Christian life-experience, the justification of the sinner by and before God through faith in Jesus Christ. It is a *historical*, not merely a theoretical, truth, that out from this one point or principle the Reformation of the Church was accomplished. If our Church is to maintain her historical char-

* *Dogm. Ev. Luth. Kirche*, 4th ed., pp. 258-9.

† *Komp. d. Dogmatik*, 10th ed., pp. 24-5.

acter—and without this she ceases to be what she is—she must emphasize and maintain the actual position which the article of Justification has had from the beginning for the doctrine of the faith that is peculiar to her. It is absurd to say that not the doctrine of Justification, but Justification itself, or the state of Justification, has this meaning.”*

Thomasius calls Justification by Faith the living center of our Symbolical Books; the life-principle around which the Lutheran Church has erected the whole structure of her symbolical statements. The doctrine of Justification by Faith he calls the constitutive center of the other symbolical statements.†

From these definitions and declarations, which are based on an elaborate induction of facts, we see the place that the doctrine of Justification by Faith occupies in the Lutheran system. It is the constitutive, directive center of the Lutheran system; and it has significance not only as the sum of Christianity, but also because of its relations to all the other doctrines of the Lutheran system. As the constitutive center it rules and determines the system in all its parts. As the *Material Principle* it requires that every doctrine appertaining to man's salvation shall be stated so as to harmonize with the fundamental truth: JUSTIFICATION OUT OF DIVINE GRACE THROUGH FAITH.

We are now prepared to discuss the *Relations of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith*, as that doctrine is stated in Article IV of the one only confession of faith that has ever been universally received in the Lutheran Church:

“It is also taught that we do not receive forgiveness of sins and righteousness before God through our own merit, work and satisfaction, but that we receive forgiveness of sins, and are justified before God out of grace for Christ's sake through faith, if we believe that Christ suffered for us, and that on account of him, sin is forgiven us, righteousness and eternal life are bestowed. For this faith God will regard and impute as righteousness before him, as Paul says in Romans 3 and 4.”

* *System d. Christ. Wahrheit*, I, 79-80.

† *Das Bekennt. d. Ev. Luth. Kirche*, pp. 1, 2, 4.

I.

THE RELATION OF JUSTIFICATION TO THE ARTICLE OF THE TRINITY.

Justification, viewed objectively, is an act of God. This fact not only presupposes that God exists, but that he exists in the relation of Judge to man, who is the subject of Justification. But a Judge who has a proper regard for the law, and for righteousness, cannot pardon a transgressor of the law, and release him from the penalty of the violated law, unless the transgressor shall first, either in his own person, or in that of another, render satisfaction as required by the law. Neither can the Judge, who is the impersonation of the law, be expected to render the required satisfaction. Neither can the Judge make the penalty less than the law requires, for the law is supreme. But if he be merciful and clement he may be willing to accept a substitute, provided the substitute be *adequate*. On the one hand the substitute must be able to magnify the law, and to make it honorable. On the other hand he must be both willing and able to make common cause with the transgressor, and to put himself in a relation to the law that is substantially identical with that occupied by the transgressor. The simplest principles of justice require these two presuppositions. The substitute must also share the clemency of the Judge, and must have a sense of the infirmity of the transgressor. Only God can have the dignity to magnify the law of God. Only man can justly suffer the penalty of the transgression of a law made for man, and only man can enter into the place of man. Hence the Redeemer of man from the curse of a violated divine law must be both God and man; and the will to redeem must be shared alike by the Judge and by the Redeemer; that is, to translate these terms from the abstract to the concrete, and to apply them to the case in hand, by the light of the Holy Scriptures, we say that the will to redeem from sin must be shared alike by God the Father and God the Son. If God so loves the world as to give his Son

for its redemption, the Son must be able to say: "Lo, I come (in the roll of the book it is written of me) to do thy will, O, God." Ps. 40 : 7, 8 ; Heb. 10 : 7 ; and he must be willing to minister and to give his life a ransom for many. Matt. 20 : 28.

We thus see that salvation is and must be founded in the divine will of love, of grace, of mercy. In the Father this will dwells fundamentally and essentially, for God is love. 1 John 4 : 8.

In the Son this will manifests itself mediatorially and sacrificially, as the one in whom the Father is well pleased. But this sending of the Son to redeem the world is reconciliation and salvation only in provision, in offer, on condition, not in actual bestowment and in actual experience. The Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, must be made known to the transgressors. The reconciliation made in the councils of eternity must not only eventuate in time, but must be testified to as a fact, and must be applied to those for whom it was intended, before redemption can become an actuality. The loving will of the Father, and the loving satisfaction of the Son, must be made known to the transgressors.

This calls for a third person,—for one who can take the things of Christ and show them to men. John 16 : 14, 15. In order to discharge this office of interpreter and testifier, the person sent must be able to understand the deep mystery of the divine wisdom and mercy contained in the plan of redemption. In a word, the Applier of redemption must himself be God, who as the Spirit of truth, by the use of the only instrument available, namely, the truth, can lead to Christ, and through Christ the Son to God the Father.

Thus the doctrine of Justification as set forth in our thesis, Article IV, taken in connection with Article V of the same Confession, shows itself to be in full harmony with the doctrine of the economic Trinity, as that doctrine has been revealed in Holy Writ, and with the doctrine of the ontological Trinity, as that doctrine stands confessed in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed,—one divine essence, and three persons, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost. Moreover, our thesis,

and the process sketched above, commend themselves to sound reason, and to our innate sense of right, and they have always commended themselves, and still commend themselves, to the vast majority of profound Christian thinkers. No one can question the right of a father to pity his transgressing children, and no one can blame him for maintaining the majesty of his law. And no one can question the right of a person to offer himself in ministry and ransom for transgressors; and no one can deny the practical need of a third person to make the offer of redemption known, and to plead with the transgressors to accept it in order to be absolved and to be received again into the paternal fellowship.

Hence, given the doctrine of Justification as the same is set forth in our thesis, and is taught in the Lutheran Church, and we at once discover its necessary preconception in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan doctrine of the Trinity, for Justification is reconciliation with the Father, on account of the Son, by the agency of the Holy Ghost, who creates faith in the mercy of God and in the righteousness of Christ. Properly, therefore, is Justification called the *righteousness of faith*.

If now we inquire a little more analytically into the relation of the doctrine of Justification, as taught by Lutherans, to the article of the Trinity we find:

1. *That Justification, according to the Lutheran conception, has its prime source in God the Father, that is, in the love, mercy, and grace of the Heavenly Father, for those three words lie at the root of the will to save. It was the love of the Father that led him to have mercy on his children, and it was his mercy that led him to make gracious provision for their redemption in and through Christ. In Holy Writ, which is to be our guide in this study, salvation is immediately connected with the love and grace of God, and these are connected with Christ. God so loved the world as to give his Son for its salvation, John 3 : 16. By the grace of God Christ was to taste death for every man, Heb. 2 : 9; the grace of God is given by Jesus Christ, 1 Cor. 1 : 14; the gospel is called the gospel of the grace of God, Acts 20 : 24. It is the grace of God*

that brings salvation, Tit. 2 : 14. God hath called us according to his own purpose and grace which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began, 2 Tim. 1 : 19. Election is by grace, Rom. 11 : 5, and is in Christ, Eph. 1 : 4. Hence grace may be defined as that truly paternal favor that led God to send his Son into the world to save sinful men; and we find that the Lutheran theology connects grace in causal relation directly with Justification. Luther says: "These two words, grace and peace, comprehend in themselves whatever belongs to Christianity. Grace releases from sin, and peace makes the conscience quiet." This is Justification according to its two sides. Again: "By grace alone, all other means, either in heaven or in earth, set apart, we have remission of sins and peace with God."* He calls grace "the chief part of our Christian doctrine, namely, without works, purely by the grace of God given us in Christ, must we be saved. There is no other way, nor method, nor work that can help us." "One has grace to be an apostle; another, a prophet; another, an evangelist, or an expounder of the Scriptures. But we all have the fulness of grace in our Lord God. So richly are the grace and mercy of God bestowed, that it is without measure, is eternal, belongs to all his in its height, depth and breadth. That is called grace. There are other gifts of various kinds for ruling the Church. These shall cease. But the grace and mercy of God are eternal, and our forgiveness of sin is not to last for one or two thousand years, but it is an eternal redemption, salvation, joy, life, forgiveness of sins, and has no limits. Such hath he bestowed upon us. Hence we have grace and the Holy Spirit without measure, not on account of our merit, but because we believe in him."†

Melanchthon also connects Justification immediately with grace. He says: "Grace is the remission of sins, or mercy promised on account of Christ, or gratuitous acceptance, and is necessarily attended by the Holy Ghost." He identifies Christ

* *Com. on Gal. Cap. I, 3.*

† *Erl. Ed. 47, pp. 172-3.*

with the throne of Grace.* In his *Loci* he discusses grace and Justification together, and represents Justification as depending directly and alone upon the mercy and grace of God on account of Christ. Indeed he knows of no justification except that which proceeds from the grace and mercy of God. In the Confessions it is said time and again that we are justified out of grace, freely, without works. The *particulæ exclusivæ* point to the grace of God. And everywhere in Lutheran theology the conception is that Justification has its original source in the grace of God, and that the grace of God is both manifested and magnified in sending Christ as Redeemer and Saviour.

2. *Justification, according to the Lutheran conception, brings the person and work of Christ into great prominence.* In Article IV of the Confession, Justification is declared to be "out of grace for Christ's sake": *Um Christum willen, propter Christum*. This form of statement—"for Christ's sake": *propter Christum*—has great significance. It associates Christ *ex vi terminorum* in causal relation to Justification. It is used in the first and in every subsequent edition of Melancthon's *Loci*, and times almost without number in the other writings of the great Preceptor, quite to the exclusion of every other form of statement by which the relation of Christ to Justification is presented. He never wearies of declaring that we are justified, receive the remission of sins, are reputed righteous, *on account of Christ*, on account of the Mediator the Son of God; that we have forgiveness of sins and acceptance before God on account of the obedience and intercession of Christ. "Beloved in the Beloved, that is, on account of the Beloved through whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins." "Righteousness is reckoned to us on account of Christ through faith. If now righteousness is reckoned to us on account of Christ, it is alone the obedience of Christ by which we are acceptable to God, and not the gifts that follow.

* C. R. 21 : 752-3.

Daniel and David use the word *propter* in order to exclude our virtue and righteousness.”*

In Article XX of the Confession it is said: “On account of Christ we are received into grace.” “On account of Christ we have a gracious God.” And in Article XXVII it is said: “Righteousness cometh by faith to those that believe that they are received into favor by God for Christ’s sake.” In the Apology, Article IV: “The promise of remission of sins and of Justification on account of Christ who was given for us that he might make satisfaction for the sins of the world, and be presented as Mediator and Redeemer” In the Form of Concord: “For the sake of the merit and perfect obedience, the bitter sufferings and death and the resurrection of Christ.” “For the sake of this perfect obedience which he rendered to his heavenly Father for us both in doing and in suffering, in his life and death, God forgives our sins, accounts us righteous and just, and saves us eternally.” And now that we may know who this Christ is, we turn to Article III of the Confession. Here we learn that he has “two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably joined together in unity of person; one Christ, true God and true man; who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, that he might reconcile the Father unto us, and might be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.” In the Apology it is said that Christ died to reconcile us to the Father. The reconciliation is twofold, but Christ the God-man is the Reconciler. He is our peace, and hath made peace, and hath given us access to the Father. Eph. 2 : 14-17.

If now we are asked at the bar of God whether we have loved God and have fulfilled the law, Christ steps in and says, “Yea, Father, I have done it that they might be reconciled, because they have believed on me, and are in me.”

Now, it is exactly on this account that God can be just and the justifier of the believer. In so far as we believe in Christ, we are in Christ, and have put on Christ. The believer, therefore, is not looked upon as he is in himself, but as he is in

* C. R. VIII, 559.

Christ. God judges him as he sees him united with his Son Jesus Christ. Therefore the judgment is according to righteousness, and the righteousness bestowed is that of the Son of God, who, because he is the Son of God, has a righteousness that is sufficient to cover the transgressions of the whole world. Hence we can appreciate Luther's language when, treating of this "principal article of all Christian doctrine," he says: "Here you see how necessary a thing it is to believe and confess the article of the divinity of Christ, which when Arius denied he must needs also deny the article of our redemption. For to overcome the sin of the world, death, the curse and the wrath of God in himself, is not the work of *any* creature, but of the divine power. Therefore he who in himself should overcome these, must needs be truly and naturally God. For against this mighty power of sin, death, and the curse, which of itself reigneth throughout the world, and in the whole creature, it was necessary to set a more high and mighty power. But besides the sovereign and divine power, no such power can be found. Wherefore, to abolish sin, to destroy death, to take away the curse in himself; and again, to give righteousness, to bring light, and to give the blessing, are the works of the divine power only and alone. Now, because the Scripture doth attribute all these to Christ, therefore he in himself is life, righteousness, and blessing, which is, naturally and substantially, God. Therefore they that deny the divinity of Christ, do lose all Christianity, and become altogether Gentiles and Turks. We must learn therefore diligently the article of justification, as I often admonish you. For all the other articles of our faith are comprehended in it; and if that remain sound then are all the rest sound. Wherefore, when we teach that men are justified by Christ, that Christ is the conqueror of sin and death, and the everlasting curse, we witness thereby that he is naturally and substantially God."*

We thus see the relation of Article IV of the Confession to Article III. The latter is not only the presupposition of the

* *Com. on Gal.*, Chap. III : 13.

former, but the ground and reason for its existence in the Christian system, If there be no divine human Mediator, who by his almighty power, can overcome sin, death and hell, there can be no justification before God, for this justification cannot take place according to the divine nature alone, as Osiander taught, nor according to the human nature alone, as Stancar imagined. "Faith looks upon the person of Christ, as the same was made under the law for us, bore our sins, and when proceeding to the Father, rendered entire and perfect obedience to his heavenly Father for us poor sinners, from his holy birth unto his death; and thereby covered all our disobedience, which inheres in our nature, in its thoughts, words, and deeds; so that it is no more imputed to us unto condemnation, but is pardoned and remitted through pure grace, for the sake of Christ alone."*

3. *Justification, according to the Lutheran conception, also recognizes the presence and work of the Holy Ghost.*

Now it happens—just how it has so happened we do not know—that no Lutheran creed or confession contains an article *De Spiritu Sancto*. The Lutheran Church undoubtedly laid more stress on the person and work of Christ, that is, on the acquisition of redemption, than on the person and work of the Holy Ghost, that is, on the application of redemption. Nevertheless the Lutheran Confessions and Lutheran theology clearly and distinctly recognize the presence and the work of the Holy Ghost in justification by faith. His chief office is to work repentance and faith in those who hear the gospel. This he does by convicting the world of sin, and of righteousness, and of judgment to come, John 16 : 8; by testifying of Christ, John 15 : 26; by taking the things of Christ and showing them unto men, John 16 : 14; by teaching all things, and by bringing unto men all things whatsoever Christ hath spoken, 1 Cor. 2 : 10. On the day of Pentecost the Holy Ghost came down from heaven in visible appearance. But now that the Church is established, "the Holy Ghost is sent by his word

* *Form of Concord*, Art. III.

unto the hearts of believers, as is said: 'God sent the Spirit of his Son.' This sending is without any visible appearance; to wit, when by the hearing of the external word, we receive an inward fervency and light, whereby we are changed and become new creatures; whereby also we receive a new judgment, a new feeling, and a new moving. This change and this new judgment is not a work of reason, or the power of a man, but is the gift and operation of the Holy Ghost, which cometh with the word preached which purifieth our hearts by faith, and bringeth forth in us spiritual motions."* In Article V of the Confession it is said that God gives the Holy Ghost who works faith, where and when he will, in those who hear the Gospel. In the Catechism it is said: "I believe that I cannot by my own reason or strength believe in Jesus Christ my Lord, or come to him. But the Holy Ghost has called me through the Gospel, enlightened me by his gifts, sanctified and preserved me in the true faith." The Holy Ghost calls, illumines, converts, and, by working on the inner life of man, creates faith in the promised redemption. At the same time also he regenerates the believer, so that he is a new creature in Christ Jesus, and becomes a son of God. As Melanchthon says: "When God pardons sins he at the same time gives the Holy Ghost, who begins new virtues, though the alarmed conscience first seeks the pardon of sins and reconciliation. It is anxious about this and in regard to this contends in true fear, and does not dispute about the new virtues that are infused, though these follow reconciliation, yet it must not be supposed that our dignity or purity are causes of the pardon of sins."†

Hence nothing can be clearer than that the Lutheran faith recognizes the presence of the Holy Ghost as active in Justification. By the power of the truth he creates the faith that receives the heavenly gift of grace; and at the same time he works that experience of salvation, and that regeneration of the human spirit, that always attend the objective declaration of forgiveness, though no experience of salvation and no internal

* *Com. on Gal.*, Chap. IV. 5, 6,

† C. R. 21 : 742.

change of heart is the cause of the divine declaration of pardon. Hence looked at from the subjective side the Apology is perfectly correct when it says: "The sinner's justification means that he is changed into a pious being, and is born anew of the Holy Ghost."*

II.

THE RELATION OF JUSTIFICATION TO ANTHROPOLOGY.

The moment we use the word Justification, the question arises, Justification from what? The answer given in the Lutheran system brings us face to face with the doctrine of sin, and the doctrine of sin leads to the inquiry for a state of sinlessness, or of *integrity*. Further back than this we cannot go in tracing man's ethical history.

1. *The State of Integrity.*

When we hear of a condition of sin from which man is delivered by Justification, the question easily arises, Was man created in a condition of sin? To affirm that he was so created is at once to impeach the power and moral integrity of the Creator, and no speculation that has affirmed the creation of man in sin, has at any time been sanctioned by the Church. We are led then to inquire for the original condition of man, from which he departed by sin, from which sin he must be justified in order to enjoy fellowship with his Creator, who, because of the creational relation, must be also man's Lord and moral Governor.

The answer which Lutheranism gives to this inquiry must be in harmony with her central principle.

Now as Justification is a restoration to judicial righteousness, and thereby to a state of moral integrity, we must conclude that man's original condition was one of righteousness and integrity; that is, man, at the time of his creation, must have stood before his Creator free from guilt and free from moral imperfection. This would seem to be the legitimate conclusion from the facts involved in Justification.

* Art. IV.

With this conclusion corresponds the declaration of the Scripture that man was created in the image, after the likeness of God, and was "good," which predicates must be interpreted to mean at the very least, that he was adapted to serve the purpose had in view in his creation; and in that purpose must have been included the duty truly to fear, love and obey God. This conception of the *status integritatis* is expressed in the Apology as follows: "This the Holy Scriptures also testify when they say that man was created after God's own image and likeness. For what else is this, but that the divine wisdom and righteousness, which are of God, were formed in man through which we know God, through which the brightness of God was reflected in us; that is, that these gifts, namely, a true, clear knowledge of God, true fear of and confidence in him, etc., were given to man when he was first created."*

What Justification proposes is, the restoration of man to a state of righteousness, or of right relation to God, in order that he may truly know, love and serve God. More than this it cannot do, for more than this is not possible in the ethico-religious sphere. Less than this it dare not attempt, for a perfectly holy God could not be satisfied with less. He could not admit into his presence a creature who was not righteous in his sight, and who had not been created after God in righteousness and in the holiness of truth. Eph. 4:24; Col. 3:14. Therefore Justification, or the righteousness of faith, must be a substitute for original righteousness, or for the state of integrity. Hence the doctrine of the *status integritatis* must be shaped so as to harmonize with the central principle of the system; which, as it embraces the whole sum of Christianity, must determine the view to be taken of man in his original condition, who now, because of sin, has become the subject of an objective Justification and of personal purification, that he may be restored to "righteousness and to the holiness of truth." Very properly, therefore, is it said that "original righteousness was the acceptableness of human nature before God, and in the very nature of men a light in the mind by which it was able

* Article II.

firmly to assent to the word of God, and a turning of the will to God, and obedience of heart in agreement with the decision of the law of God that is implicated in the mind."*

The person who is justified, who is united with Christ, who has put on the Lord Jesus Christ, who is renewed in the spirit of his mind, and is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him, and is so transformed by the renewing of the mind as to be able to prove what is that good and acceptable and perfect will of God—all of which is involved essentially in the doctrine of Justification—that person is in a moral condition which differs in no essential respect from the *status integritatis*.

2. *The State of Corruption.*

None the less true is it that the doctrine of Justification enables us to establish a correct doctrine of sin—of sin, whether viewed as the loss of original righteousness, or as the corruption of man's ethical nature. If Justification be the restoration of original righteousness both in the judicial and in the ethical sense, then sin must be the loss of original righteousness, both in the judicial and in the ethical sense, for God who justifies would not confer on man what he already possesses. Therefore original righteousness and original sin must be the ethico-religious antitheses of each other. The loss of the former brings on the latter. Hence it is perfectly correct to define original sin as the loss of original righteousness, and sin in general may be defined as the loss or destitution of the righteousness that ought to be; and from this it results that the more a man sins, the farther he gets away from the integrity of nature in which he was created. But inasmuch as the concreated righteousness is not an idle quality, but an inborn power to know, to love, and to serve God, so the loss of original righteousness is the loss of the power to know, to love, and to serve God. This doubtless is the very essence of sin, for this it is that causes man to miss the mark, and to come short of the end for which he was designed; or in other words, to defeat the final cause of his creation. Also as Justification in-

* C. R. 21 : 669.

volves regeneration and moral cleansing we are bound to conclude that sin brings, or is, a corruption and perversion of the moral power of the soul, so that the sinner exercises himself unto ungodliness and commits unlawful deeds. This quality of sin is expressed in Article II by the clauses: "Full of evil desires and propensities, and can have by nature no true fear of God, no true faith in God."

We may now give a classic definition of sin that will be in every respect in harmony with the doctrine of Justification by Faith: "Sin is a defect, inclination, or action, conflicting with the law of God, offensive to God, condemned by him, and causing those in whom it is found, unless forgiven, to become subjects of eternal wrath and punishment" (Melanchthon).

3. *The Doctrine of the Will.*

The Doctrine of Justification is also determinative of the Doctrine of the Will, or better, of man's moral and spiritual powers, for the terms, *Liberum Arbitrium*, and *Servum Arbitrium*, so extensively used by the Reformers, and by many theologians of later date, are too general and indefinite for the purposes of science.

The Will as the power of the human soul for choices, or as the executive faculty of the rational soul, is not primarily responsible in the matter of obtaining righteousness before God, or of accepting the grace of God manifested in Christ. It is the moral and spiritual perception that is wrong. The understanding in the broadest sense of the word, is limited, darkened, and perverted by sin. It does not rightly know God, nor correctly apprehend itself in relation to the revelation of the divine grace. Therefore it furnishes only false, or inadequate data to the will. As a consequence of this the choices must be perverse, that is, away from God and the revelation of his grace, and not toward them. What the will commands to be done is the very thing that ought not to be done. The conclusion is therefore inevitable that human works cannot receive forgiveness of sins and procure the declaration of righteousness before God. They fail to satisfy the requirements of the divine

law, for as proceeding from the carnal mind, they are carnal and have their foundation and their goal in the carnal appetites, whereas the law, in its origin, in its content, and in its aim, is spiritual. Should the carnal mind do the works required by the law, it could do them only in the letter, and not in the spirit. Therefore by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in God's sight, Rom. 3 : 20.

And inasmuch as faith in Christ depends upon a right spiritual apprehension of Christ it must follow for the same reason—the carnal limitations of the human understanding—that the Will cannot command the soul to lay hold on Christ, or on the grace of God manifested in Christ. Hence evangelical faith is impossible to the natural man, that is, to man left wholly to the exercise of his natural faculties.

We thus see that it is intellectual and moral impotence rather than a defect of the Will that keeps man in bondage to sin, and renders him incapable of doing acceptable righteousness. But this does not mean that God predestinates man to sin, as Melanchthon implied in the first edition of his *Loci*; or that God “acts necessarily in Satan and in the impious,” and that he “works the bad through the bad,” and that “Free-Will is a lie,” as Luther taught in his *De Servo Arbitrio*, but it means that man in his natural condition does sin, and falls short of the glory of God, Rom. 3 : 23; and that he needs divine assistance in order to become acceptable to God, and that he may lay hold on Christ his righteousness. And such is the doctrine of Article XVIII of our Confession: “Without the grace, help and operation of the Holy Ghost man is not able to become pleasing to God, to fear God from the heart, or to believe on him, or to cast the inborn evil out of his heart; but this is done through the Holy Ghost who is given through the Word of God. For Paul says, 1 Corinthians 2 : ‘The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God.’”

The idea intended to be expressed by the Article is that the natural (unspiritual, Greek, psychical) man labors under intellectual and moral impotence, rather than under a lack of inborn freedom. This is clearly implied by the whole tenor of the

Article, and is especially indicated by the words: "Given through the Word of God." since the Word of God presupposes intellectual and moral faculties in those to whom it is addressed. It is as though it were said, Man by his natural understanding is unable to know the will of God, and unable to perceive the meaning of divine grace as exhibited in Christ, and as a consequence—if for no other reason—is unable to make a personal application of the offer and promise of redemption. In his varied operations through the Word of God the Holy Ghost removes the inborn darkness of the mind, gives spiritual discernment, and furnishes a proper object for the Will. Hence looked at from the one side it can be truly said that man is not converted by his own strength, reason, or will, for he has no natural ability in spiritual matters. The condition, the impulse and the energy are furnished from without. But there is another side. The work done for man and in him has its order: He *can* hear the Word of God, which hearing, considering especially that the Word is endowed with supernatural potency, and is attended by the Holy Ghost, at once changes his intellectual and moral perceptions, removes his natural limitations, and begins to furnish "the grace, assistance and operation" noted in the Article, so that in his relations to God and to divine things the hearer of the Word of God no longer stands as he once stood. He is placed now in a position where he can, and must and does decide for or against the Gospel, and to decide is to exercise the power of choice, and to exercise the power of choice is to select one thing and to reject another; is to express a preference, and a repudiation. Hence choice and refusal, selection and rejection, preference and repudiation are conative correlates, and are involved in the very idea of Will, and furnish the condition *sine qua non* of responsible conduct. Under the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Ghost the will is active, whether it accepts or rejects salvation, for he who can reject salvation and does not, wills not to reject it, and he who wills not to reject it, wills to accept it. The Holy Ghost through the Word imparts the power to choose, the power to believe, but the choosing,

the believing, is the act of the hearer of the Word. And any supposition to the effect that under "the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Ghost," the will can be active only in rejecting the offer of salvation, and that in repentance, and faith, it is entirely *otiose*, is psychologically fallacious, and contradicts consciousness, which testifies that there is an act of choice.

The process may be described: The Word of truth illumines the darkened understanding; the Holy Ghost working through the truth on the inner psychical life creates spiritual apprehensions; the Gospel presents motives to the Will—it may be the low one of self-interest, or the high one of acting in harmony with the excellence of the spirit, or the still higher one of conforming life to the relations arising now from recognizing God as Creator, Benefactor, Redeemer, and moral Governor of the universe. Under these circumstances the soul's faculty for choices must *act*. Mere *passivity* is out of the question, and is not required by the Article, nor by the teaching of its author at the time that he wrote the Article.

But this action of the will under the circumstances given, furnishes no "merit, work and satisfaction," by which we may receive forgiveness of sins, and be accounted righteous before God, for it does not atone for sin, nor does it make the new creature. Nor does such action in any sense do away with the necessity of Christ, and the necessity of faith. On the contrary, in its very nature such action is an acknowledgment of the need of these, and expresses a rational determination to lay hold on them; and in no sense does such action deny that "the new birth, and the formation of a new heart and mind in us, are solely the works of the Holy Ghost in us."*

It is in this way that our fundamental Confession preserves the autonomy of man, and asserts the absolute need of divine grace; and this principle in the application of redemption is illustrated in the case of Melanchthon, whose doctrine of the three concurring causes—the call of God, the operation of the

* *Apology*, XVIII.

Spirit and the Will active under the influence of divine grace*—has been stigmatized as *Synergism* (though it was not controverted by Luther).† In his classic defense of Justification by Faith as an objective work of grace against the Osiandrian subjectivism, in the last edition of his *Loci*, and in many other writings of his later period, he as much magnifies the *gratia Dei*, the *propter Christum*, and the *sola fide*, as he does in the *Apology*, or in any of his writings prior to 1535.‡

Thus our "central principle," Justification by Faith, saves us on the one hand from Pelagianism, which disparages the merit and righteousness of Christ, and maintains that piety is the result of our own natural powers (Article II); and from the Semipelagianism of the Roman Catholic Church, with its refinements of the *meritum de congruo* and the *meritum de condigno* and the mystic *infusio gratiae*; and on the other hand our principle saves us from the Augustinian and Scotistic Determinism, which degrades man to the rank of a machine by denying him the power of decision in the most momentous transaction of his life, and makes him an automaton moved

* C. R. 21 : 65, *et seqq.*

† In 1537 Melanchthon wrote to Veit Dietrich: "You know that I modify certain statements about predestination, the assent of the will, and mortal sin. I know positively that *Luther* entertains the same views in regard to all these things." C. R. 3 : p. 383. This is proof positive, not only that Luther abandoned some of his earlier Augustinian excesses, but that he agreed essentially with Melanchthon on the doctrine of the Will. In this very letter Melanchthon says: "Yesterday he (Luther) spoke very lovingly with me about the controversies stirred up by Cordatus, when I declared that it would be a tragic spectacle if we like the Cadmean brothers should fight among ourselves."

‡ Men do great wrong to Melanchthon when they quote his "*Lib-erum arbitrium in homine facultatem applicandi ad gratiam*," and do not first quote his postulates: *Spiritum Sanctum efficacem esse per vocem Evangelii auditam sue cogitatam*, and his: "*Praecedente gratia*," and "*ordimur a verbo*." C. R. 21 : 658. The most orthodox of modern German Lutheran theologians have accepted in essentials Melanchthon's position. See Kahn's *Dogmatik*, II, 543 *et seqq.*; Luthardt's *Dogmatik*, 10th ed., p. 274, and Luthardt's *Glaubenslehre*, pp. 441-8, Richard's *Philip Melanchthon*, pp. 232-8.

and determined by the Holy Ghost—a conception which is in direct conflict with the whole tone and tenor of the New Testament call of the gospel and offer of salvation, which are addressed to intelligent, rational, free agents, who, under “the grace, assistance and operation of the Holy Ghost,” have the power to accept, as well as the power to reject salvation, the power to believe, as well as the power to refuse to believe, Matt. 23 : 37 ; Acts 2 : 37 ; 3 : 19 : “Repent and turn again.”

(*To be continued.*)

ARTICLE II.

THEOLOGY AS A SCIENCE FOR THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY.

BY J. D. SEVERINGHAUS, D.D.

The oft-quoted thesis of Mirandula, the Italian philosopher and humorist of the fifteenth century : “*Philosophy* seeks the truth, *theology* finds it, *religion* appropriates it,” may still be heeded as suggestively valuable. If philosophy love the truth or wisdom, as the word implies, it cannot but seek to possess it ; and theology, to find it, will gladly take philosophy into its service as helpful to the cultivation and dissemination of a religion based on revealed truth.

All truth, be it of a natural, a metaphysical, or a religious character, is good, and can be made serviceable to man. It may all be brought under *one* head and be utilized in one and the same discourse for practical purposes ; but the teacher of religion must have scientific discernment sufficient to speak intellectually on such subjects, able to defend the truth against error and to apply it effectively to the cause of religion.

Kant has said he did not want his students to learn philosophy of him, but to learn to *philosophize*. Our theological schools have a somewhat similar purpose. They do indeed teach theology, but not in the sense that their students should

memorize facts and materials for future sermons, but rather to make *theologians* of them, men who can command the whole field of truth and cull from it such titbits as may suit the demand made upon them in the discharge of their calling. Theology has become a *science*, a method, a system, by which the Church convinces, edifies and energizes her members in favor of the truth she has found precious and uplifting. Hence we say :

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IS A SCIENCE. Its ground-work is religion, the religion which has Christ for its substance and which makes all things new.* Theology might be called the "science of religion," if it did not deal so largely with the objective truths of revelation. We, therefore, say with Luthardt: "Theology is the churchly science of Christianity," or with Kahnis: "Theology is the scientific self-consciousness of the Church," or, perhaps still better: "Theology is the science of Christian doctrine and life."

In limiting our subject by the attribute "Christian" we simply follow the dictate of an enlightened reason which must class what Paganism, Judaeism or Mohammedism might severally call their "theology," as nothing more than natural mythology, ethnic segregation, or fanatical hero-worship. It were a caricature of the sacred term under discussion were we to speak of Brahmanism, Confucianism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Lavism, Shintoism, as entitled to a recognition alongside of Christianity. They are simply the crystallizations of temporal or local phenomena or events which gained subsistence by a train of accumulating traditions, and found a basic identity in certain books or symbols of poetic or of epileptic creatures. Judaeism has indeed a claim to a somewhat higher regard, but its earlier mission having been fulfilled, its religion has become entirely Talmudic, and its theology knows no good but mammon.

Christianity, over against all religiousness of every description, recognizes a God, distinct, but not separated from the universe, and has His self-revelation for a foundation of its theol-

* Rev. 21 : 5.

ogy. What divinely inspired men have spoken and written *that* has become the subject-matter of its teachings. To give what pertains to the foundation, the events, the doctrine, the ethics and the life of the Christian Church, such systematization as will assign every feature of the same to its proper place and department, is the province of theological science.

True, Christian theology is not a science like that of astronomy, geology, botany, chemistry, mathematics, and the like, that it would have natural elements to deal with; nor yet is it a metaphysical, psychological or one of the many academic sciences, and yet it is a *science* for all that, *sui generis*, as to its class, because dealing preëminently with divine things, albeit in their earthly relation, and resting on a positive revelation. It has its own schools, in which its students can earn degrees that have no meaning with secular scholars, and it requires of its devotees certain aptitudes in the various branches, cognate of religious truth.

There was a time in the church history of this country when scientific theology was but little appreciated, especially in the earlier settlements and among the new-born sects of Christendom. "Brush" College has become famous from those times. Graduates of academic schools in many cases disdained to devote themselves to theology as a still further acquirement for the work of the ministry. That some have become eminent in the pulpit without the aid of a theological seminary is however no argument against the latter. Writers say of the Dresden Court-preacher Reinhard, who boasted that he had not attended a single lecture on Practical Theology: *Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi*. Times and circumstances change. "Schools of the prophets" and for the future prophets are no longer located in the study of a *pastor emeritus*, but they demand buildings, professors, and a three or four years' course of the most painstaking preparation.

Thus has she come to the fore—this "queen of science," and her coronation is yet a thing of the future. Is there a science like unto that of theology, so boundless in its compass,*

* Acts 18 : 24.

so sublime in its purpose, so interesting in its associations, so important in its fruits? Of Apollos, the theologian, it is reported that he was mighty in the Scriptures. Paul, the still mightier theologian, requires of a pastor that he be apt to teach,* sound in doctrine, able to convince gainsayers.† Spurgeon has said: "We shall never have great preachers until we have great divines." Luther remarks: "He who is well versed and founded in the text will be a good and accomplished theologian."

While then we would be willing to say with Wesley: "I will be a man of *one book* only," meaning thereby that the Scriptures should be the only source of his sermons, we also heed what is said to Timothy,‡ "that the man of God (the preacher) must be thoroughly furnished unto every good work." It is an old experience that some men "wrest the Scriptures unto their own destruction."§ What contradictory use is there not made of the Word of God, plain as it is? The writer heard a Mormon elder preach on Ephesians 4 : 11, 12, explaining and applying those familiar words so exclusively in favor of the *Latter Day Saints*, as to make it appear that all Christendom had failed to understand the Bible in its true meaning, and therefore should be replaced by something better. Dowieism practically makes the same claim for its use of the Scriptures, although entirely antagonistic to the Mormon faith; and Eddyism, the still more radical departure from all commonly accepted as Christian truth, claims to have discovered the true and only key to the hitherto hidden treasure of the Bible. In a somewhat different way, yet practically in the same spirit, Adventism, Spiritualism, Unitarianism, and all the many modern cults have their "prooftexts" ready for any argument in favor of their "wrestings."

As theology is an aptitude and a panoply to be acquired by the Christian minister he is supposed to be ever ready for the

* 1 Tim. 3 : 2.

† Tit. 1 : 9.

‡ 2 Tim. 3 : 17.

§ 2 Peter 3 : 16.

changing conflict with error and disbelief. His knowledge is systematized. He has the clearest definitions at his command. Whatever logic there may be in the opposition, he can analyze and refute it. Conclusive as it is with many to appeal to a *Thus saith the Lord*, or *Thus it is written*, there may be violence done to the context, or a fallacious application may be made of the same. An intelligent diagnosis of an opponent's argument is of vital importance to the conclusion. As applied to the defense of the very foundation of our most holy faith it is well to ask the scientist, who assails the Bible on the subject of astronomy, geology, or even evolution, (a) Is your science so well established, so generally agreed upon among its own advocates, so clearly defined, as to warrant you in using it as a weapon against a revelation universally attested as the very thing the world needs?

(b) Supposing you can say "yes" to this question, or at least are disposed so to do, is that a proper interpretation of the ancient Scriptures which would test it by the line and plummet of physical facts and natural laws which but the fewest specialists can understand, and these ever modifying their dicta in the successive editions of their publications?

That theology is a science of vast proportions and has developed systematic embodiment, is because of its boundless subject-matter and because of the demands made upon religion by the growing development of natural and secular scholarship. Theological studies have accumulated material; church views and methods have gradually crystallized into rules, amenities and forms, and it has thus become convenient to systematize all this into a THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE, embracing "exegetical," "historical," "doctrinal" and "practical theology."

Such a skeleton is not fanciful. "One science only will one genius fit, so vast is art, so narrow human wit," sings Pope. Enlargements suggest partition. The universe is made up of atoms; our bodies, of different members; humanity, of varied races; the Church, of denominations supplementing one another. As we study

1. *Exegetical Theology*, we examine the foundation upon

which Christian truth is built. The Bible is of human workmanship. It consists of sixty-six different books or writings, covering a period of 1,600 years. To understand it properly and to spread its teachings, as we want to do, if it is what it claims to be, we naturally avail ourselves of all the help within our reach, such as (a) *Sacred Philology*, namely, the science and knowledge of the languages in which the sacred text was originally given. As further aids thereto we make use of all the linguistic learning at our command, and especially also of the Latin, which has enriched theology with most of its definitions, giving it even many of the anglicised terms. Such classical knowledge is not absolutely essential to a good use of the Bible, but it is very useful, and the Church must ever have some skilled in the scriptural languages, so that she may be able to verify the translations, should they be questioned.

(b) *Isagogics*, the Greek for *Introduction* to the study of the Scriptures, which includes a discussion of the several books, their origin, composition, canonicity, textual integrity, preservation, translation, chronology and inspiration.

(c) *Biblical Antiquities* could have been classified under the above head, but may also be treated separately as covering ancient geography, local and contemporaneous history; political, social and religious institutions; literature, art, industry and whatever else is referred to in the Bible that was peculiar to the age and circumstances under which it was written.

(d) *Hermeneutics* is a still further department of study for the theologian. There are certain rules for the proper interpretation of the *textus receptus*. There was an allegorical, a scholastic, a theological, a pietistic, a rationalistic and a grammatico-historical method of explaining the Word of God, hence also its variety and somewhat confusing exegesis, or teaching. The relation of the New Testament to the Old; the prophecies, types, poetry, miracles, and the so-called *Biblical Theology*, a modern science by itself, all of this, and more yet, as continued research in Bible lands and the contests of critics over Bible problems multiply the literature of an exegetical character. Here the *analogia fidei et scripturae* comes into use, and Goethe's

word: *Wer den Dichter will verstehn, der muss in Dichters Lande gehn*, is applicable.

2. *Historical Theology.* This is no less a distinct and quite extensive department of theological science. *Historia testis veritatis est.* Partly included in the foregoing, so far as the matter is concerned, the facts and events alluded to must be arrayed in their logical order. How they were set in motion, what relation they sustain to the outside world; who changed the face of the earth, turning society upside down, introducing a new era and calling new nations with a new religion into existence? This discipline enlarges as the operations of the Church reach out to the ends of the earth. We divide it into (a) *Sacred History.* Those events in which man either coöperated with God, or, contrarywise, acted against the will of God, as related or referred to in the Bible, are a matter of *sacred history*. Commentaries, lesson books, lives of biblical persons, especially also the life of Christ, give such history, but only in fragmentary portions, and therefore a philosophical and scientifically historical treatise, like that of Dr. J. H. Kurtz and others is appreciated by theologians.

(b) *Church History* holds the middle place in the system of Historical Theology, and continues where Sacred History stops. Christ and his Apostles founded a Church which not only continued what was divine and enduring in the preparatory covenant, but it also unfolded new and additional truth and covered the globe with its operations. In so doing it met with much opposition, but it also found heroic defenders. There were monuments erected, paintings executed, documents put in circulation, which all bear testimony to the reality of the persecutions, martyrdom, faith and progress of the Church in the world. Historians, ancient and modern, such as Luke, Eusebius, Rufinus, Neander, Guericke, Kurtz, and many others, have collected all such facts pertaining to the ongoings of Christianity, and presented the Church with recitals of missions, biography and statistics, that are as interesting as they are necessary to a ministerial outfit.

(c) *History of Doctrines and Dogma*, formerly treated in con-

nection with Church History, and properly so, has become so extensive a study that now it is regarded as a separate discipline, having called forth whole libraries of most valuable works. Arnold, Hagenbach, Dorner, Seeberg, Harnack, Schmid, Shedd, Fisher, Schaff (*Creeds of Christendom*) and very many other authors, might deserve mention here as acknowledged authorities. It is in connection with this department of theological science that a "philosophy of religion" was thought of, and there was evolved out of such ecclesiastical studies the new science of

Symbolics. Important as this discipline has got to be, it is perhaps not necessary to assign to it a distinct rubric, for it partakes both of the historical and the doctrinal, and serves as a transition to Didactic Theology. The history and comparison of Christian creeds or symbols enables us to understand and value our own. The Church is divided on doctrinal, governmental and ceremonial questions, each party claiming to be scriptural. Scholarly students speak of a Petrine, a Pauline and a Johannine type of Christian truth, as manifest in the New Testament. They say the first named has dominated the Church for a thousand years with its legalistic spirit, seeking satisfaction in *obedience* to authority and in so called *good works*; the second type, being one of subjective faith, developed a revolt against the supposed righteousness of works and brought forth an *evangelical* Christianity, with *Christus in nobis et pro nobis* as its slogan; the third type is charitably altruistic as evidencing itself in modern *Inner Mission*, merging the whole man, his will and heart-power, into a sacrificial service that is energized by love in the spirit of "Ye are Christ's," no matter whether one planted, another did the watering, and a third gathered the fruit.

The Church is one holy Christian Communion; there are also particular and local churches, and these may differ in very many respects. The theologically educated pastor will be able to appreciate the Good Shepherd's words: "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold" (John 10 : 16).

3. *Systematic Theology*, also called Dogmatic, Didactic,

Doctrinal, or simply Christian, is a third general division of theological science. It is a *positive* science, because based on *revealed*, therefore *absolute* truth; it is also *apologetic*, because, as including "Polemics" and "Irenics," it struggles for the mastery over both ignorance and error, at the same time seeking the things that make for peace.

(a) *Apologetics* prepare the way for the profitable study of Christian doctrine. This branch of the general department might be treated as simply an introduction to systematic theology, as indeed it was done formerly and is done by later authors again. But the field is steadily enlarging, and with it the material. The progress of natural science has raised many objections to this and to that truth preached as an unerring gospel. Such doubts must be met intelligently. We receive the Scriptures as an *anctoritas normans*, shaping and limiting our theology; but we also have room for a Church Confession, an *anctoritas normata*, which settles disputed points of Scripture for us by an established rule. *Polemics* and *Irenics*, as signifying "warfare" and "pacification," are features of a study that defends Christian truth and removes the hindrances in the way of peace and good will. (b) *Dogmatics*, or doctrinal teachings (Glaubenslehre) may include cosmology, angelology, anthropology, harmartology, christology, pneumatology, sacramentology, ecclesiology, or simply the subjects, indicated by these terms, in their natural order. The Orientals, the Occidentals and the Moderns have each formed "schools," *i. e.*, certain tendencies in their doctrinal conceptions. The middle ages have also contributed somewhat toward a systematization of former results, although confused and hampered by tradition; but the Reformation of the sixteenth century must ever be regarded as epoch-making in the development of doctrine, especially so for the great Lutheran Church, but also for the Reformed, and even for the Greek and Roman Churches. Rome scarcely knew what she taught, nor the wherefore of the same, until the Council of Trent had spoken, 33 years after the Augsburg Confession had been submitted to the world; and as for the Greek Church, she had possessed no authoritative confession of faith, aside

from the short one of Nice, until the Reformation movement compelled her, in self-defense, to formulate one.

Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* of 1521 proved to be a pathfinder in this field. It was appreciated so highly that it outlived eighty successive editions, and remained the text-book of Protestantism for nearly a hundred years. The same author also gave us the Augustana, its Apology, and taught thousands of students from all parts of Europe, thus molding Christian thinking for an Evangelical Church. Luther's work was no less original, nor less influential. In his two Catechisms, Schmalkald Articles, Comments on different books of the Bible, his sermons, hymns and publications (almost one for every day in the year) he inspired his adherents like one of the ancient prophets and established a type of theology that gave the Reformation of the sixteenth century its evangelical character and made its influence enduring for all time to come. Others could now build upon the foundations laid. Selnecker, Andreae, Chemnitz, Gerhard, Quenstedt, Hutter, Calovius, Schmid, Kahnis, Luthardt, Philippi, Frank, Zoeckler, Rohnert, were possible, only because Luther and Melanchthon had preceded them.

It was not a new view of *religious life* only that was brought into the Church by the Reformation, but it was a new *theology* that henceforth dominated Christendom. The *formal principle*, that the Word of God is the only infallible rule of faith and life, soon made the *material principle* just as prevalent, namely, that justification by faith in Christ is the substance of the gospel, and must be aimed at by all church work to make it subserve its purpose. Hence doctrinal preaching, biblical instruction, a multiplication of literature, establishment of schools and universities, a spirit of inquiry, extensive libraries, assemblies and discussions of things, formerly unknown, followed in the wake of Reformation quickenings.

(c) Of *Ethics*, or Moral Science, we can say what has been said of other subdivisions, that it is an outgrowth of the main subject and is treated separately now, simply because the whole body of theology has grown to such unwieldy proportions.

What a well-indoctrinated Christian is, how he honors his faith by his works, what social duties arise out of the preaching of the gospel—all such questions are answered in the commentaries, the catechisms, the sermon books, but of late they have called for the most valuable books, entitled *Ethics*. Look at Dorner's, Wuttke's, Martensen's, Luthardt's, Harnack's, Rothe's, Sedgwick's, Martineau's, Smyth's, and others.

It is difficult indeed to separate dogmatics from ethics, or to divest the one of the other, for seed and fruit belong together. The latest tendency is disposed to emphasize ethics at the expense of dogmatics. Ritschlianism lays special stress on the result of doctrines. *Werturteile* are said to be more important than faith conceptions. Dogma, they say, can be one thing, and also the very opposite thereof, without affecting the life of the individual one way or the other. Hence ethical preaching is being called for. There are societies for "ethical culture," and a wave of so-called "new thought" is ventilated in the magazines as though it were about to sweep the country. Here, as in all other matters, there is a *modus in rebus*. Let us study ethics. It will be profitable for the pulpit. Doctrinal preaching is ever the principal duty of the Church, but there should be *Nutzanwendungen*. The Latin fables are closed with *Haec fabula docet*.

4. *Practical Theology*. This department comes last in the classification of theological studies, and rightly so, not that it were simply an after-thought of the schools, but because it is the "conclusion of the whole matter." Practical theology presupposes all that is taught in the foregoing departments and applies it to the work of the ministry. (a) *Catechetics*. Baptized children and awakened hearers in general must be prepared for communicant membership. As this requires the most elementary teaching, the work is usually performed in a variety of ways—by the parents, Sunday-school teachers and in parochial schools, but most effectually by a pastor of the local church. Manuals, in the form of questions and answers, called "Catechisms," are used for that purpose. The Scriptures must be the basis of such instruction. In the Lutheran Church

there is in general use Luther's *Small Catechism*, with five principal parts, treating of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments, developed and further explained in more than one hundred different modern editions. As to method, catechetical science knows of an erotematic, acroamatic, Socratic and analytico-synthetic way of catechising. Late years have enriched this department with "helps," catechetical magazines, sermons and enlarged discussions.

(b) *Liturgics*. There is a disposition in some parts to favor very simple and, as far as possible, New Testament methods. Yet there must be order in worship and in the handling of sacred functions. Church architecture, music, hymnology, altar-service, comfortable housing, and such like modern attainments, all make their demand upon the minister that he, at least, knows how to "behave in the house of God," and to direct worshipers so as to make their attendance devotional and pleasant.

(c) *Homiletics*. Apostolic and early preaching in general cannot be a sufficient guide for the pulpit work of our times. Admitting that preaching is telling the plain "Story of the Cross," we nevertheless know there is much in the manner that influences the effect. Indeed, homiletics might have been mentioned first under the head of Practical Theology, as Van Oosterzee does, for the sermon is really the part of the service which tells. Luther says (in Sm. Art.): "There is nothing that holds the people to the Church so well as the good sermon." How to prepare and preach a *good* sermon is a task at which the preacher may well give heed to the *oratio, meditatio, tentatio*, so often mentioned as requisites for the theologian.

What and *how* shall we preach? When is a sermon right and good? How did the pulpit princes of old preach? Shall we adopt the textual, the topical, the synthetical or the analytical method of sermonizing? What attention is to be paid to our deportment before an audience, to our enunciation, rhetoric, oratory? To so master the science of homiletics as to make the pulpit a power is an achievement well worthy of the most painstaking zeal for the theologian of the Church.

(*d*) *Poimenics*, or Pastoral Theology, treats of the ministerial office, its relation to the Church and its general duties. The pastor is a shepherd. He must know how to lead his flock, must be able to aid them in spiritual things; must know how to read, to pray, to administer the sacraments, and to interest his people in such things. Massive volumes are offered to the Church by able men on this subject.

We could add *Halieutics*, *Diaconics*, *Gybernetics* and *Evangeliastics* to our list of separate rubrics in this department, but "poimenics" will cover all these features of practical theology sufficiently well, and the school of experience, expensive as it often is, will suggest and teach what the schools have failed to emphasize sufficiently.

THESES FOR REVIEW AND APPLICATION.

1. The science of Christian Theology, in its modern development of departments and definitions, has become a necessary and useful outfit for the work of the gospel ministry.

2. Christian ministers find a certain mastery of theological science indispensable, in that it (*a*) makes its possessor feel at ease in the discharge of his duty, conscious that he understands what he is doing and is magnifying his office. (*b*) The scientific theologian will be able to draw educated hearers around him and give dignity to the pulpit as the focus of light and truth. (*c*) He will interest such as are worrying over knotty questions of the Bible, and be able to answer objections, convince errorists of the truth, and rout sceptics, infidels and other gainsayers with their own weapons.

(*d*) His theological knowledge will make his pulpit preparations more satisfactory to himself, as he knows what helps he needs and how to use them.

3. All forms of unbelief having their strength in ignorance, either as to the nature of Christian truth or its seriousness, it becomes the imperative duty of those set for the defense of the gospel to inform themselves on all the various questions pertaining to their calling.

(a) Having mastered a full course of preparatory training, the minister should continue his studies, devoting a certain portion of his time daily to his library, as an official duty.

(b) He should settle upon one of the many sermon series for each church-year that he may be able to concentrate his studies, possessing himself of proper helps, and cultivate systematic reading.

(c) A theologian, consecrated to the cause of Christian truth, will appreciate that his own Church demands his first love and his best service. Her literature, her tasks and difficulties, her success and attainments are his most prayerful concern, knowing that when his work is well done the whole is enhanced to that extent.

(d) Aside from the denominational and particularistic acquirements there is also a general literature; there are lectures and Summer assemblies—all of which have something for the theologian who knows how to “prove all things; and hold fast that which is good.”

ARTICLE III.

THE CARE OF SOULS.

BY G. U. WENNER, D.D.

To pastors there are few things of greater importance than the subject of this paper. Gregory called it the “art of arts.” Spener on his death-bed declared it to be “the most precious jewel in the office of the ministry.” In view of its great responsibility, one of the fathers asked whether it were possible for a minister to be saved.

The times emphasize its importance. Other forms of ministerial influence, preaching, for example, are confined to narrower fields than was formerly the case. In the great cities large classes of people are unchurched and unshepherded. Changing social conditions are presenting new problems which compel us to revise our old systems of Practical Theology, and to recast

their principles in new forms if we wish to retain the honorable title formerly given to a minister : *pastor fidelis agnorum fidelium* (Pfaff).

I. What is the aim and purpose of the work ?

The apostolic conception is described in Acts 20 : 28 : "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood."

Two duties are here imposed, the *feeding*, and the *watching* of the flock. The work may therefore in general be described as the pastoral care and direction of the members of the body of Christ.

All Christians agree that Christ is the life of the world. Through him alone may the health of the soul be secured. The care of souls therefore consists in bringing them to Christ, and keeping them in vital fellowship with him. While all agree in this, the actual practice of the various churches indicate a wide diversity of opinion as to the immediate aim and purpose of the work.

Our aim or purpose depends largely upon our thought in regard to the Person of Christ, our view of "the face of the Master." If he was merely a human being, the greatest and best it is true, but still a human being, it will suffice to point him out as the Great Exemplar. Or, if we think of him as the Saviour of society, the Great Socialist, as a recent writer calls him, our effort will be to emphasize the amelioration of the material conditions of men. We shall aim at the regeneration of society by introducing the spirit of Christ into the moral, social and political relations of men.

One cannot help feeling the deepest sympathy with all that such a social view of Christianity implies. It certainly accords to a large degree with what we know of Christ, who himself went about, not only "preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom," but also "healing all manner of sickness and all manner of disease among the people."

The Inner Mission of Germany, which has recently celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its birth, has been a potent

instrumentality in reaching the masses through material forces and social influences. It was the result of a revival and it has resulted in revival. It labors to heal the body, but its aim is to reach the soul. Its motto is: "The soul of charity is charity to the soul." In so far as the institutional church and kindred movements in this country place the emphasis on spiritual ends, it is well. Otherwise their work does not come under the head of "The care of souls."

From the evangelical standpoint a care of souls is possible only where Christ is regarded as that divine-human being who shed his blood for our sins. Its aim is to lead men to a conscious acceptance of redemption and to cultivate in them the new life on the basis of that redemption. In its final analysis this work is a personal and individual matter, it is *the care of a soul*. While it is true that preaching and other public functions of the ministry also belong to this work, and that men may and must be fed from the pulpit, nevertheless the real administration of the office is done, as the Germans say, "under four eyes." It is a personal application of the remedy to the individual soul.

The efficacy of the treatment lies in the minister's ability to lead to repentance and faith, and in view of the chronic nature of the disease, this must be the distinguishing character of his work throughout. That is no sermon at all, in the evangelical sense, in which the law and the Gospel are not presented in their due proportions, and he is a spiritual quack who fails constantly to apply these remedies in his pastoral work.

But a soul-curer cannot be a specialist, he must be a general practitioner. He must understand and be watchful of the subsequent steps in the spiritual life, especially must he be prepared to meet the contingencies that arise in the lives and conditions of his parishoners.

This may seem to be a self-evident proposition, but it has not always been accepted as a matter of course. The Pietists, for example, paid no attention to the unconverted. They would not waste their time on them. Only the awakened were the subjects of their care. On the other hand, no less a man than

Schleiermacher maintained that only the lapsed, the wandering sheep, were the proper subjects of the shepherd's care.

The indolent shepherd will choose the work that is easiest. He will feed the fat, and let the lean go hungry. But the good shepherd will be the pastor of the whole flock.

II. Who should administer the care of souls?

In Protestant churches we have scarcely even a name in English that exactly describes the office, unless it is the somewhat discredited title of curate. We have preachers and evangelists and a multitude of Doctors of Divinity, but nothing that compares in suggestiveness with the German word *Seelsorger*. Perhaps we have no name because we repudiate the thing. We need no priest to mediate between us and God, because we believe in the priesthood of all believers. In theory we ignore the distinction indicated by the words clergyman and layman, although many Protestants frequently use these terms, presumably without understanding their significance.

In the history of the ministry we are confronted by two opposing theories, the hierarchical and the congregational. The former prevails in the Romish Church and among its imitators, the latter in the Evangelical or so-called Protestant churches. According to the Romish theory, which derived its definite structure from Gregory, the care of souls is administered by the priest. His object is not so much to feed the flock with the word of God, as to guide them to the sources of salvation and to administer the sacraments and the sacramentals. The title given him is *rector animarum*, and the emphasis of his work is thus placed on the duty of training up the people in the Church, and above all, of bringing them into a state of absolute obedience to the Church. This is the red cord in the Romish theory of the ministry. It appears in Gregory. It found its crassest illustration in Conrad of Marburg in his relations to Elizabeth of Hungary. It is found even in Bernard of Clairvaux. After the foundations of the Romish Church had been shaken by the Reformation, the Council of Trent took steps to secure first of all a priesthood in full accord with this idea. In the Counter-Reformation the establishment of the

order of Jesuits was a powerful means for securing it. While we have in Vincent de Paul and Bishop Fenelon illustrious examples of a devoted care for souls, it must not be forgotten that their final object was to secure those souls for the Church. Their governing motive was to promote the glory of the Church, and their charity stopped short of those who refused to submit to the Church. As Fenelon said: "Heresy," that is Protestantism, "is a crime of crimes." A recent pronunciamento of the papal chair expressed this idea in such emphatic form that the Paulist fathers of this city lost no time in cabling to the Holy Father that they were ready to submit to everything that he demanded. In such a system the term *rector animarum* is therefore used with propriety. The survival of the term "rector" in the *Protestant* Episcopal Church involves a confusion of ideas.

What, with certain limitations, may be called the congregational theory, prevails in the Evangelical or Protestant churches. All the members of the Christian Church are in duty bound to care for their own souls as well as for the souls of their brethren. In the Roman Catholic sense certainly there is no such thing among us as an office of director of souls. But among the members of the Church there is a diversity of gifts, and all of these gifts are to be used for the common good. There is an organized society, and where there is an organization, there must be a subordination of tasks. Special duties are referred to those who are specially fitted for the task. And so it comes that an office of the ministry has arisen. For practical purposes it matters little whether we look upon it as an appointment of Christ or as an outgrowth of the Church's life. But in Scripture teaching the office is primarily a ministry, a diaconate, and not a rectorate or episcopate.

The congregational theory found its highest development in the Reformed churches. These challenge the admiration of even their Lutheran rivals, many of whom long for a similar perfection of organization. Luther himself recognized its importance. In preparing his liturgies he said that there was another form of service which he would like to prepare for a congregation consisting of true Christians only, and he outlined its

character. "But," he said, "I have not the people as yet for such a service". The Reformed churches had an easier task. Originating in smaller communities, unhampered by alliance with the State, it was comparatively easy for them to lay down, as in the Belgic Confession, as one of the marks of a true church in addition to preaching and the administration of the sacraments, that most important element of discipline. The Reformed churches carried into practice the theory of the priesthood of all believers. And they succeeded to a far greater extent than did the Lutherans in securing the co-operation of "Laymen" in church work. This is true of all Reformed countries in Europe, Holland, Switzerland, France, Scotland and England. To a marked extent this is also true in America.

The Reformed theory regarded the minister not so much the pastor of the flock as the overseer. It was his duty to watch over his flock, not so much in regard to their relation to Christ, or even to the services of the Church, as in the matter of their relation to the society. A violation of the rules of the society brought with it punishment, eventually expulsion from its privileges. In the organization of the consistory, the "lay" elders were on a level with the pastor, and the same duties devolved upon all.

With all its excellences, this system was exposed to the danger of undervaluing the means of grace, and placing too much emphasis on the Church as an institution for carrying out the provisions of a New Testament system of laws. It projects the system of Moses into the new dispensation, and makes of Christ a new lawgiver. The shadow of a *rector animarum* stands behind these officials. Puritanism has been charged with being somewhat legalistic in its view of the Christian life.

While the Lutheran Church was at one with the Reformed in its theory of the congregation, it failed to perfect an organization of the Church as such. For the purpose of discipline it relied upon the State, the civil order, which in its view was a part of the Church. The Church itself was not a visible or-

ganization. It consisted of true believers who gathered around the Gospel and the sacraments, and its boundary lines were forever changing.

According to this view, the Christian character is promoted through the Gospel, from within, rather than by external discipline. Judging from the results, however, if we look at the spiritual condition of the respective countries where these views prevail, candor compels us to admit that the Lutheran Church has not recorded victories in the promotion of the spiritual life as compared with other churches, which would warrant any boasting. It ought not to be so, but it is so. Most men seem to thrive better under the law than they do under the Gospel.

A new element was introduced into church life under Spener in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Pietism was a protest not only against the intellectualism of the Lutheran system, but also against the mechanical administration of discipline as it existed in the Reformed churches. In the moral degeneracy of the times it saw a proof of the inefficacy of both these systems. Its keynote was: "From the head to the heart." Its care of souls was administered in the *collegia pietatis*, the class-meeting of those days. It proceeded upon the principle that only life can beget life, and that spiritual direction can only be given by spiritual people. The pastor gave place to the spiritual director, who might be a minister, but might be a "layman" just as well. Along with many valuable and permanent contributions to the doctrine of the care of souls came also the mischievous one of the undue emphasis that was placed upon the experience of the believer. Assurance of salvation rested not so much upon the word and work of Christ as upon the nature and clearness of experience, especially in the moment of conversion. The principles of Pietism were imbibed by Wesley, and some of its distinctive characteristics are found among the Methodists of to-day.

These historical glimpses of our subject are valuable, because only in the light of history can many of our modern tenets be explained and understood.

But whatever our theories may be in regard to the means of

grace, the Church, "lay" elder or the class-meeting, it is evident that in practice all the churches have adopted the hierarchical system. The influence of the congregation or "lay" element has shrunk to a minimum. The care of souls, what there is of it, is committed to the preacher. For this reason it is well for us to study our origins, and to cry "Back to the standard!" Our modern systems are like our church buildings, composite in structure. We borrow from each other whatever strikes us as useful, we use it till it wears out, and then we borrow from somebody else. Hence much of our work is fragmentary and purposeless.

To sum up, what answer shall we give to the question: Who should administer the care of souls?

1. The pastor. This will be accepted without further elucidation.

2. Emphasize the responsibility of the congregation. This idea is common to us all. "Fellowship of believers," "communion of saints." The very words are dynamic. This is one of the important contributions which the Missouri Synod have made to our American church life.

3. Subdivide and organize the congregation. The unit of this organization is the family. The parents should be the spiritual leaders of their households. Compare Luther's Catechism: "In the plain form, etc." For still further organization, why might we not employ some of the features of the Methodist class system?*

4. Use and increase the diaconate. Appoint deacons, deaconesses, "lay" readers, catechists and evangelists. There is much unused material in every congregation going to waste for want of suitable employment.†

* A large part of the writer's congregation has for many years been divided into circles of five families each, who are visited regularly once a month by the class leader, ostensibly for financial reasons, to collect the monthly contributions, but incidentally also for purposes of oversight. In the changing conditions of city homes we thus keep in touch with a large part of the congregation.

† Our parish on the East side of Manhattan is divided into twelve districts, in each of which two deacons and two deaconesses aid the pastor

5. If the congregation is large, it will be economy to have several pastors or at least assistants. Village methods should be perpetuated in the great city.*

And is this all that we can offer in answer to the question of the ministry? Beyond all our human theories and methods there must be some higher provision, some Divine anticipation of our needs. The Apostle Peter said: "Ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." He doubtless remembered the words of the Lord: "I am the good Shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine." We gladly accept the teaching that Christ himself is the true pastor, and all other ministers are but the undershepherds. Otherwise who would dare to assume the responsibilities of the pastorate. But since He is the Shepherd, we may hope that the flock will not be scattered by reason of human weakness and lack of service.

III. Practical methods.

The methods should be such as will best enable us to carry out the general aim, the application of the Gospel to the individual, to all the individuals of the flock. Those best known to us in our day are the class-meeting, the testimony-meeting, and house-to-house visitation. The last properly holds a high place in the estimation of the churches, and is regarded as one of the chief duties of a successful minister. But it is a question whether a great deal of energy is not wasted in this "Gospel of shoe leather," as it is sometimes called, especially when the pastoral call is but little more than a social call, a visit of ceremony.

Pastoral visitation is a contribution of the Reformed churches. It is curious to note how the various churches stand in relation to it. The Romanists forbid it, the Lutherans permit it, the

in visiting the sick, looking after negligent members, visiting new families and in many ways rendering helpful service.

* "It is downright recklessness and sin, in the handling of Protestant resources in the metropolis, to multiply buildings in preference to multiplying workers in congested localities." Federation. Handbook of Population and Religion in New York City. June, 1902. Page 174.

Reformed order it. In my early ministry I fully believed in it, having fallen under the influence of Chalmer's captivating phrase: "A house-going minister makes a church-going people." I have had much joy and profit from it, and I believe in it still, although something may be said in favor of the method described in the Brandenburg Order, where house visitation once a year was made obligatory. Only, the house came to the pastor and was examined in religion, from the parents down to the children and servants. We would not speak disparagingly of pastoral visitation. It is a method that has yielded good results. But it is felt that for many reasons it does not fully meet the requirements of a pastoral care of souls.

A traditional method of the Lutheran Church is the custom of coming to the pastor prior to the communion and announcing the desire to partake of the Lord's Supper. Private confession fell into disuse partly because of its external resemblance to the auricular confession of the Romanists, but chiefly because of the indolence of the pastors, to whom this duty in large parishes became burdensome. It is still optional in our churches but not obligatory. In its place, however, there was widely adopted the custom of personal notice of intention to commune.

This custom is not peculiar to the Lutherans, for Baxter refers to it in his classic book on the Reformed Pastor. The custom in some churches of giving tokens may have some connection with this method. Baxter suggests a danger; it is that the communicant may get the impression that because of the thing done, *opus operatum*, he is worthy of partaking of the communion. Luther said the best preparation is when you feel least prepared, and when you feel best prepared you are the least prepared. In the words of the hymn: "All the fitness He requireth is to feel your need of Him."

Nevertheless this method affords a ready and appropriate means of securing that one thing needful in the care of souls, a personal conference. As Baxters says: "A schoolmaster must take a personal account of his scholars, or else he is likely to do little good. If physicians should only read a public lec-

ture on physic, their patients would not be much the better of them ; nor would a lawyer secure your estate by reading a lecture on law. Now the charge of a pastor requireth personal dealing, as well as any of these. Let us show the world this by our practice ; for most men are grown regardless of bare words."

Whatever method we may choose, it is the thing we must obtain. The Roman Catholic seeks after it, although in our opinion he has found only a caricature of it in the confessional. The Lutherans sought it when they placed in their chief symbol the statement: "It is not usual to give the Body of the Lord, except to them that have been previously examined and absolved." The Reformed endeavored to secure it through their careful oversight and house-to-house visitation. The Methodists have it in their mourners' bench, and Evangelists in their inquiry meetings.

What in one form or another is thus practised *semper, ubique et ab omnibus* must have a basis of truth. My only plea in this feeble attempt to throw light upon an important subject, is that we turn away from much that is unessential in our ministerial work and so handle the office as that we may be able to feed the souls of the flock and direct them in a personal and deepening fellowship with the Great Shepherd and Bishop of souls,

ARTICLE IV.

SANCTIFICATION.

BY REV. HIRAM KING, A.M.

The sanctification of man not only elevates him in the moral universe, but it also implies his prior lapse from holiness, which is the normal state of the moral order. In their personal sanctification, moreover, men are cleansed from moral defilement at the fountain of holiness in God.

As to the origin of unholiness in the world the question is whether the fountain of moral impurity rises in human nature; or whether the evil stream that pollutes man's life flows into the world from an *extra-human* source.

Although the sin of Adam and Eve was plainly a voluntary act, and their posterity are involved in the general consequences of their crime by natural descent, it is nevertheless certain that the fall of man is not the ultimate source of the evil to which it gives inflex. It is true that the first parents were moral agents, but then it is also true that their original disobedience was not altogether an independent act. They were, in fact, influenced (Gen. 3 : 6) by the tempter, who thus made himself not only the successful instigator to evil by man, but also the fountain-head of evil in the world.

Sin itself is, however, not to be regarded as something merely outward, as if it were, at most, only a blotch on the soul. On the contrary, man became morally depraved in the fall, and is a sinner in his nature. It is indeed true that he "died" at the fatal tree. And the death, which he died, is not only the incipient dissolution of the body, but also the malformation of the spiritual being. The fall, indeed, made it possible for men to be born of the evil one, quite as really as they are born of Adam. This evil birth takes not place, however, in their natural generation, but in their subsequent personal self-surrender to evil through "lust" (James I : 14, 15).

Frightful as the doctrine of the moral birth of men from the betrayer of the race may seem, it is, nevertheless, very plainly taught in the Scriptures. It was, indeed, distinctly announced to the principal actor in the tragic ending of man's primitive holiness, not only that the race would multiply in two mutually hostile divisions, but also that their moral propagation would proceed from directly opposite sources. "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel" (Gen. 3 : 15). It is evident that the believing descendants of Seth were the seed of the woman, whose greatest son, "when the fulness of the time came" (Gal. 4 : 4) brought to "nought him that had the power of death, that is, the devil" (Heb. 2 : 14). It is equally plain that the depraved descendants of Cain (himself being "of the evil one") were the seed of the serpent, through whom he hissed his defiance unto the face of God in all the old world darkness, and finally coiled himself around the cross itself in the supreme attempt to strike his deadly fangs into the heart of His Son. That evil men really were the seed of the serpent is clearly demonstrated by the Lord's denunciation of certain, who sought His life (John 8 : 37) as being of diabolical paternity: "Ye are of your father the devil" (ver. 44)

Is the race, however, still divided into hostile camps? And is the deadly conflict for world supremacy in progress now, as it was prior to the victory of the woman's seed over the serpent at the first Easter (Rev. 1 : 18)? Yes; it is, indeed, quite certain that the serpent did not become barren at the advent of his successful assailant, since the writhing masses of his foul brood, which infest not only universal heathenism, but Christian lands as well, proclaim his unimpaired fecundity. Many of his progeny bear, indeed, the Christian name, and exemplify their "enmity" against the seed of the woman in the garb of religion, just as his most virulent offspring in the old world were Jews and stung him to physical death at Calvary. As men are thus born of the evil one, it is quite plain that the

source of moral impurity in the world is not to be found in Adam but in Satan.

It is plain that the restoration of holiness in the world involved man's recovery from the fall, and, therefore, his personal sanctification. But who should bridge the chasm that yawned, deep, bottomless, between holiness and unholiness? Or could man, by his own effort, regain the altitude of Paradise and replant the tree of life? No; since it is quite impossible for dead men (Eph. 2 : 1) to close up an abyss or to climb a height. Nor could God himself restore the lost holiness to man by direct act. He could, however, interpose in behalf of His people, and even institute a religious economy for their typical sanctification through animal sacrifice. Thus, he drowned the old world to prevent the total destruction of the seed of the woman by the seed of the serpent (Gen. 6); he called Abraham to found the Hebrew commonwealth (12 : 1, 2); he made a rod the medium of his people's deliverance from bondage (Ex. 4 : 17); he set a moving pillar in the sky to conduct them into Canaan (14 : 19); he hung a cloud over the mercy-seat (Lev. 16 : 2) to represent his presence in their sanctuary; he directed a goat to be slain to make atonement for the holy place, because of the sins of the people (16 : 16) and his fellow to be sent into the wilderness bearing them (ver. 22). These latter observances were, however, only typical, and while they fostered the Hebrew faith in the advent of the Messiah, who should be "bruised (by the serpent) for our iniquities" (Isa. 53 : 5) they could not really sanctify the sinner. "For it is impossible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins" (Heb. 10 : 4). It was, indeed, necessary that a "woman" should appear in heaven, "arrayed in the sun, and the moon under her feet," who would give birth, in the presence of a "great red dragon" (the serpent) to him in whom the seed of the woman is summed up (Rev. 12) and who should not only bruise the serpent's head, but should also be "made unto us" *sanctification* as well as wisdom and righteousness and redemption (1 Cor. 1 : 30) as prefigured in Jewish typology.

Christ himself is, therefore, the source of holiness for the

fallen race, and his blood "cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John 1 : 7). The merely outward application of the "blood" of Christ to the sinner would, however, be altogether useless, even if it were not impossible, because the atonement must necessarily be as profound a fact as the fall. It has already appeared that sin is at the base of man's moral being, and that the abandoned sinner is the malformed progeny of the author of evil. As it was, moreover, by an act of creation that man originally bore the divine image (Gen. 1 : 27), it is readily understood that it was necessary for the sinless Christ to "make all things new" (Rev. 21 : 5) in order that men might bear his image (Rom. 8 : 29 ; Col. 3 : 10). It is, indeed, distinctly affirmed that the Lord "broke down the middle wall of partition" (Eph. 2 : 14) between the Jew and the Gentile, "that he might create in himself of the twain one new man" (ver. 15). He, moreover, created them anew that he "might reconcile them both in one body unto God through the cross" (ver. 16).

It is quite clear from the foregoing, that it was only as Christ became the Author of the new creation that he could reconcile man to God "through the cross," thus sanctifying him. The new creation is, however, not wholly an original creation, but, like the Lord's ordinary miracles, it is wrought on an existing basis. The old order is renewed ; the sinner becomes a saint. In the progress of the Lord's kingdom, the "old things" (2 Cor. 5 : 17)—the carnal interests—pass away, but the sinner, who is the subject of the new-creative energy, does not pass out of existence as an identical personality. It is, indeed, only on the basis of personal identity that the new-creation of man is at all possible. Thus, for example, Saul, the persecutor of the Church, could be transformed by the grace of God (1 Cor. 15 : 9, 10) into St. Paul, the champion of the cross, only as he remained the same person.

It is, therefore, plain that the Author of the new creation really *re-creates* men, and the question rises, whether he sanctifies them, wholly, as he makes them new creatures ? or whether his work of renewing grace institutes an antagonistic dualism between good and evil in their lives ? As touching the ques-

tion of perfect sanctification in this life, St. John's warning against self-deception, relative to freedom from personal sin, is certainly unmistakable: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us" (1 John 1 : 8). The apostle's affirmation of the present sinfulness of the Christian ought to be conclusive on the point, aside even from the inspiration of the utterance, since he included himself in the category of sinners, although he was personally the most consecrated of the Lord's servants, and had grown in grace from early manhood to old age. The fact that this particular apostle, "whom Jesus loved" (John 20 : 2) and to whom he entrusted the care of his mother (19 : 27) was still obliged, a half century later, to acknowledge his personal sinfulness, proves, beyond question, that even the Christian veteran does not enjoy immunity from the assaults of evil, but that, on the contrary, a sort of indirect civil war between the "old man" (Eph. 4 : 22) and the "new man" (ver. 24) is in constant progress in his life.

In Galatians 5 : 16, St. Paul designates the principals of the dualism as "the Spirit" and "the flesh." He represents them, not as contrary tendencies, but as opposing entities (ver. 17). His purpose is to show that they are in mutual opposition for the control of the moral nature: "That ye may not do the thing that ye would" (ver. 17). The Spirit strives against the flesh that Christians may not carry out evil resolutions; the flesh resists the Spirit to prevent the execution of their righteous purposes.

The active hostility of the Spirit against the moral perverseness, called "the flesh," is, however, only emphasized here, and is not carried on independently of human agency. The Christian himself is, in fact, the actual warrior, but the Spirit endows him with armor and equips him with arms for the combat. The warfare is, therefore, moral, and the battles won from the flesh represent the progress of personal sanctification.

In Romans 7 : 14 25, St. Paul recounts his hard experience as the subject of this militant dualism. He now designates the principals in the struggle for moral supremacy as the "law of God" (ver. 22) and the "law of sin" (ver. 23). He delights in

the law of God after the "inward man" (ver. 22) but the "law of sin," which he sees in his members, wars against the law of his mind and brings him into captivity (ver. 23). It indeed deprives him, in the end, of the power of volition (ver. 19) and extorts from him the deprecatory cry: "O, wretched man that I am; who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?" (ver. 24).

In Ephesians 4 : 22-24, the apostle exhibits a life-picture of the antithetic dualism under the form of an exhortation: "That ye put away, as concerning your former manner of life, the old man, which waxeth corrupt after the lusts of deceit; and that ye be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man, which after God hath been created in righteousness and holiness of truth." Where the apostle speaks of the opposition of the Spirit to the flesh (Gal. 5 : 17) he emphasizes the divine agency. He here lays stress on the human agency in both members of the dualism. The intolerance is between the *old humanity* and the *new humanity*, which he calls the "old man" and the "new man."

Here, then, are apparently two distinct personalities over which a third personality has control at will. The "old man" and the "new man" are put in the objective case, and the Ephesians are charged to put them off, or on, as if they were coats. Do men, then, become tri-personal in the new creation? and is there a sort of moral trinity constituted in their new birth? No; the "old man" and the "new man" are personifications, not personalities. The ego (I) is the expression of the personal identity, and, therefore, cannot be pluralized. As it is the personal pronoun, it polarizes and sums up the constituent elements of personality, and represents the functional unity of body, soul and spirit. The ego stands thus simply for the individual, whether good or evil, or good and evil, and no conceivable conditions, not excepting those of the new creation itself, could possibly make it less or more than this comprehensive summing up of *selfhood*. This is true even of the Lord himself, whose single ego represents his person, although in the incarnation he has two natures and two wills. The

designation of the "old man" as man's *alter ego* would, therefore, be misleading if it were not meant to be only a personification.

As obviously neither the "old man" nor the "new man" could possibly exist in the abstract, both being concrete in the personality, and as each, moreover, is in direct relation, not to the other, but to the ego, it follows, not only that the dualism is *within* the ego itself, but also that the powers of darkness, which find ingress through the "old man," make their assaults, not on the "new man," but on the Christian himself. Nor does the Author of the new creation assail the "old man," through the "new man," but he qualifies the Christian himself for the combat.

It, accordingly, appears that the struggle for supremacy proceeds, in fact, through the *agency* of the ego. It is, indeed, the Christian himself, who crucifies "the flesh" (Gal. 5 : 24) or whom the "law of sin" makes an involuntary evil-doer (Rom. 7 : 19) and takes captive (ver. 23). So also does the Christian in person "put off the old man" (Col. 3 : 9) and "put on the new man" (ver. 10).

It has already been stated that neither the "old man" nor the "new man" can exist in the abstract. What then is the real identity of the "old man?" It is quite plain that it is the fallen life itself, which still inheres in the personality of the Christian, that is thus characterized, and the personification is certainly not unfitting. Indeed the depraved life, as far as it still has power over the Christian, really appropriates his personality, as a demon might possess it, and thus thinks and speaks and acts.

The "old man," moreover, has his being in what the Scriptures designate as the "heart" (Matt. 15 : 19). The reference is not, however, to the heart of physiology, which is the life-center of the physical constitution, but to the heart of psychology, which is the seat of the moral and intellectual life. The contents of the "heart," whether good or evil, therefore, rise through the mental intuitions into the consciousness and pervade the life. Thus, "Out of the abundance of the heart his (the good or evil man's) mouth speaketh" (Lu. 6 : 45). It is

indeed, the efflux of the corrupt heart which pollutes the life: "For out of the heart come forth evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, railings: These are the things which defile the man" (Matt. 15 : 19, 20). It is to the same source that the intolerable wickedness of man at the flood is attributed: "Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually" (Gen. 6 : 5).

The writer of the latter reference, it may be presumed, did not mean to make a scientific statement in mental philosophy, but, for all that, he traced out as distinct a psychological gradation as mental philosopher ever formulated, namely (1) the "imagination" or purpose; (2) the "thoughts" which form the purpose; (3) the "heart" in which the thoughts originate. It is deep down in the psychological abyss of the "heart," and where the mental function is still *intuitive*, that evil lurks and therefore infects the *involuntary* movements of the mind with its fatal virus. The moral nature is thus vitiated at its base, and man is by nature the voluntary (obedient) "bond-servant of sin" (Rom. 6 : 16, 17).

The new creation is, however, commensurate with the old, and the atonement is as profound a fact as the fall. As men become "obedient from the heart (ver. 17) it is plain that their moral transformation is as thorough-going as is their natural depravity. Men are, therefore, made "free from sin" (ver. 18) in the new-creation, and become "bond-servants of righteousness" (ver. 18). "Being made free from sin," moreover, "and become servants to God," they have their "fruit unto *sanctification* and the end eternal life" (Rom. 6 : 22).

As the "heart" of man is thus changed, it is plain that the power of *moral self-control* is restored to him. It therefore becomes the responsible office of the ego to dominate the personality for righteousness, just as it controls the physical constitution itself for its legitimate functions. Such moral self-domination, it is plain, involves the introversion of the ego upon itself in mortal combat with "the flesh." As, moreover, the "law of sin" is in the "members" (Rom. 7 : 23) of the Christian himself, it follows that his adversary is his own "body," which it,

accordingly, behooves him to "buffet" and bring "into bondage" (1 Cor. 9 : 57).

It now appears that the war of the moral colossi for the mastery in the world resolves itself, in its last analysis, into the struggle of the Christian himself against evil, concrete in his own personality. It, therefore, comes to pass that man's moral transformation makes him his own foe-man, and that he makes himself the victim of his own hardest battle-blows, mortifies his "members which are upon the earth" (Gal. 3 : 5), mortifies the "deeds of the body" (Rom. 8 : 13) and crucifies the "flesh with the passions and lusts thereof" (Gal. 5 : 24).

Is not, however, the Spirit in alliance with the Christian? and does He not stand "shoulder to shoulder" with him in the fight against the "world, the flesh and the devil?" No; the Spirit cannot combat evil in the heart of man by direct hostile act, because he has no extra-human function for man's sanctification any more than has the Son an extra-human function for his salvation. Like the Son, the Spirit must needs have entered into human relations. Pentecost must needs have been consequent on Christmas. The descent of the Spirit was indeed as necessary for the moral transformation of men as was the advent of the Son for the new creation itself. The Son assumed man's nature to save him (Heb. 2 : 14); the Spirit dwells in man's personality to sanctify him (1 Cor. 3 : 14).

The Holy Spirit is, accordingly, not "poured out" (Acts 10 : 45) on men as water is poured on a surface, but, like evil itself, He "fills" their personalities (Acts 2 : 4) and gives them "utterance" in the language of the new creation.

But then the Spirit not only creates men thus anew; He also "dwelleth" (Rom. 8 : 9) in them as the constant inspiration of the spiritual life which he imparts. They are, accordingly, "not in the flesh, but in the Spirit" (ver. 9). It is, therefore, clear that the Spirit transforms men and makes them "contrary" (Gal. 5 : 17) *in person*, to the flesh, and that it is through *their* agency, and not His own, that He "lusteth against the flesh."

It has now fully appeared that it is man alone, who is in direct conflict with evil in his personality. That he will finally

triumph in the death-struggle is not doubtful, since he is not only "conformed to the image of his (God's) Son" (Rom. 8 : 29) who is conquering the world (Rev. 19 : 11-16), but he is also himself "begotten of God," and, therefore, "overcometh the world" (1 John 5 : 3, 4) in person. He is, moreover, the greatest of warriors, and, with his face to the foe, he is absolutely resistless on the battlefield. He protects himself with armor of proof (Eph. 6 : 13); he is "able to quench (with the shield of faith) all the fiery darts of the evil one" (ver. 16); and grasps a sword (ver. 17) of truer temper than ever was Damascus blade. He is thus fully qualified and equipped, not only to "withstand" (1 Peter 5 : 9) the devil in person, but also to put him to flight (James 4 : 7).

Does, however, the entire work of sanctification depend on man's direct agency? and does he, therefore, sanctify himself? No; it is not possible for Christ to be "made" sanctification to men by their personal agency. Plainly, men cannot *apply* the "blood" of Christ. Man's direct agency in the process of sanctification is, indeed, limited, in the main, to the negative function of removing obstructions to sanctifying grace. Thus, it is man's province in the new creation, as already set forth, to antagonize and minimize evil in his personality, and to combat and overthrow the evil one.

Man is, however, *sanctified*, or *made holy*, only through the agency of the Holy Spirit, whose Pentecostal mission is wholly *mediatorial* between Christ and the world: "He (the Spirit) shall glorify me: for he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you" (John 16 : 14). "I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit, when he, the Spirit of truth, is come, he will guide you into all the truth: for he shall not speak from himself: but what things soever he shall hear, these shall he speak" (verses 12, 13). The Spirit is, moreover, the *administrative* Agent in the entire economy of the new creation. Although Christ is the "truth" (John 14 : 6) and the "truth" makes men "free" (John 8 : 32) from the bond-service of sin (Rom. 16 : 17, 18), it is not necessarily implied that he "set us free" (Gal. 5 : 1) by his direct act. Although

"we have been sanctified through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ" (Heb. 10 : 10), it does not follow that the cleansing agency is to be attributed to the Lord in person. The fact is to the contrary. Christ glorified is really not functional for removing the moral pollution of men in their new birth. During his life on earth, he mingled with men in natural relations, but in his exaltation he is in the ordinances of the Gospel for the purposes of his earthly advent. Thus, he is in baptism, since it is through its administration that sin is washed away (Acts 22 : 16) and men are saved (Titus 3 : 5). He is in the Lord's Supper, since it is in the memorial feast that his "body" is eaten (1 Cor. 11 : 24) and his "blood" drunk (ver. 25) for spiritual nourishment. He is in the preaching of the Gospel, since it is he himself that is the burden of the preacher's message (Acts 17 : 3 ; 1 Cor. 1 : 23) to the world.

But then, the ten days of the Lord's non-communication with man, immediately after his ascension, were followed by Pentecost, and it was the Spirit, and not Christ, who vitalized and unsealed the ordinances of the Gospel and became functional for their distinctive objects. Thus, it is "of water and the Spirit" (John 3 : 5) in baptism that men are "born" to citizenship in the Kingdom of God. It is "in the Spirit" (1 Cor. 12 : 3, 9) that the organ of faith, with which the "living bread" (John 6 : 51) is eaten, originates. It is the "word of God" as the "sword of the Spirit" (Eph. 6 : 17), that is put into the mouth of the preacher.

While, therefore, it is the "Lamb of God, which taketh away (beareth) the sin of the world" (John 1 : 29) in his self-offering, it is in the active mediation of the Spirit in baptism that the "blood of Jesus his (God's) Son cleanseth us from all sin" (1 John 1 : 7): "Repent ye, and be *baptized* every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins" (2 : 38).

Men are, however, not cleansed from "all sin" (in the comprehensive sense) at the *administration* of baptism. It is, indeed, true that the subjects of the ordinance are both pardoned and justified in their new birth, but then their freedom from sin is not

absolute, but relative. While St. John declares that "whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin" (1 John 3 : 9), he also admonishes that "if we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (1 : 8). These contrary statements are not a contradiction, but they set forth the present duality of the Christian's life. As to the former statement, the child of God does not commit *voluntary* sin, which is altogether inconsistent with the nature of the new birth, since its subject is "dead unto sin, but alive unto God" (Rom. 6 : 11). It is quite plain that the child of God, *in his normal attitude of filial loyalty to his Heavenly Father*, "cannot sin" (1 John 3 : 9) *voluntarily*. Relative to the latter statement, the child of God commits *involuntary* sin, as St. Paul's personal experience fully attests: "The evil, which I would not, that I practice" (Rom. 7 : 19). As the apostle's evil deeds were *involuntary*, it was clearly by warrant of correct logic that he disclaimed his own agency in their commission, and attributed them to indwelling evil (the flesh): "But if what I would not, that I do, it is no more I that do it, but sin which dwelleth in me" (ver. 20).

It is against this indwelling sin that the Christian struggles from his spiritual birth to his natural death, making it a constantly diminishing factor in his life. It is from this inhering sin, which cannot be fully expelled from the personality in this life, that the Holy Spirit cleanses the Christian in progressive sanctification (1 John 1 : 9). As it is only on the ground of his baptismal consecration, moreover, that the Spirit sanctifies the Christian progressively, it follows that baptism is in force "unto the remission" of sin, not only at its *administration*, but also during the whole subsequent-life of its subject.

The direct agency of the Holy Spirit in the work of progressive sanctification is, however, conditioned by the *positive*, as well as by the negative agency of the Christian himself. God chooses men, not only "unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit" (2 Thess. 2 : 13) but also unto "belief (faith) of the truth." It is necessarily by man himself that the positive function of *appropriating* the sanctifying grace by faith in Christ (Acts 26 : 18) is exercised. As, moreover, growth in holiness

is ethical, and can, therefore, take place only in the moral nature, it is plain that the imperfect saint (Eph. 4 : 12) can attain "unto a full grown man" (ver. 13) only by *striving after* the perfect holiness implied (Matt. 5 : 48 ; Eph. 5 : 1). Thus, indeed, the exhortation is not to abstract holiness of heart, but to concrete holiness in the *activities of the life*. "But like as he which called you is holy, be ye yourselves also holy in all manner of living" (1 Peter 1 : 15).

ARTICLE V.

THE EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF MIRACLES.

BY REV. L. B. HAFFER.

The excitement created in the theological circles of the country some months ago by the attitude of Professor Pearson toward miracles served to create a wider interest in the subject as well as a more general study of the foundations upon which faith in miracles must rest, and the extent to which the miracles have a real value as Christian evidences. Though among us Lutherans there is little trouble with reference to this question, or others in the field of biblical criticism, yet we need to be familiar with all questions of general interest to the Church, and it may not be out of place to discuss the subject briefly here.

The alliance between Christianity and miracles is a very old one. It is an inheritance from the Old Testament days. On various occasions the prophets wrought miracles in order to establish truth, and it came to be looked upon as the natural thing that he who claimed the right to impart a divine message must be able to establish his right to such distinction by some supernatural sign. "What sign showest thou" was the question put to Christ, and it was to be expected, for even among the disciples there was a demand for conclusive, visible evidence as the ground for faith. "Then went in also that other disciple, and he saw and believed."

But we have come to a time when skepticism and radical criticism are seeking to break that alliance. Sometimes the effort is made to destroy both ; sometimes it is simply an effort to make Christianity stand alone. These attempts have been bearing fruit, and that among all classes of people. There are scholars who profess to believe in Christ and Christianity, and yet are willing to surrender the whole structure of evidence that has been built upon miracles. There are people, too, whose education has been very limited, who are ready to accept the conclusions of the critics and blindly follow where they lead.

It is necessary, therefore, that we should be awake to the danger that confronts our people, and prepare them by faithful instruction for all the devices set for the destruction of the faith. Christianity and miracles must stand or fall together. They have been so closely allied, and the Author of one has given such sanction to the other that they are, and forever will be, inseparable. Those who seek to disestablish faith in miracles may not cherish any design against Christianity itself, but whether they intend it or not, every blow struck at the supernatural in revelation is a blow struck at Christ, the Miracle of Miracles.

In this paper we cannot hope to present anything new. The battle has been waged with such severity that there is little probability that the writer will be able to present any argument that has not already been used in book or lecture. Many of the arguments for and against miracles have been stated and restated. All that we seek to do is to refresh our memories by a new statement of old truths, and to help to spread the interest in this most vital question.

A MIRACLE DEFINED.

It is necessary in the outstart to have a clear idea of what constitutes a miracle. It is possible to admit the reality of miracles, and yet define them so that our very acknowledgment of them becomes a denial.

A phenomenon, to be miraculous, must have God as its Author and Cause. Whether it be wrought by him directly or through an agent, God is still the power by which the work is wrought, and without him no miracle is possible. The trick of a magician may be ever so startling and mystifying, but it cannot be a miracle. A miracle is conceded to be supernatural. The man who argues against it seeks to overthrow belief in the supernatural, while the man who defends it seeks to prove the reality of the supernatural. But man is natural; his work can never be greater than himself; therefore, if there be the supernatural in revelation, the Author of it can be none other than God, who alone is above nature.

A miracle must be wrought in the physical world. It is a "sign" given to men, that when they see the "wonder" of it, they may know the "power" that produced it. But physical things only are visible to men. In the process of sanctification a marvelous change takes place in a human heart and life, and yet sanctification is not miraculous. The miracle is to be seen, and wherever a miracle was effected, it was so plain that it could not be misunderstood.

A miracle is wrought independent of God's ordinary laws of causation. We often hear men speak of the ordinary work and providence of God as if it were all miraculous; but such a conception of miracles so loses sight of the whole purpose of the miraculous, and the distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary working of God, as to amount to a denial of the supernatural. God's work is indeed all wonderful, but not all miraculous. As an evidence of the existence of miracles a man instanced the fact that an egg kept at the proper temperature for a period of three weeks is changed into the organized life of a chicken. But this, while wonderful in itself, has not the nature of a miracle, but is altogether natural and of frequent occurrence. It would become miraculous if in an instant, and without the ordinary process of change the chicken were produced. God is continually changing water into wine; but it requires a long period of time and conformity to fixed laws in order to effect the change. It was when he did it in-

stantly, and without conformity to the ordinary laws of cause and effect that a miracle was wrought.

The purpose of a miracle is to attest a divine revelation. It is frequently argued that miracles could serve no useful purpose, even if they actually occurred. This we do not admit. If miracles were without a purpose, it would be the strongest evidence against their reality. If we concede the existence of miracles, we must allow the Author of them to declare their purpose, and that purpose has been declared: "And many other things did Jesus which are not written in this book, but these are written *that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ.*"

A miracle, then, may be defined as *an act wrought by God in the physical world, independent of the ordinary laws of cause and effect, for the purpose of attesting a divine revelation.*

This brings us to the main question: Have miracles any evidential value, and, if so, to what extent? In attempting to answer this question we will consider three other questions: 1. Are miracles needed? 2. Did the alleged miracles actually occur? 3. Were the alleged miracles of such a character as to fill the place for which they were intended?

THE NEED OF MIRACLES.

Before entering upon the argument there are certain presuppositions that need to be stated. The first is a belief in God. Not necessarily a clear knowledge of the attributes of God, but a belief in God as a personality, able to make himself known to men by special revelation. If a man in the face of all natural revelation refuses to believe that there is a God, then a miracle can have no meaning for him. It is simply a rare and mysterious phenomenon, wrought by some power unknown and unknowable.

The next presupposition is a belief in the immortality of the soul. If the life that we now live were the only life, there would be no need of a knowledge of God. All that would be of any value to us would be found in the physical world about us. It is even doubtful whether many of us would even con-

sider anything valuable. There could be no need of miracles; there could be no purpose back of miracles; we could not believe in the reality of miracles.

A third presupposition is the acknowledgment of an eternal moral law, as the standard by which right and wrong are determined, having thus a direct bearing upon our happiness and well-being here and hereafter. Without this there could be no motive for seeking to know the right, and there could be no confidence in anything which aimed to make right known to men. But when we acknowledge a moral law, we will seek to know that law, and will be ready to give a fair consideration to every means by which that law, or any revealer of that law may be made known to us.

Granting, then, the existence of God—a God in whose kingdom men should dwell eternally, and that the condition of entrance there is conformity to the law of righteousness—is there yet any need of miracles? Are not nature and the human mind, by which we grasp the truths that nature reveals, sufficient to make God known to men, without a special revelation? If so, the purpose of miracles as credentials of a divine revelation are again taken away. It is sufficient for an answer to the question to point to the lands where the Bible is unknown, and see the spiritual, social and political conditions that exist there to show that a special revelation is needed. Heathen countries have as much of nature as we have, and possess all the powers of the human mind, but there is scarcely any one who will hold that the conditions there are what they ought to be. The one thing that they lack is a special revelation, and it is the one thing that they need.

Now having seen the need of a special revelation, it will be easy to see the need of a miracle to authenticate that revelation. It is not meant, however, that faith in Christianity depends entirely upon antecedent faith in the reality of miracles, but that the two must stand together, or as Dr. C. M. Mead puts it: "That the miracles prove the doctrine and the doctrine proves the miracles."

It is most important that we should have the need of mira-

cles clearly fixed in our own minds. There is too much of a tendency to feel that we must apologize for their existence, when we ought to regard them as one of the foundation stones upon which to rest our faith. More than a century ago the noted Frenchman, Rousseau, said: "I know not well what these our fashionable good Christians think in their hearts; but if they believe in Christ on account of His miracles, I, for my part, believe in Him *in spite* of His miracles." The evidence abounds that there are many people to-day who hold the same views. There are people who pretend to hold all that is essential in Christianity, and yet are so strong in their disinclination to believe in miracles as to reach almost to disbelief. This is an untenable position. Christ gave His sanction unreservedly to the miracles, and if they were not real, then He was not to be trusted, but was either a deceiver, or Himself deceived.

Nor is it correct to say, as some do, that the miracles if they ever occurred were for the people of that time, and can have no value for us, and that we cannot be certain about their occurrence. Dr. G. F. Wright has nicely answered this view. He says: "The evidential value of Christian miracles is the same now as at the initiation of the system. It is true that both at the present time and at the origin of Christianity such a peculiar collection of miracles as are recorded in the gospels raise obstacles which faith must overcome. Such extraordinary miracles demand extraordinary proof, and that is just what the doctrines need. The proclamation of such miracles by the apostles at the time of or soon after their occurrence, subjected them to the necessity of substantiating the miracles by extraordinary evidences before that generation. If the supernatural doctrines of the New Testament had failed of having credentials like those alleged by the early disciples, they would now lose their authority, and hence their value; since in that case we should be without proper evidence that the words and acts of Jesus were duly scrutinized at the time."

We begin our investigation with a faith in God, or at least a belief in the existence of God, and the belief also that it is most important that man should know God, and we have seen

that to this end a special revelation is necessary. But how shall we distinguish between a true revelation and an imposition without the aid of miracles? Confucius, Buddha and Mohammed founded systems of religion whose influence has been widespread, has come down to the present day, and has not been altogether bad. We, in our day, are able to see in their results the superiority of Christianity; but how were men to distinguish them at the time of their establishment if there had been no miracles as the supernatural credentials of Christianity? In the main these systems of religion profess to have back of them the same purposes, to lift up humanity. But while these false religions were without any special substantiation, the religion of Christ was accompanied by supernatural proof so plain, and so in keeping with its professed character and purpose that it could not be gainsaid. Christ himself declared the absolute necessity of miracles when he said: "If I had not done among them the works that none other man did, they had not had sin."

We have then as presumptive evidence in favor of the reality of miracles the knowledge of the fact that supernatural acts are necessary to establish the claim of any religion to be supernatural.

THE PROOF OF MIRACLES.

It is not sufficient to know that miracles are necessary credentials of a divine revelation. That would not prove that such a divine revelation has been given, and could not prove that any number of alleged miracles were genuine. We go to the next question: Did the alleged miracles actually occur?

Writers on Christian Evidences have sometimes attempted to catalogue the objections to miracles, and the grounds upon which not only their reality, but their possibility, has been questioned. These are so closely related that it is difficult to draw the line between them. They all depend in one way or another upon the uniformity and inviolability of the laws of nature.

It is held that the will and character of God finds expression in nature, and that in the supernatural God would contra-

dict himself. This argument is based upon a false idea of a miracle. A miracle rises above nature, but does not contradict it. It is often an acceleration of the laws of nature. If we examine the alleged miracles one by one, we shall hardly find a single one that has even the appearance of a contradiction of natural law. They depend for their value upon the very fact that nature is uniform. If the exceptional were constantly occurring, or might be expected to occur at any time, it would cease to be exceptional. Thus the miracles would lose the unique character that gives force and value to them, and some other way of attesting revelation would have to be found.

It is said there can be no miracle because it would disturb the equilibrium of the whole universe to interfere with any part of it. This could only have force as an argument if the universe were a mere machine, with no elasticity, nor room for the exercise of choice, nor any room for special providence. But such is not the case. The world is constantly bending to the will and energy of man without disturbing its equilibrium. In building a wall men often find that there is on the ground a stone that is needed at the top of the wall, but that there is no man who can lift it there. By an arrangement of ropes, pulleys and beams it becomes possible for a man to raise the stone to the top of the wall with ease. Now, if the laws of nature had been left to act alone, that stone would have remained throughout the centuries on the ground; yet there was no suspension of the law of gravitation or any other law, neither was there a disturbance of the equilibrium of the universe by raising the stone. And is it not possible that God, acting as a special cause and for a special purpose, may bring about that which transcends nature, without interfering in the least with the equilibrium of the universe? Dr. Wright has well said: "Thorough-going fatalism is the only theory which excludes miracles and providence from the universe."

But we turn to the positive evidence for the reality of miracles. The field here is so vast that very much of it must be left untouched. It might be demanded that we prove the historical accuracy of the Bible narrative, but that ground has

been fought over with such energy that it will hardly be required now. We take it as fully established that Christ lived, that he claimed to establish his divine character and mission by some remarkable acts which the people of his time and those who came after him called miracles, and that his disciples continued to perform the wonderful feats. The only question that we propose to consider here is whether these miracles were really what they were said to be. We will not take them up individually, though we recognize the fact that each miracle must be able to withstand a separate and critical examination, but will rather consider them as belonging to a class, and look at the class rather than at the miracles singly.

Is it possible to hold for a minute that these were not real? The high character which men concede to Jesus precludes the possibility of holding these to be such gigantic frauds as they must have been if unreal. He claimed for them that they were real, and having wrought them he knew. Now, if they had not been all that he claimed them to be, Christ would have been the greatest deceiver of his own or any other age, and could not have had the exalted character which even non-Christians find in him. Many persons who deny the divinity of Christ, hold up his public and private life as the highest model for men. It was not such if there be the possibility that he practiced deception.

Again, the extent of the miraculous in the New Testament was such as to expose the whole system to detection at once, had there been anything unreal in it. The tricks of the magician are not performed in the way that miracles were wrought. The trickster prepares for every act, and there is always something hidden in the performance; but Christ and his disciples took conditions as they found them, and instead of the miracle being concealed it was often wrought without the Master touching the person or thing upon whom it was wrought. It is scarcely conceivable that Christ could continue for so long a time and in such a public way to perform tricks of magic without detection. If Christian miracles were not real, they would present a far more perplexing situation than

they do. If a man refuses to acknowledge the reality of miracles, let him account for these wonderful phenomena.

By common consent the fiercest battles for and against miracles have been waged about the resurrection. Belief in this is the very keystone in the arch of Christian faith. Take it away, and Christianity falls. Nothing else can save it. But while a belief in the resurrection holds, it is useless to try to take away a belief in miracles in general. If this be conceded, then Christ himself is the miracle of miracles, and in comparison with him, all other miracles are as nothing.

Assuming the historical accuracy of the New Testament narrative we are brought face to face with these facts: That the disciples though entertaining the gravest doubt at first, and though filled with despair on account of what they believed to be a permanent loss, came to believe that Christ had actually risen from the dead; that after a short time they began to preach that Jesus had risen, even in the face of the bitterest possible opposition, and under the severest persecution; that the evidence they produced was so convincing that multitudes were ready to risk their lives in order to acknowledge their belief in the story; and that many of them were actually put to death because their opinions could not be changed. Now, what could be back of such a conviction except a real resurrection? If any man be disposed to deny that, he must do it on one of three grounds: That Christ's death was only an appearance of death; that the story of the resurrection was a deliberate falsehood; or that the disciples were honestly deluded in regard to their having seen the risen Savior. A word reference to each of these theories will be sufficient.

1. If Christ had not died on the cross, but only seemed to die, and after reviving in the tomb had come forth of his own power, he would have been such an invalid for a long time that there would have been no possibility of convincing any one that he was divine. Imagine a man suffering from the effects of almost mortal wounds, and the fearful nervous shock that must have attended the crucifixion, going about proclaiming himself to be the Messiah. Who would have believed him?

The cry, "He saved others, himself he cannot save," would have given place to the cry, he restored life, but he cannot restore health. He healed the wounds of others, his own he cannot heal. Instead of being an object of worship and adoration, he would have become an object of derision and contempt.

2. The theory of a conspiracy to deceive is equally incredible. Men sometimes invent false reports, but they do not go through hardship and privation, even to death, with no other motive than to maintain the story that has no foundation. Think of what the disciples suffered after his resurrection, while before it they forsook him and fled, and the theory that there was a conspiracy to deceive can find no place in your mind.

As to the possibility of the disciples being deluded in regard to the appearances of Christ, we need only to remember their feelings at the time. They were in no frame of mind to be deluded in this regard. They did not expect the appearance of Christ, and even demanded the strongest possible proof that there had been such an appearance. Nothing less than touching and handling Him would convince Thomas, even when he had the testimony of the other ten. How could such men *imagine* that they saw the Christ? There is no other reasonable conclusion than that Jesus died and rose again; and if we admit this, it is useless to hold that the lesser miracles were either impossible or improbable.

THE CHARACTER OF MIRACLES.

There remains one question to be considered. Having seen that miracles are necessary to the establishment of any utterance as a divine message, and that certain miracles seem to have been wrought, it is necessary yet to see whether there is a correspondence between the miracles and the worker of them in character and purpose. Suppose that a person of immoral character should claim a divine commission, and pretend to work miracles as the evidence of the same; would we for a moment believe in the trustworthiness either of the man or of his miracles? We would conclude whether we could under-

stand the alleged miracles or not that they were deceptive and unreal. We will always compare the character of a miracle with the character of the author of it. We will weigh the character of the miracles with the purpose for which they are wrought. If I were able to do wonders ever so great, and on the strength of them incite to lawlessness, you would pronounce the wonders fraudulent.

Looking at the miracles in this light we find a most perfect harmony between them and Christ. Christ came claiming to be moved by a benevolent spirit and purpose, and where can we find more perfect benevolence than in the miracles themselves? How his interest in the feelings of men showed itself in the first miracle, when in an embarrassing situation he chose as a manifestation of power an act which would show that power, and at the same time add to the pleasure of the occasion, and to the comfort of the man who gave the feast! Or when he meets the man having the withered hand, how it shows the heart of Christ that he was not willing to see the man suffer! He might have withered the other hand, and the people would have marvelled, but it would not have been in keeping with his character and purpose. He came not to destroy men's lives, but to save them. His feelings and goodwill for others show themselves at the tomb of Lazarus. He not only wept with the sisters, but he used his divine power to take away their sorrow. Even in the trying hours at the end of his life on earth he was ready to remedy the error of his disciple, and save his enemy from suffering; and therefore he healed the wound of the servant of the high priest. The miracles were to prove the power of Christ, and they here accomplish their mission. He gathered the fishes for the weary disciples, showing that the fish of the sea are subject to his will. He calmed the storm, showing that the very elements obey his word. He fed the multitudes, showing that dead matter is plastic in his hands. And where did he work a miracle that was strange and mysterious, without showing the power by virtue of which he was Lord of all the universe?

But the miracles were for credentials for Christ as the Re-

deemer of the world. Here again there is no element of discord between the Worker and the works. When John asked whether Christ were the One who should come, or whether they must look for another, the messengers were sent back with the answer, "Tell John what ye see and hear." He could easily decide whether the acts of Christ were of the character of redemptive acts or not. Upon the nature of these miracles Christ was willing to rest His claim to Messiaship. To raise the dead, to open the eyes of the blind, to heal the sick, these things are not widely different from redemption itself. It is not too much to say with Dr. Valentine, they are the beginnings of redemptive work. Thus we see the assumed character of Christ, His declared purpose, and the nature of the deeds that He performed for testimony, all blend into one perfect harmony.

What, then, are the conclusions to which we must come? That miracles do not lie outside the range of possibility. That He who made the world is able to work in the world in special ways and for special purposes without destroying that law and order which are the work of His own hands. Further we see that miracles are not only possible, but that they are likely to occur. That when a divine message is sent to earth, it must be accompanied by credentials that show it to be divine, and that the people were not unreasoning when they looked for "signs" from Jesus. And lastly, that miracles are not only necessary but that they have actually been given. That they were of such character as to establish beyond all possibility of doubt, not only their own reality, but also the truth of the messages which they accompanied. Thus they are the infallible proofs of the permanence and worth of the Christian religion, and are indeed among the foundation stones in the structure of an abiding faith.

ARTICLE VI.

THE CAUSES OF SCHOPENHAUER'S PESSIMISM.

BY J. C. PEERY, A.M.

Schopenhauer's complete philosophy, his "message to the world," is to be found in *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*. This work is described in the preface to the first edition as containing a "single thought," not a system of ideas. It is divided into four books, but each book inwardly corresponds to the others; each is a complement of another, or the translation of that other into a new language which brings out new meanings.

This work, so Schopenhauer told Brockhaus, his publisher, is the "fruit of his whole existence." In his "Letterbag" was found a scrap written with these words: "That would be my highest fame if one day it were to be said of me that I had solved the riddle which Kant had given up." In another lot of papers, the "Senilia," written during the closing years of his life, he says: "Subject to the limitations of human knowledge, my philosophy is the real solution of the enigma of the world. In this sense it may be called a revelation. It is inspired by the spirit of truth; in the fourth book there are even some passages which may be considered to be dictated by the Holy Ghost."

Schopenhauer bases his philosophy on the conclusions of Kant. The effect of Kant's writings having been compared to that of an operation for cataract on a blind man, Schopenhauer declares it to be his own purpose to "put into the hands of those upon whom that operation has been successfully performed a pair of spectacles suited to eyes that have recovered their sight." He follows Kant's subjective idealism, and opens his work with the words, *Die Welt ist meine Vorstellung*. In this he does not mean to deny the *reality* of the world; he distinguishes between the world as it is in itself and the phenomenal world. The phenomenal world is my perception, my

idea, and there are as many such worlds as there are perceptive minds. Yet there is a *real* world; behind the phenomenal there is the "thing in itself." Just here Schopenhauer and Kant part company; Kant denies the possibility of ever knowing the thing in itself; Schopenhauer, with other Kantians, asserts that it can be known. These Kantians reasoned in this way: It is true that if the ego were merely a subject, it would be impossible for it to know objects; but it is both subject and object. "Belonging to both of these worlds, it can look into both and mix them up theoretically, or lay the rubrics and categories of the one upon the other." Now, the *essence* of all objects is probably one, and if I can know what is essential, fundamental, in the *ego* as object, I have the right to conclude that this is also the real essence of *all other subjects*. Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, and Hegel said that this essential thing in the ego is *thought*. According to Schopenhauer it is WILL. It is probable, however, that Schopenhauer arrived at the conclusion that Will is the essence of *everything else in the world*, not through speculation, but by mere generalization.

This Will is free from the limitations of space, time, and causality; it is an aimless, restless striving, an "irritability." All the objects of the world, including ourselves, are manifestations, "objectivations" of Will. The movements of nature, such as the force of gravitation, chemical affinity, the crystalline formation, are the blind heavings of that great unconscious, restless Will. Next, in its ceaseless striving, the Will manifests itself in organic growth. Finally, by a chance manifestation, the intellect is lighted, which becomes a guide to that part of the world-will which is objectivated in our bodies. We become conscious, and are said to possess "free wills," but it must not be forgotten that we are still a part of that blind, restless mother-will. Indeed, we cannot but feel our intimate relation to that mother-will, for we recognize in our numberless desires and longings that can never be satisfied, her dark, mysterious movements. Here is the beginning of Schopenhauer's pessimism. "The essence of all being," he says,* "is Will, and the

* *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, I, p. 22.

basis of all willing is need, deficiency, and thus pain. Consequently the nature of brutes and man is subject to pain originally and through its very being. If, on the other hand, it lacks objects of desire, because it is at once deprived of them by a too easy satisfaction, a terrible void and ennui comes over it, that is, its being, and existence itself, becomes an unbearable burden to it. Thus its life swings like a pendulum backwards and forwards between pain and ennui." The people, the poor, are tormented by want; the world, the fashionable and wealthy, by ennui. The Will is one continued striving, always in conflict and, therefore, always in suffering. As there is no final end of the striving, there can be no end, and hence no measure, of the suffering. Thus suffering is essential to life, and inseparable from it, and existence is a constant sorrow and misery.

Viewing the world from a slightly different standpoint, he arrives at conclusions no less pessimistic. "Inward discord," he writes, at Dresden, in 1814, "is the very law of human nature, as long as a man lives. He can be only one thing actually and thoroughly; and yet for everything else he has a potentiality, an inextirpable possibility of becoming it. Now one, now another principle gains the upper hand, while he is the field on which the combat is fought. Even though the one be continually victorious, still the other is continually fighting; for as long as he lives, it lives. As a human being, he is the possibility of many contrasts. Such being the case, where can inward harmony be found? In no saint and in no sinner; or, rather, a perfect saint and a perfect sinner, are alike impossible. For each must be a human being; that is, must be an unhappy creature, a fighter, a gladiator on the arena of life. Painless the battle of life cannot be; it may not end without bloodshed, and in any case man must mourn; for he is at once the vanquished and the victor. *Haec est vivendi conditio.*"

It is not my purpose to follow this system of philosophy further. Neither do I propose to expose its fallacies; but to discover, if possible, the *causes* which produced it. To this end I shall classify the causes under the two general heads of

heredity and *environment*. This arrangement has the merit of at least covering the entire field.

1. The laws of heredity do not require a discussion here. It will be profitable for us to keep in mind, however, that only tendencies are transmitted by heredity. We hold within ourselves all the tendencies of all our ancestors. Of these only a very few are uppermost in any individual life; the others lie dormant. It depends upon the comparative strength of these tendencies at birth, and upon the environment after birth, what ones are to become the distinguishing characteristics of the mature individual. Now, owing to the mysterious phenomenon called "atavism," it is impossible to predict what tendencies will be strongest in the child at birth; it may be those which were strongest in the father or the mother, or it may be those which controlled the life of some progenitor three, or even four generations back. But if there is discovered in the child *the same tendencies that have marked its ancestors for two generations*, we may conclude that they were inherited from those ancestors. Let us see if this was the case with Schopenhauer.

Gwinner tells us that Schopenhauer's grandmother, on his father's side, was crazy, and was, after the death of her husband, put under legal guardianship. "From her her children seem to have inherited in various degrees some congenital weakness or perturbation of spirit. The eldest was from his youth up an imbecile. The second son left behind him a character of foolish and discreditable prodigality." The grandfather on the mother's side was, in spite of many excellent qualities, a man of uncontrollable temper. His daughter, Schopenhauer's mother, gives this sketch of him: "Just at the time when least expected, the most trifling occasion could rouse him to a wild passion of anger, which, to be sure, was quickly over. At such times, the whole house trembled before his voice of thunder, and the entire household, even to dog and cat, ran frightened out of his way." Even the philosopher's own father suffered at times from mental aberration, particularly toward the latter part of his life, when increasing deafness made him moody and suspicious. It was supposed at the time of his

death that he committed suicide, and Gwinner says that he knows a number of things, told by the widow and son, which leave little doubt that the rumor was well founded. This "number of things" would, no doubt, if we had them, be valuable in this discussion.

There seems to be no reason for doubting that Schopenhauer came into the world torn by these erratic tendencies of his progenitors. They make themselves painfully evident in his conduct and opinions. One evening, while he was but six years old, his parents, returning from a walk, found him in greatest despair, having imagined himself suddenly abandoned by them forever. While a student at Berlin he was seized with the belief that he was a consumptive. In 1833, when about to leave Mannheim, he was completely overcome, without any external cause whatever, with an unspeakable feeling of dread. "For years," says Gwinner, "he was plagued with fear of a criminal process; and if any noise arose in the night, he would jump out of bed and seize dagger and pistols, which he kept constantly loaded. His valuables were concealed in all sorts of out-of-the-way places about his rooms. And, as he had lived in constant dread of being cheated, so that he might not be cheated at the last he gave orders that his body should be allowed to lie longer than was customary, to make the reality of his death perfectly sure." "Fierce fits of panic and despair would sweep over him, especially in the night season; fears and unaccountable suspicions would torment him, and his nerves would be shaken beyond all self-control by tragic scenes."* Josiah Royce, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly*, expresses the opinion that there is a causal relation between Schopenhauer's pessimism and his inherited mental bias. He says: "In his youth Schopenhauer was vexed by his hereditary burden enough to enable us without question to associate his pessimism in some measure with his temperament, which unquestionably rendered him incapable of a permanently cheerful view of life."

* Wallace's *Life of Schopenhauer*, p. 63.

If this is true—and all critics seem to agree that it is—that Schopenhauer inherited a temperament which rendered him incapable of a cheerful view of life, we certainly have strong ground for claiming that in his inherited temperament is found *a chief cause of his pessimism*. Of course this morbid temperament could possibly have been modified by a favorable environment; but in Schopenhauer's case the environment was, as we shall see, not such as would modify his temperament; on the other hand, it was such an environment as would tend to foster it. Hence, given the temperament and the fostering environment, anything else than a pessimistic view of life would have been well nigh impossible.

2. We will, then, next consider this environment, and see just what it contributed to Schopenhauer's pessimism. In order to do this intelligently it will be necessary first to review briefly the most important events of his life.

Arthur Schopenhauer was born at Dantzic, February 22, 1788. His father, Heinrich Schopenhauer, was one of the wealthiest men of the town, and was conspicuous for his knowledge of affairs, a cosmopolitan habit of mind, and a reputation for "advanced" or "enlightened" views. His mother was Joanna Trosiener, whose father was a member of the City Council. In 1793, when Dantzic had to succumb to the rising power of Prussia, the Schopenhauers settled their estate, and moved to Hamburg. Here they lived for twelve years, until the elder Schopenhauer's death. It was the father's purpose to train Arthur to take charge of the business which he himself had built, and so to direct his education along practical lines. "Commerce," he said, "needs not supreme conceptions, but principles of medium range, rules of practical wisdom derived from a knowledge of the world." He did not mean that his son should "degenerate into a mere scholar." So, in his ninth year Arthur was taken on an excursion to Paris. Thence he was taken to Havre, where he was left in the household of an acquaintance of his father's. He remained at Havre two years, and during this time he became so proficient in the French language that he almost forgot his own. When he re-

turned, in 1799, to Hamburg, he was sent to a private school for three years. Here he became dissatisfied with the "modern" and commercial course taught; and it was at this time that he began to feel an aversion to the career for which he was destined. Seeing his mother's popularity in literary circles, he was seized with a longing "to wield the pen, not of the clerk, but of the author." Nevertheless, he gave his father a pledge that he would follow the mercantile business; and then they all set out on another tour, this time to take in the whole of Europe. They visited England first, and Arthur was put at a boarding school at Wimbledom for three months. He found life here very irksome; and he carried away from England an unfavorable impression of English character, due chiefly to the cant and hypocrisy which he noted on every hand. From England the Schopenhauers visited the chief cities of the continent, stopping finally at Berlin. Arthur's impressions of these scenes are illustrated by the accusation his mother brought against him that he habitually "brooded over the misery of human beings." When they had finished their tour Arthur and his mother went on to their old homeplace, Dantzic, where the son was confirmed. He remained for four months with a Dantzic merchant, trying to learn the business of the counting house. In his seventeenth year young Schopenhauer is in the office of a Hamburg merchant, but "never," he tells us himself, "was there a worse clerk in a merchant's office." At this time occurred the elder Schopenhauer's death, which came as a very severe blow to Arthur, for he had a profound respect for his father. But between mother and son the bond was very weak, especially after the son had passed the age of childhood. Feeling that the pledge to his father had not been honestly kept, he applied himself, though with "fearful groans," more diligently to his clerical duties. After her husband's death the widow settled at Weimar, and gathered about her a circle of literary friends; Goethe was often a guest in her home. While she was thus living a life of ease and pleasure at Weimar, Arthur, at Hamburg, became more and more dissatisfied with himself and his surrounding. Perplexed at her

son's despondency, the widow gave her consent to his dropping the merchant career, and devoting himself to a life of learning. So, in his nineteenth year, he quit his despised office work. He moved to Gotha, and began study in the gymnasium there. He advanced rapidly in his studies, but was soon dismissed for versifying a current scandal on one of the masters. Acting on his mother's advice he went to Weimar, where he continued his study of the classics under Frans Passow until he became a good Greek and Latin scholar. But as he advanced in knowledge, the breach between himself and his mother gradually became wider. It was arranged that he was to board out at Weimar, but he was allowed to be present at her house on the two evenings weekly when she was "at home." She declared that his presence, his murmurings over evils irremediable, his gloomy looks, and queer dogmatizing opinions depressed her; only when he was gone did she breathe freely.

In 1809, on attaining his majority, Schopenhauer received his share of his father's estate, which, after the reckless expenditure of the widow, yielded him an annual income of only 1,000 thalers. In October of that year he entered the University of Goettingen, first enrolling himself as a student of medicine. In the second year, however, he found his calling and turned to philosophy, with Schultze as his teacher. Schultze advised him to make a thorough study of Kant and Plato before undertaking any other philosophers. At this time he met the aged poet Wieland, who tried to dissuade him from the life of a philosopher; but the young man replied, "Life is an awkward business; I have determined to spend it in reflecting on it." In 1811, he moved to the University of Berlin. Here he studied the natural sciences, and heard Schleiermacher lecture on the History of Philosophy, and Fichte, on "Facts of Consciousness" and "Theory of Science." That he did not waste his college days is proved by the numerous note-books he left; but these same note-books show also that he considered himself a better philosopher than any of his teachers.

Just at this time Napoleon was casting a gloom over the whole of Europe. Classes in the universities were broken up,

and students and professors began to drill. Physical cowardice and lack of sympathy kept Schopenhauer from active service; but he did contribute towards equipping volunteers for the army. Seeking safety, he moved first to Dresden, thence to Weimar again, and thence to Rudolstadt. Here he composed his essay, "The Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason," which he submitted to the University of Jena for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. He afterwards made this essay the first part of his great philosophical work. His ideas were now firmly fixed; indeed, for the last several years, all his study had been to collect material to support his own theory of the world.

By this time all the influences which gave direction to Schopenhauer's philosophy had exerted themselves and hence we need not follow further the events of his life.

3. With this sketch of Schopenhauer's early life before us we can better appreciate those circumstances which contributed to his pessimism. Looking a little more closely then, we find that the first of those influences of environment which may be considered as standing in a causal relation to his pessimism, was the influence of the commercial spirit of Dantzic on the first five years of his life. This influence is not to be passed over because it exerts itself so early in his life; it is, rather, for that reason, to be given a more careful consideration. In presenting the effect of this influence on Schopenhauer, I can do no better than quote W. Wallace, Schopenhauer's English biographer. He says: "The influence of the commercial republic was a paramount element in determining the character both of father and son. Like all such influences it had its good and its evil. Its good is a fearlessness and audacity of view, an independence of judgment. On the other side, republicanism on such a scale is apt to be proud and ill-disciplined, to breed an anarchic temper unfitted to work in regular harness or do its part in conjoint labor. Lawlessness of spirit, working amid the trammels of an artificial legal system, encourages the formation of untamed characters who are more anxious to secure their rights than careful to consider their

duties. A certain coarseness and hardness accompanies the purely mercantile life. *Many of the traits of the physical and mental fibre of such a city reappear in Schopenhauer.*"

This influence will not be underestimated when we take notice that both its good and its evil, as pointed out by Wallace—the "fearlessness and independence of judgment," and the "anarchic temper"—may become the paths of an easy approach to pessimistic views of the world. It should be noted also that this influence falls in line with Schopenhauer's inherited propensities.

4 The second influence leading directly to pessimistic views was what might be called Schopenhauer's *inverted education*. The period when the youthful mind is just awakening is, by most people, spent in regular discipline under uniform conditions. It is through books, and principles already formulated for him, that the learner customarily approaches the world, which would otherwise be confusing to him, and very wicked. Those older and wiser persons who have experienced the difficulties and perplexities of life have left rules for his guidance. They have simplified the world for him, and reduced it to what the wisdom of the ages has agreed to recognize as its essential reality.

But with Schopenhauer this was all reserved. "His faculties of perception, of observation and of judgment, in dealing with the *raw material* of life were the first to be exercised."* Unguided he stepped forth into the mad, wicked world, and unguided, but blinded by his inherited morbid temperament, he sought to solve its mysteries. His training, which was only fragmentary, did not begin until he had made his grand tour of Europe with his parents. We shall see what impressions the scenes of his travel made upon his untutored mind.

It was during this tour that his mother noted his tendency to *brood over the misery of human beings*. While in England he was struck by the stiff formality of English society, which was always repulsive to him; and his embitterment against English bigotry and priestcraft, which dated from his experience at the Wimbledom boarding school, remained unabated

* Wallace's *Life of Schopenhauer*, p. 39.

to the end of his life. Speaking of the impressions the tour through France made upon Schopenhauer, Wallace says: "All the charms of the landscape are one day suddenly dispersed by the sight of some wretched huts and the wretched humanity within them. At Toulon, he is struck by the hopeless destiny of the galley convicts. At Lyons, he sinks into visions of the gruesome horrors of the Revolution times."

When we consider Schopenhauer's peculiar temperament, together with the fact that he was without that instruction which would have prepared him for these scenes, we are not surprised to find that he was impressed more with the sufferings of humanity than with its joys, that he had begun already to consider life an irrevocable sorrow.

5. In Schopenhauer's *home life* are to be found circumstances which contributed to his pessimism. Among these may be mentioned his father's determination that he should follow the mercantile business. In his fourteenth year he began to rebel, but he was almost forced to pledge himself to accede to his father's wishes. Still, he never ceased to hate the counting-room, and soon he came to hate all his surroundings, and himself as well.

In his relation to his mother is another circumstance which embittered his mind. There was a strong bond of sympathy if not of affection between himself and his father. But he and his mother, especially after his father's death, had no love for each other. In his youth her advice had not been that of a loving mother, but rather that of a critic. They were as unlike in their natures as the two poles of a magnet. She realized this, and frankly told him that they must agree to live apart. Of her, Anselm Feuerbach wrote the following sketch, which the son declared to be only too accurate: "Joanna Schopenhauer, a rich widow. Makes a profession of learning. Authoress. Talks much and well; intelligent; without heart and soul. Self-satisfied, courting applause, and constantly smiling at herself." Schopenhauer's disgrace at Gotha brought from his mother this sharp rebuke: "You are unbearable and burdensome; all your good qualities are overshadowed by your conceit, and made useless to the world, simply because you

cannot restrain your propensity to pick holes in other people." And then she added: "So long as you yourself are so open to criticism, people will not put up with your fault-finding, least of all in that offensive, oracular style." Returning from Gotha to Weimar in his nineteenth year, he finds his father forgotten, and his mother on intimate terms with first one and then another of the literary "knight-errants" of the place. "His own intense and exacting mood, with a feeling of spiritual kindred to the departed, makes his blood boil within him to see his mother, still conscious of no lack of charms, gaily entering into full possession of herself, drinking in gladly the admiration of the young and the old. In such a temper, when the heart as it were reels at the sight of the fickleness of affection and the abyss of disloyalty, Schopenhauer fell back on solitary meditations on the radical selfishness and pettiness of life."*

6. The *absence of all religious training in the home* resulted in a surrender to the "enemy" without a contest. This might have been included in the preceding paragraph, but its importance seems to demand a consideration to itself. The importance of such a religious training, and the result of its absence upon a youth of penetrating mind, especially when that mind has already received an hereditary bias, need not be discussed here.

Schopenhauer's father was a man of purely secular aims, and his only thought in regard to his son was to make of him a successful business man of the world. It is true that he advised Arthur's confirmation, but there is no evidence that he ever gave religion any serious consideration. When we remember that Schopenhauer's mother was a shallow and heartless woman, and that there was little sympathy between mother and son, we do not expect any positive influence from that source.

This lack of religious instruction Schopenhauer, however, regards as fortunate for him. He says, in *Parerga and Paralipomena*: "If you will see with your own eyes and near at hand what the early infection of belief can do, look at the English. See this nation, favored by nature above all others and furnished more than all others with intelligence, spirit, judgment, and

* Wallace's *Life of Schopenhauer*, p. 62.

strength of character, see it, sunk deep beneath all others, nay, made absolutely contemptible by its stupid superstition about the Church, which, along with its other endowments, seems actually like a chronic illusion, a monomania."

Since this, by Schopenhauer's own testimony, is the result of an "early infection of belief," we may conclude that in his case a thorough grounding in religious truths while he was yet young might have led to something different from that gloomy pessimism of his. If he had been taught that the world is governed by an omniscient Providence, who doeth all things well; that humanity's suffering is the result of its own mis-doing, and a necessary discipline; that, since God is in his heaven, all is well with the world, we can easily believe that the cant and hypocrisy which he saw among the professing Christians in England might have filled him, as the same things in Rome did Luther, with a burning desire to reform the Church. We can believe that the evils he saw resulting from the conditions of society as then organized might have induced him, as they have countless others, to give his life to bettering those conditions. Fichte and Schopenhauer had been given by Kant the same problem to solve; Fichte, having a deeply religious mind, found the answer in extreme optimism; Schopenhauer, without any religion, ran his conclusions into darkest pessimism.

Whatever might have been the result of a thorough religious training, it is certain that such a training was wanting, and that Schopenhauer's life and philosophy drifted into pessimism.

7. But it must be said that it was not alone in the social evils of the time, not alone in the selfishness and hypocrisy he observed in those about him, that Schopenhauer found evidence of the hopeless condition of the world. When he turned upon himself he found the same hopeless condition. "The satisfaction of the sexual impulse," he wrote, out of his own experience,* in 1815, "is utterly and intrinsically reprehensible, because it is the strongest affirmation of the lust of life." Wallace says that at this time "a pervading burden of his thought is the Pauline sense of the evil present with him in the

* Wallace's *Life of Schopenhauer*, p. 92.

calm of night, as a den swarming with craving and despairing desires. The spirit of the ascetic, of the world-contemner, begins to govern his thoughts. The very violence of his appetites whets his apprehension of the putridity inherent in a world where their every gratification is at the same time a disappointment and a degradation. No Christian hermit or Indian yogi could be inspired by a keener disgust at life and its so-called pleasures. He refuses, in these moods of disenchantment and penetration, to compromise with the world."

It is true that we judge others in great measure by ourselves. If Schopenhauer found no good in himself, it is not surprising that he found nothing but wickedness in the world.

8. The last thing in Schopenhauer's environment which I shall consider as standing in a causal relation to his pessimism is his *intellectual food*. But in this connection it must be remembered that Schopenhauer did not begin his studies until he was in his nineteenth year, and that by that time his opinion of life had already been formed. His reading furnished him with the form rather than the material of his pessimism; the latter was furnished by the influences discussed in the preceding paragraphs. In proof of this we may again quote Wallace: "Schopenhauer's studies in philosophy supply the pegs on which he hangs his thought, the machinery and terminology through which his system is woven into definite outline."

When Schopenhauer turned to philosophy he found it in the critical, or skeptical, stage of one of its "cycles." Kant had concluded that the origin of evil lay in the opposition of the ego and the non-ego. Fichte, following Kant, recognized the evil in the world, and accepted Kant's explanation of it. But, he said, we need not stop here; though there is necessarily much of evil in the world, yet all will at last, in some mysterious way, work out for the best. In other words, he recognized also a "moral order of the world." To Schopenhauer's mind there could be no possible reason for believing in such a "moral order;" hence he emphatically denied it, and accepted the evil of the world as a finality.

Another source of the *form* which Schopenhauer's brooding took is found in the *Romanticism* of the times. This was a

movement in antagonism to a period of rationalism and orthodox classical regularity. "It delighted in noting what it calls the 'irony' of life, the way in which purposes and prudence are in the very instant of accomplishment set at nought by a deeper justice of fate, which unconsciously rules the movement of things. It is weary of that blaze of artificial light which civilization and science and reasoning have spread, and would fain again enjoy the mystery of night, when the heart seems to spread into illimitable space, and can, in the darkness, find a hint and symptom of presences which make the world less lonely and limited."*

Schopenhauer fell under the sway of this movement, and as his mood is gloomy we find his thoughts taking this expression : "Life is an intrinsic contradiction—a jest even, though a better one. There is a continual warfare between its audacious hopes, its yearnings after absolute and entire satisfaction, and its paltry performances, fruitions spoilt by the sense of deception."

But I believe that the thing which did most to mould Schopenhauer's pessimistic views was the *mystical pantheism of the Orient*. A Latin translation of the *Upanishads*, made by Anquetil Duperron, was published at Strasburg in 1801-2, under the title of "Oupnek'hat." In 1808, Frederick Schlegel wrote a book on the "Language and Wisdom of the Hindoos." And Schopenhauer about this time became acquainted with another Orientalist, Fr. Majer, who later published a book on the "Religion of the Hindoos." That these books came into Schopenhauer's hands there is no doubt, and there is likewise little doubt that they had an influence on his pessimism ; for when we compare his pessimism with the Indian philosophy we find a striking similarity. For instance, the two systems agree in ignoring the *whence* and the *wherefore* of things, and deal with the *what* only ; both agree in teaching that the world is fast bound in misery ; and, very naturally, they agree in making compassion the foundation of ethics. These things would seem to indicate that Buddhism did more than merely give form to Schopenhauer's own ideas, but it is a question. Schopenhauer states in a later edition of *Die Welt* that at the time of that

* Wallace's *Life of Schopenhauer*, p. 51.

book's appearance he knew little of Buddhism, and was not under its influence. It is interesting to note, however, that in the first volume, page 461, he had written: "Indian philosophy streams back to Europe, and will produce a fundamental change in our knowledge and thought."

ARTICLE VII.

THE GENERAL SYNOD—ITS PLACE AND MISSION.

BY REV. ADAM STUMP, A.M.

Previous to the year 1820 the condition of the Lutheran Church in the United States was parallel with that of the American colonies before the adoption of the constitution of 1788. There were organized bodies, but no central power; synods, but no general synod. But as in the State a previous unity had grown into a blessed union, a number of independent commonwealths, somewhat loosely related as a confederation, having become by voluntary choice equal partners in a strong federal government, so it became the desire of a large number of Lutherans, by a similar process, to bring our various divisions into one homogeneous, comprehensive body. The object was a noble one and worthy of better success than it has attained. The plan, after several abortive, tentative efforts, was fully born in the Synod of Pennsylvania, at its convention in Baltimore, in the year 1819, and was adopted by a vote of forty-two to eight. A copy of the Entwurf was sent to all the synods, the majority of which approved the project. Consequently in accordance with his instructions, Dr. J. G. Schmucker called a convention at Hagerstown on October 22, 1820, and this was the birthday of the General Synod. Of all the synods which then existed, that of Ohio was the only one that sent no delegates. Although their territories then were different from what they now are, the name but indistinctly signifying their jurisdiction, the following bodies took part in the formation of the general organism: The Synod of Pennsylvania, the Synod of New York, the Synod of North Carolina, and the Synod of

Maryland (including Virginia). Thus the General Synod was launched by four of the only five Lutheran synods of that day.

[Eighty years ago there were no such ecclesiastical designations as "Missouri," "Iowa," "Norwegian," "Augustana," "Council," etc. Though the Tennessee Synod claims to have been organized as such in July, 1820, it seems then to have been regarded only as a conference.]

The good institution which had been so auspiciously begun soon went through the ordeal of assault by enemies without and of defection by friends within. At the first regular meeting at Frederick in 1821, New York, and at the second, in 1823, Pennsylvania was missing. But at the latter convention a deputation of a conference west of the Susquehanna River was present. That conference afterwards (1824) became, and still is, the West Pennsylvania Synod. Though the old Ministerium of Pennsylvania came back in 1853, it left again in 1867 and since it has not returned. The War of the Rebellion severed our relations with the Southern synods. The New York Ministerium sent delegates again in 1837, but formally severed its relations in 1867. However, many of its members afterwards returned to their old affiliation as a new body.

But the General Synod, in every sense much improved, now consisting of twenty-four sister compeers, still lives. During its existence of less than a century it has spanned the continent from the eastern to the western seacoast, and to-day numbers more adherents than it ever had, besides presenting a wider field, a better organization, a more strenuous life, and having a brighter outlook than ever before.

I. In discussing its peculiar place in the Lutheran Church of our country it must be implied that either it differs from others, or they from it, depending upon the standpoint one takes. Peculiarities presuppose differences in greater or less degree. But in marking comparisons and contrasts between us and others, I will not seek to discredit them or to exalt ourselves. It shall be my duty simply in all good conscience, to state facts. Antagonisms and antipathies are weapons so antiquated that the younger generation of Luther's followers must let them lie to rust on the old battlefields, where the

fathers waged their unfortunate conflicts. To-day we must not look each other in the face, like Amaziah and Jehoash of old did, to stir up each other's ire, but to kindle each other's love.

1. The General Synod is the oldest general Lutheran body as such in the United States. True, the Joint Synod of Ohio, antedates us by two years, as the Ministerium antedates us by many years, but neither of these was at first a combination of autonomous synods. The former simply was the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Ohio and adjacent States. It did not start as a body composed of parts, but as a single body, which afterwards was divided into districts. It was not a joint composition until 1833, when by evolution from within and accretion from without, it became a general body as we understand the term. The rest then were organized as follows: German Iowa Synod, 1854; General Council, 1867; Synodical Conference, 1872; United Synod in the South, 1886.

2. The General Synod also stands as the first effort to unite all the representatives of Lutheranism in America into one organic pact. It did not succeed; neither did others. When the Ministerium of Pennsylvania declared its connection with the General Synod dissolved, it also asserted that "the purpose for which it was originally formed has signally failed." By an unexpected Nemesis, the same words can now truthfully be applied to the General Council. Both made an honest and praiseworthy effort to gather the children of the Augsburg Confession under one capacious roof; both have met with very indifferent success. The sad fact is cause for tears. But in this wise and Christlike purpose, the General Synod was first. And she gratefully fosters the consciousness that she has not failed to invite all to lock fraternal arms with her, nor has she driven out any that once accepted her overtures and stood awhile at her side. Her disposition in 1902 is exactly the same as it was in 1820. She still stands ready for Lutheran union.

3. The General Synod has as yet the most predominantly English Lutheran constituency in America. This is, however, a temporary peculiarity. America is destined to be an English-speaking nation. Early in its history the Anglo-Saxon gained

the upper hand, introduced his forms of civil life and language, and by his usual aggressiveness gained the land for his sovereign. Though we now are independent of his imperialism, we cannot get rid of his tongue. It has legitimized itself among us. We must use it. The common school trains us in it, and, linguistically, we soon shall appear to be only an annex to the island of Great Britain. Thank God, this never will be so politically. But in this process of anglicization of all our continental foreigners, of whom the Lutheran Church has so many, the General Synod is in the lead. Happily for this end she has received a large infusion of Scotch-Irish and English blood, which has facilitated this change in language. A glance over her roster will show a remarkable proportion of non-Teutonic names. But she has learned by great losses the folly of trying to perpetuate a strange tongue in this Englished civilization and government. Next to her is the United Synod, and then the General Council. But even the Joint Synod and the Synodical Conference (or Missouri Synod) have each an English district or synod, and unless there should be an unlooked-for increase of immigration, in another century all our German and Scandinavian bodies will preach and conduct their business in English. But as yet we hold the leadership in this line.

4. The General Synod enjoys the distinction of being, among Lutherans, the most fraternal toward other denominations. On this account we are ostracized by many of our household of faith. However, our inter-denominational communion is not indiscriminate. With Unitarians of all types we have no dealings, nor should we have, for they deny the deity of Christ. With all other respectable churches, we eschew Mormonism, because it is a mongrel form of Christianity. Even the strictest sect of Lutherans generally acknowledge that many members of the tabooed denominations are children of God. The General Synod also believing this, practically carries out its convictions by coöperating with others in works of charity and reform, as well as allowing a limited altar and pulpit fellowship with them. But no one who understands the General Synod will claim that we thereby sacrifice Lutheran doctrine or conscious loyalty to our own Church. We are per-

suaded that over against a narrow bigotry and schism, a liberal disposition commends and demands respect for it. True Lutheranism is above all names. Every soul justified by faith in Christ is a true Lutheran. Our fold has no monopoly of this grace. We therefore make no compromise of the truth by associating with those who are of like hope with us. Wherein they differ from us we do not consent to them, but we would not on that account debar them from the table of the Lord, the benefits of which do not depend upon theological distinctions, but upon faith in Christ and obedience to his command. The fact that we ourselves are shut out from other Lutheran altars and pulpits does not indeed add to our consolation; nevertheless it does not change our attitude toward the prayer of Christ for the unity of his disciples. We will continue to make sure that Satan's work shall not be made easy by dividing the forces of God's kingdom against each other. First of all, we long for fraternization with the alienated brothers of our own family, but we cannot agree that all the professed followers of the Lamb should treat each other after the manner of the Jews and the Samaritans. We are persuaded that such is not the Master's wish. Hence our ecclesiastical comity.

5. In proportion to its numbers the General Synod is the most active in practical Christian work. In size and resources we are inferior to the Council and the Conference. But, comparatively, we are making better use of our opportunities and resources. Though the Missourians are ahead of us in the publishing business, and the Council can show greater eleemosynary institutions, in Home and Foreign Missions, and benevolence in general, our percentage is the highest. Our work is more thoroughly organized. Laymen, and especially the women and children, are more active among us. However, this prestige may not be permanent. The other bodies are showing such signs of awakening as to cause one to expect great results in the future. Meanwhile, the General Synod is not doing all it can or ought to do. Although it has not heretofore, like its sister bodies, too often spent its energies in doctrinal discussion, to the loss of applied Christianity, it now has rivals in

aggressiveness and expansion such as it did not have during the last fifty years. While they were mining and assaying the gold we were coining and circulating it faster than they, but in this use of the treasures of the kingdom we have no prerogative. The world is their field also, and their hosts of educated young people are becoming an army of workers who will give good account of themselves in the modern methods of church activities. Though heretofore we gave and did more *per capita*, unless, in emulation of the Moravian, we employ every unit to the utmost, we may not long keep this honorable distinction.

6. The last peculiarity we would mention is the fact that our confessional symbols are not so extensive as those of the rest. We are satisfied with the Augsburg Confession alone. Confessionally we do not profess to differ from other Lutherans in doctrine. We are neither above nor below them, but on the same basis. We accept and hold from the heart all that the Augustana says and implies, but nothing more, nor anything less. But this alone is our confessional document or doctrinal test. To this only do we demand subscription and adherence. Yet no one among us will be disturbed in his standing as a member for receiving the other symbolical books, such as the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Larger Catechism, the Smalkald Articles, and the Formula Concordiae of 1580. Personally any one may adopt all or part of these as his creed, but the General Synod as a body acknowledges no confessional authority, except the great ecumenical symbol already mentioned; but, of course, even this in value is placed far below the word of God. Only our ministers and teachers must acknowledge "the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the divine word, and of the faith of our Church as founded upon that word." For the laity the Holy Scriptures are considered a sufficient confession and "rule of faith and practice." The same is true in all the other Lutheran bodies.

Though for myself, believing that the "other symbolical books" are in perfect consonance with the Confession of 1530,

I am ready to subscribe them, I nevertheless think that it would not be wise for the General Synod to go beyond its well-known deliverances on this matter. In the first place, its Lutheran status would not be improved by such a step. What it already is, it cannot yet be made. Extra confessionalism, therefore, is for us no necessity. Nor would it be convenient. A simple creed is the best. The fewer terms and interpretations there are, the greater the agreement is apt to be. Though in essentials there may be perfect harmony we all know how easily the same words may convey various shades of meaning, and thus deflect minds in diverse directions. At first the difference may be a mere emphasis, which may finally grow into a serious variation in doctrine. As long as the laws of mind are what they are, this will be so. People sincerely accepting the same maxims may honestly differ in their application and explanation, and especially in the inferences that may be deduced from them. Some follow an argument to the end; others stop short of the logical conclusion. Thus, even if all church members were to adopt all the sayings of Jesus as a creed, this infallible confession would not insure the unity of Christendom. Jefferson's Bible never would bring the supernaturalists and the rationalists under the same pavilion. Therefore our unequivocal acceptance of the Augsburg Confession alone is the wisest and safest position with respect to such merely human symbols. Any more would seem to be credal redundancy and superfluity.

Though the later symbols all are natural developments of the first, it is not necessary to give them all the stamp of official recognition. Such things can easily be overdone. An ultra-confessionalism which loses the substances of the faith in a multiplicity of forms is to be dreaded; and such ever is the tendency of orthodox overzeal. Every truth is conditioned by other truths. Each is limited; none is absolute. Often this fact is forgotten; hence a swing toward one extreme or the other, and consequent aloofness. This evil can best be avoided by a concise and brief formulary, such as ours is.

Perhaps here is the place to say something about the charge of some that we do not accept the Augsburg Confession in

good faith. It is held that because a few among us use the expression "in so far as it is evangelical" and do not consider all the doctrinal articles fundamental, and we do not discipline them, that therefore we are not sound in the faith.

But this tendency is not of sufficient significance to weigh much in the question. Take away all personal antipathies and preferences, and that shameful partizanship and suspicion which synodical elections often develop, and I do not believe there are two men in the ministry of the General Synod who reject its confessional basis. In so great a mass these should not count so much against us. To institute a heresy trial certainly would, besides creating a hurtful commotion, give them a significance which now they do not have in our counsels. Our unanimity is indeed not perfect, but is that of any other Lutheran body so? We trow not.

II. When we reach the discussion of the mission of the General Synod, we have come to the most difficult part of our task. It includes the element of the future, concerning which one is timid to prophesy. But we apprehend,

1. That the General Synod has a mission in common with all the Protestant churches in the world, to bring men into a saving relation to Christ through justification by faith. This point needs no elucidation. No matter how much she may differ from other denominations, over against Roman Catholicism, her task remains that which the Reformation has imposed, but which by no means has yet been completed.

Without boasting or superciliousness, it must be claimed that Protestantism without Lutheranism would be a failure. Radicalism and iconoclasm would finally ruin the conservative elements of Christianity. Therefore the mission of our Church as a factor in modern Protestantism is accentuated by our historical relations toward Rome. We first broke its thralldom, and without us the rest could not be perfect. But in this common task of continuing primitive Christianity in the world the General Synod must not shrink from the part which has been assigned her by Providence.

2. If now we are right in thinking that there is such a type

or species as American Lutheranism, in which the General Synod holds the hegemony, she must keep on in that direction. This is especially true of her English work, but this of course refers only to the shell, not to the kernel. An American Lutheran dare not in spirit be different from a German Lutheran, nevertheless in those forms and accidents which distinguish various species of the same genus from each other, there will be by force of environment an American, as there is a Hindoo and Finnish Lutheran Church. In the evolution of this external variety of our faith, whose life-principle and norm must remain the Augustana, the General Synod must stay in the forefront. She dare not recede from her aggressive practical work of applying our doctrine to the needs of the world. Especially is this so concerning the evangelization of the race. True, in this respect her mission is not different from that of other Lutheran bodies, and she should choose in this to labor side by side with them, if she can; but lead them, if she must. Perhaps in higher education this will prove a tremendous task.

3. But the noblest part of the mission of the General Synod is coöperation for Lutheraran union. This should now be, as it was in 1820, still a labor of love. Our dream should be a great Lutheran Church of America, fashioned after the pattern of the United States. This would become a grand advisory organism with a legislative, and judicial and administrative center, but which would leave the most ample room for synodical and individual action. Of course, before such an inspiring idea could culminate in a continental Lutheran federation, many preliminary and educational steps would have to be taken. The first was essayed already in 1820 when the General Synod was born. That infant immediately began to walk!

We are aware that firm union presupposes unity; that solidarity requires a common spirit. Coöperation in ecclesiastical activities may come first. The cultivation of charity, and the exchange of courtesies, greetings and thoughts, through a long series of years may have to take place. Informal, free colloquies may have to be held. But no less than a world-parliament of Lutherans should be the aim of every lover of our glorious

Church. Nor for this consummation need a prelacy be created. We want union without graded bishops.

Of all our general bodies in this country the General Synod occupies the best position to promote this sublime and Christ-like object. From the beginning this was her amical purpose. It yet is. This being her disposition, she is ready for unification. So are the rest; but the General Synod has the advantage of offering the most feasible and inviolable bond of union—the Augsburg Confession. The fact that the other general bodies, though all adopt the Form of Concord, are as far apart from each other as they are from us, and under present conditions hopelessly so, is proof that their wider basis never will unite the Lutheran forces of this land. However, the fault lies not in their confession, but in their various interpretations thereof. As I said before, so I repeat, I am ready for myself to subscribe to their symbols “in their own true, native, original and only sense,” but I absolutely refuse to allow another man to tell me what that sense is.

I am of age, and feel competent to decide that question for myself. This is true of all of us. As we are individually accountable to our Master for the use we make of our talents, so we dare not surrender them to another’s intellect, will, or conscience. If we are to have a pope, let him just as soon be the man at Rome, as a theological specialist or an ecclesiastical committee. An infallible synod is as impossible as an infallible see or church. The ideas of many concerning the four points of close communion, pulpit fellowship, anti-secretism, and chiliasm, I cannot find in any Lutheran symbol, least of all in the Augsburg Confession; nor certain notions concerning the Lord’s Day, the Church, and the ministerial call. Hence, I cannot make them articles of faith. According to my best light and the dictates of my conscience they do not deserve that dignity. Hence I consign them to the list of adiaphora. Outside of Calvinism I find unconditional predestination nowhere; I would demit the ministry rather than preach it. I could easily be a member of any of these general bodies, as far as their confessions go, but as far as interpretations are con-

concerned, I will not confessionally allow myself to be bound either by all of theirs or even all those which the General Synod itself might make. In our common priesthood and Christian liberty, this will be the final attitude of all self-respecting men; hence the simple Augustana above gives the most promise for union. On that we can suffer all shades of indifferent notions. Then let all Lutherans remain what they now are; we nevertheless can be good brothers under this original constitution of our Church. To ask for more is to agree that credal additions be made *ad infinitum*, but this we cannot do.

It is to be lamented that the General Synod could not retain the noble Ministerium of Pennsylvania in its fold. No doubt doctrinal suspicion was the initial cause of the rupture. But the final occasion was only a parliamentary ruling. It is now easy to see the mistakes that were made. In my humble judgment the General Synod at York in 1864 should not have received the Franckean Synod before it had adopted the Augsburg Confession. It is needless to say that such a premature action would not to-day be taken at its conventions. Yet that action was not revolutionary. The future acceptance of the Confession was demanded of the Franckean.

On the other hand, the delegates of the Ministerium, since the Constitution itself was indefinite on the subject, should not have been so hasty in their withdrawal. If they had not left to report to their synod till after the adjournment, they would have fulfilled the intention of their instructions, and not have raised the question of their participation in the organization at Fort Wayne. There they raised no other objection than that of order, and in that they undoubtedly were in error. Yet for charity's and for fraternity's sake the General Synod for higher objects might have waived that matter. But it is too late either to reconstruct history or to undo the past. Only let us in the future ignore all barriers, except false doctrine and insincerity, so that the followers of Luther may be one.

After every regrettable dissolution of a former friendship there follows an effort to fix the blame for it. In the case before us, one who was not personally in the controversy, reading the

evidence dispassionately, cannot resist the impression that the leaders of the Ministerium did not any longer wish to remain in the General Synod. A stiff insistence upon mere technicalities always is a sign of reluctance, and this its delegation manifested both at York and at Fort Wayne. Already upon re-uniting with us, in 1853, it showed a peculiar sensitiveness and distrust. This is seen in the instructions which it gave its delegation. Inasmuch as the General Synod has been criticized for re-admitting it, and the Ministerium has been justified in its withdrawal at York, by these instructions, we here quote the material item. It reads thus: "Should the General Synod violate its constitution and require of our synod or any synod, as a condition of admission or of continuation of membership, assent to anything conflicting with the old and long-established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, then our delegates are hereby required TO PROTEST AGAINST SUCH ACTION, to withdraw from its sessions, and to report to this body."

On the part of some, it plainly is a mistake to suppose that these words formed a contract between the General Synod and the Ministerium. They were altogether *ex parte*. The minutes of 1853, and the reports of the *Lutheran Observer* of that meeting give no hint of them. This is proof enough that they formed no part of the General Synod's action. There even is no evidence that the delegates, when offering their credentials, did so much as read them. Dr. M. Valentine, Dr. J. A. Seiss, Dr. J. G. Butler, Dr. P. Anstadt and Revs. E. Breidenbaugh, C. Lepley and D. Summers seem to be the only surviving visitors at that convention; all the delegates are dead. The first named writes concerning the conditions: "Certainly, no stress was laid on them as forming any new or additional terms in the relations of a district synod. Nevertheless, it was to be conceded that the members of the General Synod probably all know of these instructions as having been adopted by the Ministerium in connection with its resolution to return."

So glad was the mother at the return of the long-estranged daughter that the delegates of the Ministerium did not have to knock at the door for readmittance, but a motion was made,

requesting them to hand in their credentials. They did so and they were received without conditions, or, at least, in spite of any. Hence I advisedly call the presents which they offered "instructions." They were nothing else; by such and no other name were they called by the delegates of the Ministerium at York and at Fort Wayne. They were originally meant rather for its own suspicious members, than for the General Synod. As such they were a perfectly legitimate document. But contract they were not. Hence the latter body, never having recognized this mental reservation, was not bound to be controlled by it. It is needless to say that our civil government would, under no circumstances, receive into the Union a State coming with such a proviso. Such states-rights doctrine once almost destroyed us as a nation. It is but due to say that the Ministerium's representatives afterwards disclaimed all prerogative above other synods, on account of any compact of 1853.

It was my first intention to say almost nothing on this unpleasant subject. But it has necessarily come into my way for some remarks, the purport of which is meant to be that the General Synod has never driven anybody out or encouraged anybody to leave her bosom, but she always has done the contrary. The cool historian cannot approve the action of the Ministerium's representatives at York for driving the wedge of schism into a part of the body of Christ. True, it may be conceded that for the sake of strict order and peace the Franckean Synod should not have been admitted before it had formally accepted the Augsburg Confession; but, on the other hand, its contention that it considered itself as having adopted it with the constitution, and its written assurance that it would complete all the requirements, should have been taken in good faith. The officers could have been empowered to admit it as soon as they had received official notice that these things had been done. Yet, by immediately receiving it, the General Synod did not "require assent to anything conflicting with the old and long established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church;" but, on the contrary, it was careful to re-assert that faith in that very case. Besides, its constitution on this point

then was anything but clear. Its action, consequently, was not revolutionary. It did not ignore law or true doctrine. It was only a question of polity and prudence. Hence, the protest of the minority may have been justified, but not the withdrawal of the delegation of the Ministerium. But that divisive step having once been taken, no respectable parliamentarian would agree that it could have no disturbing effect upon the official relations of the two bodies. The great mistake of the Ministerium's delegation at Fort Wayne was that they demanded as a right what they should have requested as a privilege. Though still wiser counsels might have prevailed, and still more conciliatory methods might have been employed by both sides, nevertheless the General Synod was in a kind mood and offered every inducement short of undignified dotage, to retain her children. Yet they went out feeling, or, at least, trying to feel aggrieved; as though the status which they themselves had voluntarily assumed were a wrong imposed upon them extraneously. But they must bear the onus of this lamentable divorce.

There were giants of controversy in those days. With many good things, they have left us the evil inheritance of a dismembered Church. A new generation is on the scene. Let love prevail. May all be "endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

Others have rent the body of Christ in twain. Let it be our pleasanter mission to bring its divisions together again. The Master's Church should be as seamless as His garment was.

To this blessed end many tokens point inspiringly. The common service, the Lutheran Encyclopedia, the plan of free conferences, and the Luther League, have already had continental influence to bring about a better understanding and feeling. But the best of all is that irenic temperament and conscious unity of mind which forms a precious substratum in all our people. Here and there in every camp exists a small coterie of fire eaters, who froth and snort like war horses at those who cannot pronounce their shibboleth, but the ease with which the members of all types of Lutherans can be housed in the same mission fold on the plains is proof of our substantial

oneness and the consciousness of it. Nothing but a long campaign of intolerance is now to such an extent keeping our people apart. May everything that fomented unholy divisions and antagonisms in the Lutheran Church soon perish from the earth. That all the walls of separation may crumble until no trace of them shall be seen, because their very debris shall be covered out of sight by the vines and fruits of charity, and that like the arms of God, only the eternal hills of the truth as it is in Jesus, may surround our Zion, is the prayer of the General Synod. We who now live shall not with our natural eyes see that day. But like Abraham of old, we may behold it afar by faith and rejoice in it. May our dying eyes see our various synodical planets nearer the central Sun of Righteousness, and hence nearer to each other, than they were when we were born.

CURRENT THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT.

I.

ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

BY REV. M. COOVER, A.M.

The Expository Times for August relates the finding of another valuable Gospel Palimpsest by Margaret D. Gibson. Last March, while visiting the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai, one of four manuscripts examined was discovered to be a Peshita Gospel. Nine years ago while making a catalogue of Arabic books in the convent, Mrs. Gibson discovered that, at some previous period, a catalogue had been made in which numbers 514 and 515 were missing. But on this last visit, in searching for some manuscripts in company with her sister, Mrs. Lewis, she saw a fine vellum strongly bound, which upon examination revealed the lost number 514. The upper writing is in Arabic of the early tenth century in a clear bold hand. But it was a palimpsest throughout its whole 175

leaves, the under writing being Estrangelo-Syriac. The Arabic script is a record of sermons of Jacob, Bishop of Serug, and of martyrology of saints. The first sermon of the bishop is a discourse inveighing against changing or annulling in the least anything which our Lord has said in his holy Gospel. Mrs. Gibson acquits the good bishop of hypocrisy, for it is not probable that he made this record of his own sermon upon vellum secured from an erased Syriac Gospel. But the Arab scribe can scarcely escape censure for effacing a gospel to find space to record a sermon on its value. By using a reagent the Syriac script came out plainly. Mrs. Gibson considers the writing to be not later than the sixth century, and seemingly the oldest Peshita in existence.

Professor J. Rendel Harris by emendation of the text of 1 Peter suggests that it was Enoch who preached to the *spirits in prison*. The Rev. Mr. St. Clair adds to this suggestion the argument that Enoch did not preach to deceased men, but to fallen angels, basing his statements on an exegesis of 2 Peter 2 : 4, 5. In this connection the word *Tartarus* is used, the only instance in the New Testament. Why was the writer not content to use the word *Hades* instead of *Tartarus*? The Rev. Mr. St. Clair thinks *Tartarus* was used because the writer was exact in the selection of his terms, and was speaking of fallen angels and the place of their exile. "Tartarus is not Hades and is not accessible from Hades. Hades is the underworld, but Tartarus is the nether heaven." Commentators regard the spirits in prison to be the souls of men detained in Hades. "Contrary to this, as men dwelt on the face of the earth, their souls after death went to the lower parts of the earth, while angels banished from heaven went to the lower hemisphere of the skies." This region is Tartarus. "Because Hades was the under side of the earth, Orpheus was able to go thither to Eurydice, and Ulysses was able to sail across the zone of water called Oceanus."

Mr. Gladstone also bears testimony on this point when he says that in Homer Aides seems to be the place of consignment for deceased mortals, but Tartarus for condemned immortals.

In the astronomy of the Book of Enoch it is the seven stars that are found guilty and are consigned to punishment in Tartarus. Ancient record speaks of seven stars that erred in their heavenly courses and ceased to be a perfect guide to men. It is the angels of these stars that the Book of Enoch describes as not keeping their first estate. They were the *spirits in prison*. Enoch after his translation to heaven might visit them; but Tartarus was not accessible from Hades." *The Expositor* for August.

After the dispersion of the disciples following the persecution instigated by Saul of Tarsus, Philip, the deacon, journeyed to Samaria and there proclaimed the gospel. When the news of his work reached the ears of the Church at Jerusalem, Peter was one of the two sent down to Samaria to examine into the matter and to confirm the teaching of Philip. The quickened interest now felt in the Second Epistle of Peter is heightened by the suggestive arguments of Professor Falconer that this Epistle is a genuine Epistle of Peter to the churches of Samaria. Spitta and Zahn are of the opinion that the recipients of the epistle were Jewish Christians. Prof. Falconer regards the evidence as strongly against them. He thinks the letter was written by Peter from Antioch about 60 A. D., before his departure to Rome, and sent to the believers in Samaria. His argument by the parallelism of Hebrew Genesis with the Old Testament allusions found in the epistle tells rather against his theory, for it is more probable that Peter was better acquainted with the Septuagint than the Hebrew original. More convincing, however, is the likeness of phraseology in the eschatology of the Epistle to the Parousia and the eschatological discourses found in the Gospel by Mark, which tradition says came by the mouth of Peter to Mark, his amanuensis.

The abominations of soothsayers denounced in the Epistle also accords well with the history of Peter's encounter with Simon Magus, the magician, the Balaam of the Samaritans; also the common tendency among the people to practice and believe in sorcery. The disbelief in the parousia is deemed the effect of the Saducean scorning of the resurrection. If there be no res-

urrection, there can be no parousia. The absence in the Epistle of any developed Gnosticism with its aeons and transmigrations; the lack of chiliastic features in connection with the parousia; and the yet unemphasized apostolate of twelve as urged in the Didache are trenchantly employed to show that the Epistle manifests no second century features of composition. The atmosphere of the Epistle is Hebraic and not Alexandrian.

The Expositor for July, August, and September.

The answer of Jesus to his mother at the wedding in Cana of Galilee has been the cause of no little trouble to expositors. The attempts to prove Jesus' remark perfectly courteous and graceful have scarcely been satisfactory. In the September number of *The Expositor* the Rev. Alfred E. Garvie proffers an explanation of the incident.

Upon the death of Joseph which occurred, according to tradition, in the youth or early manhood of Jesus, the duty of home supervision fell to the lot of Jesus, who was the eldest of the sons. His fidelity to this obligation educated in him a tender regard for home. That which costs us most of sacrifice wins our deepest regard and interest. The home at Nazareth was the school and nursery of the soul of Jesus, and he was in no haste to escape its shelter or its burden. It was through his mother that he learned the dignity of his being, and the disclosure of his prophesied future. To her Jesus owed not only the care of common motherhood, but also the revelation of the purpose and destiny of his future, which served as an avenue to his fuller self-discovery. And yet Jesus seems to depreciate home and home ties in subsequent conduct and teaching. To him who would be a disciple the Master forbids the privilege first to go home and bury his father. Another desirous of becoming a follower is censured for his request to go and bid farewell to his family. Not only are father and mother to be loved less than Jesus, but are even to be hated in comparison with the love necessarily to be felt toward him. The surrender of home and family is one of the prerequisites demanded of his disciples. He seems to assign but little worth to home ties and home influences. But the psychological explanation of this

apparent contradiction is that Jesus' tender affection for home and mother tended to rival his interest in the kingdom of God. It was because he saw the danger lurking in strong home ties that he demanded such severe sacrifices from his disciples. His breaking away from home was an ineffable pain to the heart of Mary. She felt her supreme relation to him, and her human claim. His leaving home was viewed with sorrowful displeasure. The first meeting again after his departure was at Cana where Mary sought to resume her former claim and assert the privilege of her supreme relation to him. The tender ties felt by Jesus rendered the separation keen to him also, but sever the former ties and deny the maternal claim he must to fulfil his exalted mission. His answer to Mary reveals the clear consciousness of this higher claim upon him. Her authority over him could now no longer be recognized or acceded to. Our incapacity to fathom the depths of Jesus' affection unfits us to appreciate his sacrifice in severing the tender attachment to Mary. It was a trial to him that she could not understand the change that must come. She might no longer fill the former place of influence and authority over him.

His performance of the miracle after his refusal to intervene in behalf of the need came as a feature of independent action to signalize his fitness to assume allegiance to a higher claim and duty. The cutting rebuke to Peter, "Get thee behind me, Satan," burst into exclamation because the word of Peter touched a cord of susceptibility in the heart of Jesus. It was because Jesus loved his mother so deeply that he felt the danger of her interference in his work. His dearest relationship brought his most dangerous temptation. No more might Mary claim the monopoly of his affection. As Jesus must transcend Jewish nationality, so must he transcend family relationship. Mariolatry has here its first rebuke.

In the same number of *The Expositor* the Rev. Mr. Oesterley treats of *The Development of Monotheism in Israel*. the effort in all departments of knowledge is to make both history and theory square with evolution. Religion too must make its obeisance to this law and by it prove its consistency. Mono-

theism in Israel to be historically consistent must be a development. When and by whom was Monotheism, in the strict sense of the word, held? There must have been some one man who was first to believe that there was one God to the exclusion of all others. Adam? But there would be no evolution if the idea existed in the beginning. Besides Adam is not to be regarded as the proper name of any individual. It is a generic term. Abraham? The Old Testament picture of Abraham is not sufficiently definite to permit the theory that with him originated the conception of monotheism. The God depicted in Genesis is not one besides whom there is none other. Moses? So far as it can be determined by evidence scientifically sifted, Moses, while a great leader and legislator, furnishes no adequate proof of clear monotheistic ideas, although through him the evolutionary process reached an advanced stage toward pure monotheism.

Among the early Nebiim was Elijah through whom there is a further development of the ethical conception of God. However his rebuke of Ahab in relation to Naboth shows but a slight advance upon Nathan's denunciation of David's conduct toward Uriah and Bathsheba. And in respect of monotheism Elijah's conception of God does not transcend national limitations. On Carmel the prophet pleads, "O Lord hear me, that this people may know that Thou, Lord, art God." But the addition is lacking, *and that there is none other beside Thee*. Baalzebub, the god of Ekron, is a god too. So we pass by the Nebiim. It is with the literary prophets that we find national and ethical conceptions expressive of distinct monotheism. The first prophets to write their message give the first clear tones of the sole personality of Jahwe as God. Amos is the first prophet to conceive God loftily. With him Jahwe transcends all national limitations. There is no question, "Who is like Jahwe among the gods?" Tutelary deities among nations sink into idols. It is Jahwe who brought not only Israel out of Egypt, but also the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Syrians from Kir. Jahwe is the God of history, and the God of nature. He is omnipotent and omnipresent. Between Amos and the

early Nebiim there is a great gulf. Elijah was a henotheist, but Amos is a pure monotheist. With Amos there is no rival god, and no syncretism of worship can be tolerated. There is positive denial of any sharing of the sovereignty of Jahwe. To Elijah Jahwe is indeed the greatest God among gods, but for Amos beside Jahwe there is none other. There is an advance not only in degree, but in kind. Jahwe is not only the mighty God, but also the exclusively everywhere God, and distinctively the holy God.

But how is it that Amos came to occupy this position? In answering this, the Rev. Mr. Oesterley in his maintenance of evolutionary development unconsciously breaks with true evolutionary science. He concedes that in man's growing capacity for apprehension he at certain times reaches a stage where the ordinary course of Revelation is suspended and an extraordinary step is taken. He admits that there are abnormal circumstances in which new conceptions are originated. "A time must come at last when inspiration, in the most literal sense of the word, namely, the Spirit of God overpowering the moral and intellectual being of man and infusing into his soul a knowledge which until then was superhuman—a time must come at last when inspiration intervenes and gives the last, but decisive, touch. This is the part which transcends human comprehension: the miraculous; the time when the Divine Spirit imparts a new and undreamed-of knowledge to man, a knowledge of the supremest kind, namely that which concerns the essence of the personality of God. Such knowledge, from the very nature of the case, cannot come but through the direct intervention of God himself."

This is good theology, but poor evolutionary science. Evolution knows of no supernatural revelation. But if the action is and must be supernatural whereby God makes himself distinctively known, why might not this *touch* on human susceptibility come first as well as last? Spontaneous generation of life from inorganic matter is now impossible, but Professor LeConte says there may once have been a physical or chemical condition of matter when spontaneous generation was possible.

If for the consistency of consecutive evolution such an hypothesis be admitted by scientists, is it irrational or unevolutionary to think that a potency of mind as well as matter once existed when there was susceptibility to advanced spiritual conceptions as well as to spontaneity of life from transiently adapted matter? That evanescent potency of matter is what the Revelationists call the supernatural element, or factor, and this extraordinary potency may be adapted to mind as well as to matter. Evolution is a true method of action in the conduct of nature, but physical potency is not the sole factor.

In *The Biblical World* for September Dr. Theodore F. Wright gives an account of the archeological findings secured from Tell Sandahannah, a mound about twenty-three miles southwest of Jerusalem. The *tell* probably marks the site of a shrine or temple dedicated to Anna, the mother of Mary, or Anna, the prophetess. Among the discoveries were some lead figurines from two to three inches high. They were made of strips of lead with their limbs bound in a variety of ways. Dr. Bliss supposed that the figures in their bonds represented captives.

But M. Clermont-Ganneau gives a better explanation. The little figures in their writhing attitudes represent men and women undergoing tortures.

They were made of lead so as to be readily reducible when cast into the fire. These figurines are emblems of sorcery. The treatment accorded to a figurine is the treatment desired for some enemy or victim of dislike. It was believed that the binding of limbs, torture of body, and representatively writhing sufferings, inflicted upon the image in the name of a victim would secure like effects upon the person inveighed against. The sorcerer put persons under his spell through these representative figurines. The symbolical acts of the doer of sorcery prognosticated like effects upon the human victim. In the practice of *Salem Witchcraft* puppets were used by witches, and were searched for in the homes of the suspicioned witches, and if discovered were sure evidence against them. Punches,

pierces, or blows inflicted on the puppet, or the physical condition represented by its treatment, denoted the happenings to the suffering individual who was the object of witchery. In Middleton's play, *The Witch*, composed about 1600 A. D., it is thus described:

Neccat. Is the heart of wax stuck full of magique needles?

Stadlin. 'Tis done, Neccat.

Neccat. And is the farmer's pictures and his wives layd downe to the fire yet?

Stadlin. They are roasting both too.

Neccat. Good. Then their marrowes are a melting subtilly, and three monthes sickness sucks up life.

The impracticable otherworldiness of religion is a charge often made against the Christian Church in our stirring age. When and how did it come about that men were taught to disregard the present and to exercise their outreach exclusively after a good that lies in the unseen beyond? The Hebrew dispensation knew nothing of otherworldiness. Man's happiness consisted in his right relation to God and his fellowman, and in his abundance of corn and wine. He was neither sure of personal immortality, nor solicitous of the hereafter. His promised reward for obedience was that his days should be long in the land which the Lord his God gave him. For him the time-process was all-important. His prayer was for the immortality of his race. This world was the arena of all-important action and achievement. The Golden age to be was no chimerical heaven, but a world-age of energy, joy and happiness.

But now genuine worth is defined in terms of the future life, of indecisive circumstantial verities surrounding the being and nature of an unchangeably perfect God in a spiritual heaven. No rational meaning seems assignable to the life of man lived under the form of time-movement in a world of becoming. What shall be formulated as the meaning of life? Has the time-process no significance? Is the outreach for a great future good to take account seriously of but the *summum bonum* and regard the process a troublous dream that lies between? What if the *summum bonum* consist not in perfection, but in becom-

ing! Are we to think the future good a state of complete fullness, a cessation of all volitional forthreach, a static, imperturbable calm? Then we are disciples of Gotama Buddha. For Buddhism that the world exists under the form of time has no meaning, except that it is a series of aeons revolving repeated experiences of misery in an endless reiteration. When the Wheels of the Law are worn out new Buddhas will arise, not with new attributes or new doctrines, but to continue the identical course of world iterations. The only peace is to be found in the end when Nirvana, eternal stillness is reached. All that lies between birth and Nirvana is illusive dreaming, and Nirvana itself seems to be but endless inanity. There is no cumulative good; the world differs neither for the better nor the worse because of the ages that have gone before. The world-process is but futility and exhaustlessly wearying repetitiousness. This is an endless becoming without progress, a barren iteration of existences. And this endless becoming philosophically considered is fraught with mere illusion, and the *terminus ad quem* an indefinable barren emptiness of being.

What is the nature of the good? What are the attributes of the supreme reality? The answer of Christian theology is made in terms of Platonism. When the Christian religion changed from its Semitic environment and came into contact with Greek forms of thought it took on the Platonic conception of God and the nature of the good.

Then otherworldliness had its birth. The God of Plato is the absolute Perfection, free from all change, movement, and passibility, of absolute self-sufficiency and independence of external relations, completely alien to all temporal becoming. And God is the good. The *ens* and the *bonum* are one. The Socratic element enters and intensifies the definition of the good as complete self-sufficiency, a non-impressionable *bonum* from which all desire is absent, and all forthreach of the will eliminated. This carried up into the absolute expresses the nature of God. God is independent of all external relations to other entities, free from all change and becoming, immutable, impassible, the perfect static good. This is the "perfect-

tionist theory of worth" which dominates theology and ethics, the one criterion of value which applies alike to the character of man as well as the being of God. The good man is the man self-contained, of uniform temper, uninfluenced by time, independent of changeful desire.

The God of Aristotle is the expression of this presupposition in the finesse of completeness. God is pure form void of determinate content, desiring nothing, doing nothing but eternally contemplating his self-sufficiency, utterly indifferent to this world of imperfect entelechies. This is the classical theory of worth. The time-process has no meaning in such a theodicy, and no worth for man. Christian theology has not been able to free itself from this philosophic view of God, and this supramundane conception of worth. *Weltflucht* has been the result; otherworldliness is man's proper pre-occupation. What if in the game of existence not only the goal is significant, but as well the playing of the game? If God be absolutely supratemporal, suprapersonal, suprapassible, supraeverything, and man's chief end to glorify him and enjoy him forever in an endless "tea-table elysium," then the world process is useless, and becoming is a meaningless superfluous dream. The time has come when

"Man's face finds no more play or action
But joy, that is crystalized forever,
Or grief, an eternal petrification."

But there is a new *Weltanschauung* which gives another evaluation to life under its form of temporal becoming. "Not the general and the abstract, but the concrete and particularized, constitutes the essence of those ideas of worth and of being that are becoming dominant. And this new appraisal of experience, this valuation of life for life's sake, necessarily means that the good lies not in perfection, but in process; not in absoluteness, but in wealth of forthreaching relations; not in self sufficiency, but in the play of the soul's life that can come only through the give-and-take of social fellowship and struggle and passion; not finally, in changelessness, but in

activity, the strenuous vigor of the will as it presses forward into the future."

This is not the doctrine of evolutionary science according to its present teachers. The world-process in evolutionary teaching has its circles of being, its world-dissolutions and recurrent formations. To escape this the only recourse is to take short views, and to rest in the vaticinations of the new prophet Spencer with his prophesied attainable perfection in the world-progress, and forget the infinity of time and its recurrent world-cycles. Evolution like Gotama's doctrine gives no final word of teleology. Purpose, there is none; and the *ens realissimum* is an evanescent stage. Both God and man must have some significant relation to the time-process of the world. There must be a *summum bonum* which does not exclude a valuation of the time-movement. The meaning of life cannot be defined in terms of formlessness nor of goalless endeavor. The new doctrine seemingly must be a *Vermittlungstheologie*, not a Platonic theology, nor a teaching which is an ethical or religious antinomianism, resulting in an immoral or unmoral view of things. The game of life exists not merely for the sake of the rules, and human activity not merely for the worth of the ends attained. There is value in the process. The new theodicy must formulate some existing relation between God and the time-movement, and man's temporal experience and development. The *terminus ad quem* of existence cannot be a closed circuit of spiritual life, not a cessation of action in a "tea-table elysium." "What's come to perfection perishes."

Religion and the Time Process, by Professor Arthur O. Lovejoy. *The American Journal of Theology* for July.

II.

GERMAN.

BY REV. S. GRING HEFELBOWER, A.M.

Though the interest in Harnack's *What is Christianity?* has abated, it is still one of the chief topics of discussion in German

theological circles. The only developments in public opinion that we have been able to notice are, (a) a growing tendency to regard the book more as a personal confession of faith, as an answer to the question, What is my Christianity? Even Rolffs in his pamphlet advances this view. And (b) the recognition on the part of Harnack and his theological friends that his declaration that not the Son but the Father forms the content of the gospel, is his most vulnerable point. He tries to get out of the difficulty by saying that he did not mean it thus; which his opponents interpret as an easy way of backing down from a position that he has found to be untenable. His defenders resort to all sorts of devices to excuse their master. Haupt (Halle) said, in conversation with students in his own home, that Harnack would say by this that Christ stands above the gospel, which is not even hinted at in the book, and if it were expressed there, what would it mean? Rolffs would make the passage in question a strong expression for Harnack's claim that we cannot get a christology from the synoptics, which would never occur to the reader, and is certainly read into the text. In fact all the attempts that we have seen to cover up this weakness serve only to emphasize it.

The flood of literature that it has called forth still continues to appear. Here belongs Seeberg's (Berlin) lectures, "before the students of all the faculties," on *Die Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion*, which were almost as well attended as Harnack's lectures, and have been published in book form. Though they are wholly constructive and not at all polemical, the pamphlet is generally regarded as a positive supplement to the many critical pamphlets and articles that have appeared.

And, judging from the oft expressed desire for such a book and its rapid sale as soon as it appeared, it met a widely felt need of the times.

Rolffs, pastor in Stade, discusses Harnack's *Wesen des Christenthums und die religiösen Stroemungen der Gegenwart* (and the religious currents of the present) in a pamphlet, which is a reprint of a series of articles that appeared in the *Christliche Welt* of last year, numbers 40, 41, 45 and 46. Harnack's lectures are made to appear as the most successful attempt up to

date to bring Christianity to the man of culture of to-day, to the modern man, which nineteenth century orthodoxy has failed to do. And, though he recognizes certain weaknesses in the book, he regards its critics as all wrong, because they are representatives of a type of Christianity that cannot serve the present day. His idea seems to be to reduce Christianity to the calibre of man's thought, rather than to elevate man to a true and full conception of Christianity.

Even Loofs, of Halle, a conservative Ritschlianist, yet a great admirer of Harnack as a student, does not hesitate to criticize the book. He said, in conversation with some students: "He (Harnack) never got those results from an objective investigation of history, he brought them to it."

Perhaps the best reply to Harnack that has been written appeared in the first four numbers for this year of *Das Reich Christi*, the chief organ of the Gemeinschaftsbewegung. It is from the pen of Johannes Lepsius, son of the great orientalist, who is at present secretary of the Oriental Missionary Society. Such men as Kaehler and Warneck regard it as the best critical answer to *What is Christianity?* that has been made. The other replies busy themselves too much with details and not enough with the great fundamental principles that are at stake. In fact one could accept almost all the criticisms that are found in such a book as that of Walther of Rostock, and yet hold to the chief elements of Harnack's conception of Christianity. Lepsius devotes his attention exclusively to the fundamentals of Harnack's idea of Christianity and to his method, and discovers and criticizes his weakness with the skill and power of a master. Harnack himself acknowledges that it is the strongest answer that has appeared and if we can rely on a very directly received report, says that Lepsius understood him. If this is true, and we have every reason for believing it, it means that Harnack's Christianity is as Lepsius shows it to be, not the Christianity with an atoning Saviour, not the Christianity of Paul and Luther.

The following is a summary of the literature that Harnack's book has called forth. From German Evangelical circles: 11 books, 57 articles in theological journals and church papers and

14 articles in the daily press. In addition to this, 16 answers have appeared from Catholic sources and one from a Jewish Rabbi. The book has also been treated in more than 22 articles and pamphlets in other languages and has been translated into English, Danish and Swedish, and is being translated into French, Italian and Russian.

The theological storm occasioned by the publication of Delitzsch's *Babel and Bibel* (see last number) has abated somewhat, yet during the summer months quite a number of articles and tracts appeared that were called forth by it. The debate has not been one-sided by any means. Delitzsch found ardent supporters as well as severe critics. Koenig's reply (see last number) was replied to by Winckler, whose criticism was in turn attacked by Volk. Delitzsch's supporters come from among the Old Testament students as well as from the Assyriologists, and there are surprisingly many who agree with him. However, the current of public opinion seems to be going strongly against him. Of course, it is impossible to forecast the results of the present controversy, yet one thing is clear, the educated, reading public are better acquainted than before with the results of recent oriental discoveries and investigation, and their relation to biblical accounts, and the weight of argument is on the side of a more conservative view of the Bible.

Bernhard Weiss, the venerable senior professor in the theological faculty of Berlin, has just published the fourth edition of his well known *Leben Jesu*. Though this is a thoroughly revised work, it contains no radical changes from the former edition and maintains the same relatively good standard of conservatism. Inasmuch as Prof. Weiss is probably the greatest living student of the Life of Christ and one of the masters in all New Testament work, this fourth, and in all probability, this last edition of his *Life of Christ* has an importance that attaches to few books. It is the last word of a great theologian on the many difficult problems that center in the life of Christ.

On the question of miracles Weiss is an outspoken supernaturalist, and is very pronounced in his opposition to the

rationalistic views of the day. He emphasizes, more sharply than before, the miraculous in the appearance of Christ, the only event of its kind in all history. Concerning the great problem of the development of the messianic consciousness in Christ, Weiss is content to affirm that when Jesus came to his baptism he was already clear as to his calling as Israel's promised Messiah. His attitude to the sources, which such a book presupposes, is quite liberal, when compared with the traditional standpoint, but must be considered fairly conservative, when compared with that of many New Testament students of to-day. He believes that the original material suffered a partial transformation, which was due to the distance in time from the events described, the doctrinal purpose of the writers, the desire to show the fulfillment of prophecy, etc. The Johannine addresses of Christ are almost all reduced to the synoptic level. In plain opposition to Oscar Holtzmann, he says: "There can be nothing more uncritical than to make the account of Mark alone the basis for the presentation of a Life of Jesus, as if it narrated according to historical sequence." Lic. Hoennicke, of Berlin, says of the work: "Judged from his standpoint, Weiss succeeded admirably in throwing light on the course of the life of Jesus in its chief characteristics. And in doing this he attempts to prove that a picture of the development of the life of Jesus cannot be got from the first three gospels alone."

Pastor Rohnert, of the Free Lutheran Church of Prussia, a small body that separated from the Union, has published a "dogmatics," which is intended to represent the truly conservative Lutheran theology as distinguished from the prevailing liberal theology of the present. The appearance of the book was looked forward to as an event in the circles of the ultra-conservative clergy, for which it was intended, and important results were expected from it. But so far as we have been able to learn from reviews in theological journals and conversations with conservative pastors and professors, who are not in the Free Church, the book has been universally condemned as being

incapable of serving as an effective counter-influence to the liberal theology of to day. For Rohnert the dogmatics of the Lutheran Church is the dogmatics of the seventeenth century. He knows the conservative Lutheran dogmaticians of the last century, but as a rule, their work is condemned and rejected, just the same as that of the liberals.

E. Cremer, son of Prof. Cremer of Grifswald, and universally recognized as occupying the conservative standpoint of his father, reviewed the work in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (Luthardt's journal of theol. literature) No.27 of this year, from which we take the following criticisms. "Rohnert sees salvation (from the liberal theology of to-day) in the unconditioned renewal of the standpoint of the past, and engages in polemics against every attempt to solve the dogmatic problems in any other way, especially, for example, against Frank. However, this does not hinder him, in the doctrine of regeneration, from taking up the New-Lutheran thought of the implanting of a life-germ, and thereby he takes his stand on Frank's side in an important point. Consequently there is here a development of the standpoint of the old Lutheran dogmaticians, as also in the doctrine of confirmation, in which there should result a real impartation of the Spirit, of course not an impartation of the Spirit of regeneration, but for the strengthening and establishing of faith and for the equipment for the *militia Christi*, for which the Church is given power as administrator of the gifts of God. Finally, this development is seen also in the doctrine of the office of the ministry, in that, according to Rohnert, a church first comes through the presence of the bearer of the office, that is, the Church is only there where the office of the ministry is, but not there where two or three are gathered together in the name of Christ, where Christ really sees it. Consequently all these developments lie in the direction of Catholicism. The doctrine of regeneration as the implantation of a life-germ contains the Catholic thought of *gratia infusa*, and the doctrine of the ministry involves a Catholic conception of the ministry and the Church, as also does his view of confirmation. Consequently the development is really a retrogression."

Cremer then adds that we can well ask how far we dare regard this standpoint as Lutheran. Rohnert does not present the Lutheran system from the central and fundamental doctrine of justification by faith. "In this it would have been impossible merely to renew the standpoint of the past. He would have to assume a critical attitude in many things, for it would have been apparent that the old Dogmatic does not correspond to the gospel of Luther in everything; we mention especially the doctrine of the way of salvation with its six stages, and the doctrine of regeneration and its place before justification. * * *

It must be acknowledged that many problems await a decision, *e. g.*, in christology, since even we consider the solution of modern kenosis less satisfactory than the deductions of the old dogmatists, but the name of Luther should be the symbol of dogmatic progress, and not merely of an exclusively reactionary conservatism."

"And now the proof of this position: Rohnert begins with the doctrine of inspiration. * * * He demands a return to the doctrine of verbal inspiration. The Holy Scriptures are free from every error, their infallibility embraces not only that which pertains to the history of the plan of salvation but also that which is incidental. * * * Since it is God's Word it must be wholly free from error (p. 73). The proof lies in the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti*. But wherein this consists, * * * concerning this important problem we do not hear a word. Of course it is easier to condemn the weakness of Frank's conception than to apply to the problem, as to the basis of Christian certainty, an intellectual effort that even remotely resembles his. But a work which avoids this question does honor neither to the name of an evangelical nor of a Lutheran dogmatist." "He who is convinced that not only the past belongs to the Lutheran confession should protest against a Lutheran traditionalism that sees all salvation in the standpoint of the past, that knows no forwards but only a backwards, that sees in the standpoint of the seventeenth century the conclusion of all wisdom that has been given to the Church."

For a long time the fact has been recognized by the students

of History of Doctrine, that our knowledge of Scholastic theology is too limited to enable us to answer many of the questions that arise concerning the relation of Luther and the theology of the Reformation to the theology of the preceding age. In the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* of the Summer of 1900, Lic. Stange, of Halle, called attention to Gregory of Remini and his influence on Luther, giving a number of passages from or related to the Leipzig Disputation, in which this theologian was mentioned. In a second article on this subject in the same journal of September of this year, he again calls attention to the high place of honor that Luther gave this theologian, and notes several additional passages in which he is mentioned.

Stange in closing sums up matters as follows: "Accordingly we can say, that it is clear from the occasional references in Luther's works, that he prized the theology of Gregory of Remini above that of all other Scholastics, because it appeared to him to agree with the theology of Augustine, in fact, it seemed to him to stand in agreement with the theology of Holy Scripture, especially with that of Paul. In addition there is at least one passage in Luther, in which he compares the school of Gregory with the school of Occam, and characterizes both as the most remarkable schools of Nominalism. And finally it can be shown that Luther's belonging to Gregory's school was an important element for establishing his own attitude to the theology of the middle ages."

Whether Luther was led to Augustine by the writings of Gregory, or merely strengthened in opinions already formed, cannot be determined, because of our limited knowledge of Scholastic theology. (Koestlin in his last edition of his *Theology of Luther* is inclined to think that Gregory was not the one who first introduced Luther to Augustine). For, in the first place, we know very little of the theology of Gregory of Remini. Consequently a judgment as to the dependence of Luther on him is scarcely possible. And secondly, we know even less concerning the history of his school. Consequently we can scarcely make a definite statement as to the place his

theology had in the order of Saint Augustine in Luther's time."

Though Scholastic theology is to a great extent as yet an unknown realm, we have good reason for expecting considerable advancement in our knowledge of it from the work of the present generation of investigators. The systematic and co-operative work by and under the direction of such men as Seeberg, of Berlin, Bonwetsch, of Goettingen, Kolde, of Erlangen, Stange, of Halle, *et al.*, promises important results within the near future. Seeberg's large book on Duns Scotus is one of most important contributions that have been made to theological lore from this field.

The instruction in Practical Theology in German universities is, for the most part, in the hands of conservative men. Liberal and Ritschlian schools have produced many great men of science, perhaps relatively more than conservative theology, but the great preachers and leaders in the many benevolent enterprises are and have been almost all from the ranks of the conservatives. In fact, until recently all the leading practical operations of the Church were under the leadership of conservative men. However, things are changing, and now not only Ritschlianists, but even men of outspoken liberal tendencies, are teaching Practical Theology and beginning the publication of journals for the practical church life. There is a reason for this. We are not by any means prepared to recognize this present practical turn of negative theology as proof that the rationalism of to-day is more favorable to the piety that moves to benevolent acts than the rationalism of a former generation; however, among the conservative Ritschlianists it is a sign of a healthy spiritual life. The great benevolent operations of the Church, and in fact all of the various activities that make up the practical side of church life live and move in an atmosphere of that conservatism, of that nineteenth century orthodox pietism which followed the awakening at the beginning of the last century. This has been one of the strongest if not the strongest anchor of conservative theology. Many

young men leave the universities with liberal, or liberal Ritschlian, or even with conservative Ritschlian, ideas, and the living conservatism of practical church life steals them away from their pet theories before they are aware.

Probably the chief influence that makes young pastors more conservative in their thinking is that of the pastoral relation. As we heard from a German pastor: "You cannot comfort the dying with Harnack's notions of Christianity." This power that works for orthodoxy cannot be set aside by any device that may be gotten up. The people have been fed on the Gospel as Paul and Luther conceived of it, and nothing else will comfort in life's extremities. Probably next in importance as an influence in the interests of conservatism is Luther's Catechism and the religious instruction of the children in general, the books of bible history, bible stories and the like. These can be revised, and, as a matter of fact, there have been published revised catechisms and bible histories that are thoroughly up-to-date, containing all the popular theological hypotheses of the present day. Abraham is a mythical character, perhaps a god originally; Christ was not born of a virgin, did not rise from the dead, etc. And the chief church festivals, Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost, with all their hallowed associations, dear to every believing heart, are also a stumbling block for liberal theology. Custom, and in many places law as well, demands that their respective themes be preached about. The people, with few exceptions, can understand only one message at such times, and before the preacher knows it he is preaching and beginning to believe that which feeds his hungry flock. If liberal theology is to win it must provide some way for overcoming this.

One of the most recent attempts to counteract these influences, that operate for conservatism, was by Baumgarten, of Kiel, who, with the assistance of several other men of like mind, began last year the publication of *Monatsschrift fuer die kirchliche Praxis*, which was reviewed in its chief features, from the conservative standpoint, in Nos. 25 and 26 of the *Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung* of this year. Baumgar-

ten said in his journal: "We can understand and appreciate what uneasiness the ever-stronger protrusion of modern theology into the field of religious instruction causes for the conservatives," and the reviewer does not consider his statement overdrawn, and adds: "The times are past when those of the other party were content with the purely scientific work and the pleasure they found in its brilliant results, but left the practical side to the conservatives. * * * They know themselves in possession of the true Christianity, which dare not longer be withheld, even from the congregation, and the youth's Christianity that is no longer burdened with the intolerable weight of strange traditions, and sighs under the ban of the past, but takes up into itself the full, fresh, pulsing life of the present, and meets the generation of our day in its deepest feelings as well as in its unshaken presuppositions and opinions." People have hesitated too long in their reverence for the old, untenable traditions. Away with everything that is out of harmony with the dicta of the most advanced theology.

In full accord with this spirit, one of Baumgarten's co-workers attempted to produce a Gospel without miracles. He reduced such events as the resurrection and the sending of the Spirit at Pentecost to mere inner experiences of the Apostles, to which no external events corresponded, and hereby claims to give them a deeper and more useful meaning. However, the Gospel without miracles called forth considerable opposition on the part of his friends; even Baumgarten wrote a quasi-dissension.

Baumgarten has published in his journal several model sermons to show how men, trained in this new theology, should preach on the chief church festivals. For a Christmas sermon he chose a Christmas gospel, but he made it serve the theme, "The World of Christmas Fairy Tales." He does not touch the Christmas message in the sermon, in fact, "he does not come to speak of the text with a single word; he has something decidedly more important to do; he leads his wondering congregation out of the heavenly glory of the holy night into the dreary mystic gloom of heathen mythology, and revels in

brilliant apostrophies in the weird tales of heroes and wights." In like manner he treats Easter, Ascension Day and Pentecost. It is the old *Rationalismus Vulgaris*, with the added elements of religious coarseness that masquerade under the deceiving name of "modern culture." The utter foolishness of such positions are their surest antidote. Yet they will probably form the rallying point for many negative minds, but it is not at all likely that they will strengthen the cause of the liberal theology.

ARTICLE IX.

REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its language, literature and contents, including the biblical theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. With the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., D.D., etc., etc. Vol. IV. Pleroma-Zuzim.

Volumes I, II and III of this magnificent work have been already noticed in this QUARTERLY. Every word of commendation bestowed on those volumes is due also to this one, for the expectation raised by the first volume, and sustained by the second and third, culminates in the fourth. We have now the most learned, comprehensive and satisfactory Bible dictionary to be found in any language—a superb work, worthy of a place in every theological library in the world.

Almost every subject embraced in, or connected with, the Bible is treated in this work by men "chosen because they were believed to be able to give the best account of the subjects entrusted to them." To say that they have done their work well is to bestow faint praise. To say that they have done it in a way that will please everybody, is to offer a worse than doubtful compliment. To say that they have done it carefully, conscientiously and reverently, is to say what every page declares. The great old Book has not lost its hold on men, and this *Dictionary* is proof that it can command more and higher scholarship than can be commanded by any other book or any other one subject in the world. As from age to age new light flashes from its pages men view it differently, but not less reverently, for in it and through it they perceive that God speaks the word of life and salvation.

This fourth volume contains many subjects of importance. We have room to notice only a few such.

1. "Prayer" is treated through nearly fourteen columns by E. R. Bernard, Chancellor and Councilor of Salisbury Cathedral. Almost every possible phase of the subject is discussed. Special attention may be called to what the author says about Christ's example in regard to prayer, and to the conditions of prayer. Especially is faith emphasized. A prayer that is an experiment will not be answered.

2. "Predestination" proceeds from the pen of Dr. B. B. Warfield, of Princeton, and covers more than thirty-two columns. As might be expected, the distinguished American defender of the most rigid predestinarianism is here at his best. The article is one of great ability, and this we say most cheerfully, notwithstanding the fact that we find ourself at variance with it from beginning to end. The absolute sovereignty of election, the utter rejection of "the foreseen performances of the creature," "the *particularity* of the Divine election," "the corresponding *doctrine of predestination*," are brought into full and high relief. In other words, we have here the *Praedestinatio gemina*, and the *Praedestinatio absoluta* stated with a fervor of conviction that recalls the heroic days of the old Calvinism. The article furnishes a good illustration of the Kantian principle that the mind impresses its own forms on the objects of its thoughts. Had not Dr. Warfield been engaged in a great contention for the last several years, the categories of biblical predestination might not have appeared to him quite so numerous and so large. We commend the article to all who wish to examine the subject from the standpoint of one of the staunchest and ablest advocates of high Calvinism.

3. "Salvation, Saviour," written by Dr. W. Adams Brown, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York, fills thirty-three columns. If this article be a fair representation of the theology in the Union Seminary, then orthodoxy has nothing to fear from that venerable school of the prophets. We pronounce it sound through and through. "The conception of salvation as deliverance from sin, the emphasis upon the mediation of Jesus, and especially upon the significance of his death" is the "teaching that St. Paul shares with the rest of the New Testament." "With the mention of faith we touch the heart of St. Paul's doctrine of Salvation. We are saved by faith. And faith, to St. Paul, means more than belief. It is more than trust. It is an act of will by which the believer so lays hold upon Christ that he actually becomes partaker of his risen and triumphant life." The author evinces acquaintance with the best recent literature of Biblical Theology.

4. "Samuel I and II" is given by J. F. Stenning, of Wadham College, Oxford, and occupies seventeen columns. The standpoint is that of the Higher Criticism. "The author, after the manner of Hebrew historians, has made use of previously existing documents, which, though covering the same ground, yet present the materials at their disposal in very different forms." The writer regards the history as

made up of two independent narratives, which are put together by a Deuteronomic editor. By the time the author has concluded his anatomy there is not much life left in Samuel I and II.

5. "Septuagint," covering thirty-three columns, comes from the hand of Dr. Eberhard Nestle, Professor at Maulbronn, who now ranks second to no one living as a textual critic. Besides imparting an immense amount of information in regard to this the oldest version of the Hebrew Scriptures, this article will serve as a guide to all that can be learned about "the Bible of the early Church." The Syriac versions are treated by the same hand, and with equal thoroughness.

We might speak at length of "Tabernacle," filling twenty-nine columns, written by A. R. S. Kennedy, D.Sc., of Callander, of "Tarsus" by Ramsay; of "Temple," forty-two columns, by F. W. Davis; of "Text of the Old Testament, and Text of the New Testament" by Nestle; of "Versions, English," by Milligan; of "Vulgate," thirty-seven columns, by H. J. White; of "Writing," by F. G. Kenyon; and of other articles too numerous to mention, all by learned authors "who have done their work in such a way as to vindicate their choice."

We say in a few words that every department of theology will be benefitted by this superb and monumental work, which brings the latest results of scientific study, and points out the way for future investigation and discovery. Far from endorsing it in every particular we commend it to all ministers and Bible students. The four volumes contain 3,624 pages of two columns each. Making no allowance for illustrations, which as a rule are more instructive than descriptions in words occupying the same amount of space, the work contains about 5,073,600 words, or, counting 100,000 words to a volume, we have here for \$24.00 a library of fifty volumes of the ordinary size. The work, therefore, considering the character of its contents, is remarkably cheap. We rejoice to hear that "an extra volume is in preparation, to contain indexes and certain subsidiary articles of importance."

It has been said that the Hastings *Dictionary* will not supplant Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, and Kitto's *Biblical Encyclopedia*, but in our judgment it has already supplanted both, at least in the sense that it exhibits the present state of biblical science, while very much contained in the other works named is quite behind the times. The true scholar wants and will have the latest treatment of a subject, and will adopt the latest conclusions when they commend themselves to his judgment and reason. Only the dilettante and the pedant will repudiate the new because it is the new. The scholar will prove the old by the new, and will hold fast that which is good. Much in biblical science, as in the science of chemistry, has been fixed forever. But biblical science, just like chemical science, is not *static* but *dynamic*. The Bible has in it living forces that must yield new phases of eternal truths, which must be adjusted to other truths, and adapted to changed conditions. The Hastings *Dictionary* like every other so-called "stand-

ard" work in theology, will give way to something newer and better, and so on to the end of time. But let us have the *best*; for the *good* is the enemy of the *best*. Hastings is the best to-day. If the ministry is to keep abreast with the times it must know the latest phase of theological error, as well as the latest phase of ascertained theological truth. Current error must be met by the clear presentation of ascertained truth.

J. W. RICHARD.

MACMILLAN CO., NEW YORK.

The World and the Individual. Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen. Second series. Nature, Man, and the Moral Order. By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., LL.D. (Aberdeen), Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University.

These lectures appear to exhibit the final outcome of the philosophical and ethical studies of this distinguished Harvard professor. In his earlier writings, as for example, *The Religious Aspects of Philosophy*, he was largely critical and acutely effective for overthrow of unsatisfactory views. His success won him just distinction. In this volume, while showing still the critical aptitude, he has passed into distinctively constructive effort, the elaboration of a philosophy of Being. He has here built his theory of the universe, to supply the place of ideas or explanations which he conceives untenable in our day.

Prof. Royce's conception of the universe is monistic, or pantheistic. The dualism of matter and mind is distinctly repudiated. In an absolute sense there is only One Being. All individuals are but parts or forms of the One. The One is at once the Whole and the individuated existence. The philosophy of the view is idealistic. The Absolute is represented in terms of Life, Meaning, Purpose or Will. "The true world, the world of Appreciation and Values, as rightly viewed by an absolute insight, would be a world of Selves, forming in the unity of their systems One Self." "The vast contrast which we have been taught to make between material and conscious processes really depends merely upon the accidents of the human point of view." "We have no right to speak of unconscious Nature, but only of incommunicative Nature, or of Nature whose mental processes go on at such different time-rates from ours that we cannot adjust ourselves to a live appreciation of their inward fluency." "Evolution, we should say, is due to the constant inter-communication of a vast number of relatively separate regions of this world of conscious life." "Personal individuality" is explained as "an essentially ethical category." "A new person exists whenever, within a conscious process of a given time-span, inter-communication with the rest of Nature results in the appearance of processes significant enough to express themselves in new ideas, and in a new unification of experience in terms of these ideals." "Thus men appear in Nature." "The evolution of man is the appearance of a type of individuality." "Every natural

process, if rightly viewed from within," is interpreted as "the pursuit of an ideal." There is "no dead Nature at all—nothing really inorganic or unconscious—only life, striving, onflow, ideality, significance, rationality. Only for us Nature appears to be growing from death to life as the processes grow more like our own, and so more intelligible." As to lower life-organizations, the author explains: "Our hypothesis supposes that, in case of the animals, we may well be dealing not with beings who are rational in our time-span, nor yet with beings who are irrational. The rational being with whom you deal when you observe an animal's dimmer hints of rationality, may be phenomenally represented rather by the race as a whole than by any one individual. In that case, this individual animal is no rational person, but he may well be, so to speak, a temporally brief section of a person, whose time-span of consciousness is far longer than ours." All finite existences, or what we term "things," are parts of the Absolute or of the Being we call God. "Whatever the world contains it contains in the form of a Self-conscious Being."

The total of Being is viewed and explained under a two-fold conception of a Temporal Order and an Eternal Order, embracing both a temporal type of consciousness in a finite existence, and an eternal consciousness in the Absolute, to which all things are present at once and forever. "Time is the form of Will, and the real world is a temporal world in so far as, in various regions of that world, seeking differs from attainment, pursuit is external to its own goal, the imperfect tends towards its own perfection, or, in brief, the internal meanings of finite life gradually win, in successive stages, their union with their External Meaning." "The goal of every finite life is simply the totality whereof this life, in its finitude, is a fragment. When I seek my own goal, I am looking for the whole of myself. In so far as my aim is the absolute completion of my Selfhood, my goal is identical with the whole life of God." The consciousness of finite beings is represented as a time-span, and as limited. But with respect to the Absolute Being, our author adopts essentially the view of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, the idea of an "eternal now," a *totum simul*, *i. e.*, that all events, all temporal sequences, are present at once and eternally.

From these fundamental and ruling postulates, Dr. Royce seeks to explain Physical and Social Reality in the world, or why we believe in the existence of a physical world, and to set forth the relations between the idealistic Theory of Being on the one hand and the empirical facts that men acknowledge on the other. In this explanation the law of causation is held to be of "only a relative validity"—"no self-evident truth, nor even an empirically established and universal generalization; only a human formula, not true indeed for objective nature, but yet serving as a "reason for interpreting our experiences of Nature as a hint of a vaster realm of life and of meaning of which we men form a part, and of which the final unity is in God's life." The lecture on the Interpretation of Nature is devoted to the effort to show how closely

linked to Nature this life of ours is, and how akin to our inner consciousness is much that we take to be most remote and foreign in the life of Nature. It is meant to show man's unity with Nature or oneness with the Absolute. "Nature is an orderly realm of genuine conscious life, one of whose products, expressions and examples we find in the life of man."

The Place of the finite Self-being is represented as a section of selfhood within the Absolute Self, the total universe, God. "This world that we live in is, in its wholeness, the expression of one determinate and absolute purpose, the fulfilment of the divine will. This fulfilment is unique, just because, in the world as a whole, the divine accomplishes its purpose, attains its goal, finds in absolute dominateness what it seeks, and therefore will have no other world than this. Now for this very reason, since the world in its wholeness is unique, every portion of this whole life, every fragment of experience, every pulsation of will in the universe, every intent anywhere partially embodied, is, by virtue of its relation to this unique wholeness, also unique." "Whoever conceives the Absolute as a Self, conceives it as in its form inclusive of an infinity of various, but interwoven and so intercommunicating Selves, each one of which represents the totality of the Absolute in its own way, and with its own unity." "We have to regard the Absolute in its wholeness as comprising many Selves in the most various inter-relations."

In this pantheistic theory, in which, as a whole, the universe is divine and an absolute and eternal perfection, and in which, nevertheless, it is "simply impossible" that the finite or individual selves "should seek anything but the Absolute," it is interesting to note the views reached by Prof. Royce on some of the grave questions connected with pantheistic theories. To the question of human freedom, he answers affirmatively: "The Self is, in its innermost individuality, not an independent, but still a Free Will, which in so far owns no external Master, despite its unity with the whole life of God." It is further explained, however, as only a "relative freedom." As to the problem of evil his affirmation of both sensitive and moral evil in the world is explicit and frequent. It is one point of his philosophy to explain this. A whole lecture is devoted to "The Struggle with Evil." Men can and do sin. But the explanations given so define evil as to make it simply a synonym of the limitations of finite being. It means simply finiteness—that the finite will has not yet reached the conscious fulness of the Absolute Will. It is an experience inevitable and inseparable from the temporal Order of existence—individuated being, partialness, ignorance, aberration in its necessary striving toward the goal of the finite will in the Absolute Will. "All finite life is a struggle with evil. Yet from the final point of view the whole is goods. The Temporal Order contains at no one moment anything that can satisfy." Since men have the freedom of personal individuality, the striving may be wilful and perverse. Yet as the striving of a part to realize its goal in the perfect Whole, the striving itself becomes

good. In this view Prof. Royce reaches the doctrine of "the soul of good in things evil." As the temporal Order of Being is inseparable from the Absolute Eternal Order, "the strife" (in the temporal warfare triumphing over evil) is declared to be "*within the divine life itself*, and not in an externally created world." "We are the divine as it expresses itself here and now ; and no item of what we are is other than an occurrence within the whole of the divine existence." "Our experience is a part of the life through which God wins in eternity his own." In this conception our author finds "the only ground for a genuine Theodicy." The finite evil is an essential part of the absolute good.

On the question of the personal immortality of men, or life after death, our author answers again affirmatively. The considerations which lead him to this conclusion are, in brief: First, in God we are real individuals and really conscious selves. Since this fact of our eternal and individual selfhood is real as a conscious fact in God, we too, in him, are conscious of our individuality in a form higher than that now accessible to us. Secondly, the death of an individual is a possible fact only as occurring in the life of a larger individual, whose existence as this Self and no other, in its individual contrast with the rest of the world, is continuous in meaning with the individuality that death cuts short. No self, then, can end until itself consciously declares, "My work is done, here I cease." But, thirdly, since this task is *ethical*, no Ethical Self, as is the human, in its union with God, can ever view its task as accomplished, or its work done, or its individuality as ceasing to seek, in God, a temporal future.

It has not been our aim, in this notice, to offer a critical discussion of Prof. Royce's theory of the universe, but simply to indicate the type of its philosophy and some aspects of its teaching. As a special elaboration of the pantheistic view, it offers only a new setting to evolutionary monism. He brought to his task, evidently, an acute metaphysical mind, enriched with large treasures of philosophical information, and highly disciplined in dialectic skill. A strong, distinct originality marks the formation of his type of theory and the presentation of the reasons offered in behalf. As a fresh discussion of the great subject, the work is full of interest.

The discussion, however, cannot be regarded as a success in establishing the philosophical view presented. It is eminently unsatisfactory in its fundamental postulates and in the details of augmentation by which it is sought to be made clear and sure. The unsatisfactoriness is not due to any lack of ability or effort on the part of the author, but to the essential untenableness of the monistic and pantheistic theory which he seeks to establish. The very ability and labor expended in the formation of the view, and the effort to explain, even minutely, obvious difficulties, make more impressive the utter error of the theory and the impossibility of sustaining it. The work well illustrates the risks of idealism, a philosophy swung off into independence of realistic basis, and framed into seeming self-harmony through the ambiguous use of abstract terms. Even in those special teachings in which these lectures seem to approach

thetstic or Christian doctrine, as on free-will, moral evil, and conscious personal life after death, this pantheistic philosophy discredits itself by the increased difficulty of showing a place for them. It is, perhaps, needless to add that Prof. Royce's view of the World and the Individual, of man and of God, is thoroughly alien to the Theistic and Christian view, and essentially misleading to those who are taken by his skilful metaphysics.

M. VALENTINE.

The Sermon on the Mount. Its Literary Structure and Didactic Purpose. By Benjamin Bacon, D.D. 262 pp. Cloth bound. Price \$1.00.

This book is the product of the methods of Higher Criticism. In it the author endeavors to discover the real meaning and purpose of this discourse, and to reconstruct, from materials at hand, what may have been its original form. "We may not expect," it is claimed, "more than the briefest fragments of any such address." But there was, indeed, a real Sermon on the Mount, "worthy to be called the New Torah of the Kingdom of God." Around this nucleus is found a "considerable element of agglutinated fragments." The additions are accounted for (*a*) by the personal bias of the writer, as *e. g.*, the neo-legalistic tendency of Matthew; and (*b*) by the attempt to perpetuate the logia of Jesus "unwritten for at least a generation," whereby matter foreign to the occasion crept in. As the result of such careful dissection and close scrutiny, only 58 of the 107 verses of Matthew are retained. To these are added nine substitutions from Luke and four from other parts of the text. To illustrate the type of argument, the Beatitudes of Matthew are rejected for those of Luke because (*a*) the group of seven seems artificial, (*b*) explanatory clauses are added, (*c*) the third person is used.

The book is a legitimate product of the methods used, but we are not in sympathy with the methods which so continually ignore Matthew, who was certainly in a better position to know what was said on that occasion; and which make so little of the office of the Holy Spirit in the formation of Scripture.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

P. ANSTADT AND SONS, YORK, PA.

Luther. Zinzendorf. Wesley. An account of John Wesley's conversion through hearing Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans read in a Moravian prayer-meeting in London, England. To which is added a new translation of Luther's Preface. By Rev. P. Anstadt, D.D. 16 mo. Pp. 112.

The first forty pages of this little book are occupied with a narrative of the relations of Count Zinzendorf to the Lutheran Church and

to the Augsburg Confession, and with an account of John Wesley's conversion while listening to the reading of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. There can be no doubt that in his theology and in the essential features of his Christian life, Count Zinzendorf deserves to be described as a Lutheran, "though he did not exclude Christians of other denominations from his society."

Wesley's relation to Luther's Preface does not seem so much to have been one of conversion as one of a new experience, especially of a new view of the doctrine of Justification by Faith. But there can be no doubt that in this new experience is found the chief source of Wesley's power as a religious leader and reformer. The entire narrative is full of interest, and may be read with profit by all Christians.

But by far the more important part of the book is taken up with the Preface itself. This is the gem of all of Luther's writings, the apple of gold in the picture of silver. It gives an epitome of the Lutheran teaching on the central truths of the Gospel. No one ever understood the great Epistle of the great Apostle better than did Luther, and no one has succeeded so well as he in expressing its central thoughts. The doctrine of Justification by Faith alone stands out in bold relief. "Faith is a divine work within us, which changes and renews us in God." * * * "Oh, faith is a living, active, zealous, mighty thing, insomuch that it cannot possibly remain unproductive of good works."

In expounding the ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters, Luther says that "God's eternal foreknowledge foresees who will believe and who will not believe;" consequently, who will be saved and who will not be saved. Thus election and condemnation are made to turn upon foreseen faith, and foreseen unbelief. Predestination was not absolute with Luther as it was with Calvin.

We especially suggest that all ministers read carefully and study Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. There is nothing like it in the entire field of theological literature.

J. W. RICHARD.

Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, D.D., the Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. By Rev. Adam Stump, A.M. Pp. 16.

This succinct account of the life and labors of the organizer of the scattered Lutherans in the American colonies a century and a half ago, brings much useful information to all who read it. The booklet is written in a style which will especially commend it to the people. The author has a congenial subject in hand, and shows himself at his best.

J. W. RICHARD.

CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

Lutherbuch, enthaltend Luther's Leben und Wirken nebst einigen einleitenden und abschliessenden Capiteln aus der allgemeinen Kirchen- und Missionsgeschichte. Für Schule und Haus. Bearbeitet von Gustav Just, Lehrer an der Bethlehems-Schule in St. Louis. 12 mo. Pp. 100.

With the purpose of this book we most heartily sympathize, and we regard the matter in general as well adapted to carry out the purpose. We are also pleased with the spirit of the book. It is pietistic throughout. It recognizes the hand of God in history, and manifests the proper zeal for the welfare of the Church. It is written in plain, simple language, and, for the greater part, is accurate. But there are errors in it such as are incident to all compilations. Evidently the author has not studied and critically examined the sources of history. The old partizan methods are too much in evidence. We are tired of hearing the Missourians calling themselves "orthodox," as over against all other Lutherans; and when men now-a-days speak and write about the "unaltered" Augsburg Confession, they ought to tell us where and what that document is. It is now demonstrably certain that the document in the Book of Concord, that long passed as the "unaltered Augsburg Confession," is by no means the document signed by the Lutheran Confessors at Augsburg, June 23, 1530, and delivered to the Emperor two days later. We must stand by the truth.

John Huss was not burnt on an island in the Rhine, as is clearly implied on page 23, but on the mainland west of Constance, half a mile from the Rhine. It is purely partizan declamation, and not merely rhetorical hyperbole, when it is said on page 18 that under the pope "the people had no schools, no books, and especially no bibles." Every well-informed person knows that there were hundreds of cathedral, cloister and other schools at the time of Luther's birth, and that not a few of the great universities that now illumine Germany were founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Even the "little town Mansfeld" had a school in which Luther, as this author says, "learned the ten commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and was instructed in reading, writing, and the elements of the Latin grammar," and at Magdeburg he attended "the high school, which was then celebrated before all others," and still later we learn that he "attended the Latin school in Eisenach."

And as to books in general it is well known that tens of thousands, very many of them of purely popular character, were printed in the fifteenth century. One writer estimates that the number of fifteenth century printed works still preserved may be reckoned at over 30,000—"many of them works of three, four, or even more thick folio volumes." Several such works lie before us at this moment. In 1470 Anthony Koberger, of Nuremberg, had twenty-four presses at work, and em-

ployed over a hundred men in the making of books. Before the year 1500 there were five printing presses in operation in Mentz, six in Ulm, sixteen in Basel, twenty in Augsburg, twenty-one in Cologne. One would like to know what was printed on these presses, since, according to our author, there were "no books" under the papacy.

"Especially no Bibles." This is what Dr. Maitland calls a "broad falsehood" (*The Dark Ages*, page 543). This distinguished author says: "We know of at least *twenty* different *editions* of the *whole* Latin Bible *printed in Germany only* before Luther was born." He thinks the press had issued fifty different editions of the whole Latin Bible, before Luther was born. It has also been ascertained that before the Reformation at least fourteen complete editions of the Bible had been published in the High German, and five in the Low German dialect. The first edition in the High German appeared in 1466. Our author tells us that Luther found a Bible in the University Library at Erfurt, and that he diligently studied the Bible in his cloister. The Dark Ages were dark, but they were not so dark as they have been often pictured. It is simply a shame to teach children that under the papacy "the people had no schools, no books, and especially no Bibles." Let us demand of historians that they tell the whole truth.

Pilate's staircase is not in St. Peter's at Rome, page 39, but in a separate building near St. John Lateran, a mile distant from St. Peter's.

On page 45 Luther is represented in person as nailing the ninety-five theses against the church door at Wittenberg. This is highly improbable. There is not one particle of evidence that the Wittenberg theologians composed, at the command of their elector, "a writing based on the seventeen articles previously composed by Luther," page 68. There is also ambiguity, if not error, in the dates at the head of page 70.

We do not expect perfection anywhere, but we have a right to expect that the best known facts connected with the life of Luther, and with the Lutheran Church, be correctly presented. If the author will remove the errors in this book, it will then be worthy of its laudable purpose.

J. W. RICHARD.

Gospel Sermons. By Rev. Henry Sieck, Pastor of Mount Olivet Lutheran Church, Milwaukee, Wis. Part I. Pp. 228.

This is a volume of short sermons on the gospels of the ecclesiastical year. The number of the sermons is thirty-seven, extending to Pentecost Monday, completing Part I. The author does his work with a heart full of devotion to this method of preaching. He holds himself severely to the plain scope and compass of the gospels in his practical applications. His treatment is exceedingly plain and simple. He sacrifices nothing to mere style. He is guiltless of laboring for anything like superficial effect.

He is impressed with the solemnity of his task, and imbued with the spirit of one who appreciates the grand privilege and opportunity of urging redeeming and joyous truth upon the hearts and minds of God's people. We must commend the unmistakable tone of shepherd tenderness which mark these postils. Clearly the sermons have but one aim—the glory of God in the upbuilding of the hearer's (and reader's) spiritual life; and through each brief discourse breathes the tender spirit of true pastoral solicitude.

Pastor Sieck's theology is soundly, strenuously Lutheran. He does not indeed formally theologize in the unfolding of his themes, but neither does he hesitate to rejoice in the sublime harmony of the doctrinal teachings of the Evangelical Lutheran Church with the word of Christ and the apostles' doctrine. Indeed we know of no method of preaching so perfectly adapted to conserve the doctrinal beliefs of the Church in the minds of believers, as the method followed by Pastor Sieck. The gospel, and the doctrine thereof necessarily go together. The one is the substance and power of the other. Gospel truth so urged home, fortified with all the preacher's aids, and vitalized by the spirit, must be unto the edification of the congregation, evoking their love for the truth of salvation, and their steadfast adherence to the doctrinal system in which that truth is presented.

Yet one is also impressed anew with the limitations of this method of preaching, when followed as the inflexible rule of pulpit ministration. Except by twisting and straining, there is little or no latitude for the treatment of special subjects. Thus a large portion of modern life and experience must go without touch or reference in the sermon.

Such is the vigorous style of Pastor Sieck's postils, such their reverent spirit, and such their appeal to a joyous confidence, abounding salvation through Jesus Christ, that we give the volume containing them our most sincere commendation as a valuable addition to the spiritual literature of our Lutheran homes.

A. R. STECK.

Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah. By G. Stoeckhardt, Professor in the Concordia Seminary at St. Louis. The first twelve chapters.

We do not hesitate to commend this Commentary, of which the first twelve chapters have appeared, as one of the best yet written on Isaiah in German. It deserves to be translated into the English language. It is clear, eloquent and vigorous in style, thoroughly reverent and evangelical in spirit, and in judicious and practical expositions gives the result of the best and latest scholarship applied to the study of the word of God, bringing the work up to the present standard of Bible criticism.

The author rests upon the sure foundation of the Evangelical faith. In the introduction he says: "The Book of Isaiah is called תְּזוּן

which means vision, revelation. All that is written in this book is a revelation and inspiration of God. So the prophecy of Isaiah *prima facie* stands as the word of God," and again: "It was the Spirit of Christ which through the prophets and especially through Isaiah has revealed the grace of the New Testament, the sufferings of Christ and the future glory."

Prof. Stoeckhardt occupies the safe middle ground, accepting the good in the Higher Criticism. Self-contradicting statements of the Hypercriticism are in a most striking way undermined and refuted by the plain statements of the word of God. Scripture is thus explained by Scripture; especially the masterly explanation of the "Son of the Virgin," Is. 7 : 14.

It is a book which ought to have a place in the library of every preacher and Bible student, and is profitable for laymen who want a thorough knowledge of the "Evangelist and Apostle" of the Old Testament.

The binding is substantial, paper excellent, type clear and pleasant to the eye.

GEO. BRODTHAGE.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND CO., BOSTON AND NEW YORK.

The Atlantic Monthly for September presents five articles calculated to attract much attention, as they are upon topics of current interest. Talcott Williams, LL.D., has written upon "The New Navy of the United States;" Herbert W. Horwill demonstrates the advantages of "A National Standard in Higher Education;" Miss Vida Scudder continues her papers upon Democracy in an able discussion of "Democracy and Society;" W. E. B. Du Bois considers the urgent question of "The Training of Black Men," and Hiller C. Wellman, an exceptionally well qualified authority, tells "What the Public Libraries are Doing for Children."

Miss Emily V. Mason writes most delightfully of "Memories of a Hospital Matron," and there is also in this number some interesting correspondence between Thoreau and Father Hecker, which has never before appeared. There are two charming outdoor papers entitled "Autumn Thoughts" and "Going into the Woods."

Among the fiction of the number are the third installment of the Baroness von Hutten's delightful serial "Our Lady of the Beeches," Louise L. Sibley's three sketches of life "On an Off Shore Light" and "The White Feather," by Thomas Bailey Aldrich.

The Contributors' Club has the usual number of bright contributions. It is a thoroughly good number—too good for people with genuine literary taste to miss.

SEVERINGHAUS PUBLISHING CO., CHICAGO.

German-American Catechism. A concise development and application of Luther's Small Catechism, etc., etc. Pp. 78. By J. D. Severinghaus, D.D.

Three years ago we had the pleasure of calling attention to this most excellent bilingual edition of Luther's Small Catechism, with development. It is not only a catechism, but it is a book of religious instruction for young people. It can be used equally well in a purely English-speaking, or in a purely German-speaking, class, and will be especially serviceable in a class that may be in the period of transition from German to English.

In a few places the answers to questions might be simplified; but with the teaching, one or two places excepted, we are in entire accord. On page 49 we have a most excellent definition of Regeneration, and on page 50 an equally excellent definition of Justification. But the correct Lutheran order requires that "the act of God" come before "the work of the Holy Ghost." See Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans. On page 48 the author says: "As the communion of saints the Christian Church administers the sacred gifts or sacraments according to their divine appointment and preaches the gospel to all the world." If by "communion of saints" the author has reference to the *communio sanctorum* of the Apostles' Creed, and means that the "communion of saints" is a more accurate definition of "Holy Catholic Church," and that the phrase was introduced into the Creed for the purpose of defining the word "Church" then he is wrong, for it is historically demonstrable that it was not originally understood in that sense, but in the abstract sense of participation in certain blessings connected with the Church. See Hefele *Conciliengeschichte*, second edition, volume II, p. 61 *seqq.*, and Kattenbusch, II, pp. 930, 931.

If by "As communion of saints the Christian Church administers," etc., he means that the essential, the invisible Church does this, then he at least lacks in accuracy. While with all our heart we believe with the Apology that the Church is *principaliter societas fidei et Spiritus Sancti in cordibus*, we also believe that the Church is *Heilsantalt*, and as such is charged with the duty of the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The very orthodox Hunnius says: "The *visible* Church comprises the assembly of those who are members of Christ's kingdom, and who have the word of God preached to them in its purity, and the Sacraments administered according to Christ's will and institution. It is called 'visible' not because of the individuals of which it consists being visible to the outward eye, but because of its having a visible mode of worship, thereby testifying that every member among them is persuaded of, and has accepted the faith which is preached in that Church, and that all members are determined to serve one and the same God, and to work out together

their own salvation. This visible Church is implied when we read Matt. 18 : 17 ; Acts 5 : 11 ; Rom. 16 : 1." No definition of the Church is complete that does not include both sides. While affirming an essential Church, we must also recognize the *empirical* Church—these not as two churches, but as the internal and the external sides of the one Holy Catholic Church. Luther in describing the Church went out from the idea of invisibility (see *Commentary on Galatians* 5 : 19) and in this he was followed by Melanchthon in the first period of his *Loci*, and in the Confession and Apology ; but later Melanchthon laid stress on the empirical Church, as the *coetus vocatorum*, within which are the elect. In this he is followed in general by the Dogmaticians. On p. 69 it is said that they (Luther and Melanchthon) presented to the Diet at Augsburg a new confession. Luther and Melanchthon did not present the Confession at Augsburg. The Augsburg Confession was composed by Melanchthon, but was presented to the Diet by the subscribing princes and the representatives of the two cities. Neither Luther nor Melanchthon saw it presented. Among other good things, this little book contains an order for Confirmation, and an order for Communion.

J. W. RICHARD.

GENERAL COUNCIL PUBLICATION BOARD, PHILADELPHIA.

The Choral Service Book. Containing the Authentic Plain Song Intonations and Responses for the Order of Morning Service, the Orders of Matins and Vespers, the Litany and the Suffrages of the Common Service, for the use of Evangelical Lutheran Congregations, with accompanying harmonies for organ. Edited by Harry G. Archer and Rev. Luther D. Reed, 228 pages. Price \$1.50.

This book opens with a preface of 44 pages explanatory of "Plain Songs" or as perhaps it is better known, "Gregorian Music," and an analysis of the different parts of the Liturgy. The remainder of the book is given to plain song settings of all the different services of the Church enumerated in the title. The book shows painstaking effort on the part of the editors to collaborate a large amount of Gregorian Music, but the practical utility of the book in our Lutheran congregations is very doubtful. Almost all of the parts of the service assigned to the minister, including Gospel and prayers, are to be intoned, and the parts assigned to the congregation, set to the "Plain Songs," would be most difficult for them to learn.

This use of Gregorian instead of the Anglican tones is called "starving ourselves in the midst of plenty" by Mr. Hullah in his "Whole Book of Psalms"; and Sir George McFarren says in his "Six Lectures on Harmony": "It must be obvious, first, that the Gregorian Chant is of purely pagan origin; secondly, that its appropriation to Christian worship was entirely upon artistic and popular grounds, not on account either of its

antiquity or sacredness; thirdly, that it was not held as essential to the service throughout western Europe when the advance of music enabled the clergy of France to improve upon it; and lastly, that those well-meaning men who would resuscitate its use in the Church of England, evince mistaken zeal, false antiquarianism, illogical deductiveness, artistic blindness and ecclesiastical error."

Henry Smart says that "Musical taste must be indeed at its lowest ebb in any who really prefer the meaningless and uncouth 'plain song of the Church' to any other combination of sound whatever. English psalmody has many faults, but I hold it to be the far wiser course to endeavor to correct these, than to supplant it by a style of music utterly barbarous in itself, antagonistic to the grammatical structure of the language, and so wholly opposed to the feeling of the people that it can never come into general use, except on the incredible supposition of a second universal ascendancy of the church which invented it."

The book is beautifully printed on good paper and it would likely be of interest to students of church music, while not adapted to the use of our congregations.

HENRY W. SIEGRIST.

GERMAN LITERARY BOARD, BURLINGTON, IOWA.

1. *Das Amt, das die Versöhnung predigt.*
2. *Die Frikirche im Vergleich mit der Staatskirche.*
3. *Charakterzüge des amerikanischen Volkes.*

Von J. L. Neve, Professor in ev.-luth. "Westlichen Theologischen Seminar" zu Atchison, Kansas.

These three brochures from the pen of the genial and scholarly professor in the German department of our Western Theological Seminary indicate the comprehensiveness of his literary activity. The first contains three ordination sermons; the second compares the free church system of America with the State-churchism of Germany; the third, which consists of eighty-nine pages, gives the Professor's views of the characteristic features of American men, women and institutions.

The sermons present a high idea of the ministry of reconciliation; the comparison of American church organization and life with the ecclesiastical conditions in Germany, is, we think, accurate, and will be instructive both to Americans and to Germans. "The characteristics of the American people" show that the writer has been a careful observer. Beyond most Germans, he has done justice to the American women. He declares "that the American woman is not unwomanly." The wide circulation and reading of this pamphlet in Germany would dissipate many false impressions held by the Germans in regard to almost everything that is American.

J. W. RICHARD.

° EATON AND MAINS.

Remembered Days. By James B. Kenyon. 239 pages. Cloth bound.
Price \$1.00.

The author of this volume shares the common experience of all of us when he finds that, as the years move on, some few days remain bright and clear in the memory. There are always some golden hours which the great destroyer, Time, cannot efface. And, while some cherish the memory of sweet words and kind faces, Mr. Kenyon delights to recall happy days in the woods by the brook-side, or along the shores of the great river, looking upon the face of Nature and listening to the voice of the murmuring waters. He takes the reader through varied scenes of outdoor life—a night in the woods, a walk through November fields, a day along a trout stream, or a long reach in a canoe after bass. A feature of these little excursions is the absence of monotony. Each camp is set up differently from every other; each fish caught in its own individual way. The reader is not made to listen to long conversations. Clericus, Medicus, Juventus, Old Man, Lucky One, and even the dog Rex, are not obtrusive figures on the woodland scene. If the reader will quietly join the party, he will find that the joys of a summer vacation, duly appreciated, can be lengthened out to brighten many a day. The last chapter is called, "The Bethrothed Ones of Grinderwald," and is from the French of Erckmann-Chatrian.

STANLEY BILLHEIMER.

TERMS—\$2.50 a year, if paid in advance or within the year; otherwise, \$3.00

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M. VALENTINE, D. D., LL. D. PHILIP M. BIKLE, PH. D.
JAMES W. RICHARD, D. D. THOMAS C. BILLHEIMER, D. D.

WITH THE SPECIAL CO-OPERATION OF

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